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AMERICAN

16

JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

405-
002

Edited by

TENNEY FRANK

With the coöperation of

HAROLD CHERNISS (assistant editor), KEMP MALONE
BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT; DAVID MOORE ROBINSON

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VOLUME LX

WITH AN INDEX TO VOLUMES XLI-LX

BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

LONDON: ARTHUR F. BIRD

PARIS: ALBERT FONTEMOING

LEIPZIG: F. A. BROCKHAUS

1939

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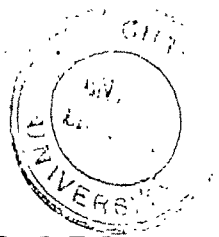
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WHOLE No. 237

HOMER'S GODS—MYTH AND MÄRCHEN.

ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν ἄοιδοί.

In an earlier study I have argued against the view that the Olympian scenes in Homer are "late" expressions of Ionian skepticism, and in favor of the explanation that they are mainly ancient myth or folk tale, retold with touches of genial humor for the delectation of the listener.¹ This brings up the larger question whether in general the roles and characters of the gods were invented by the poet or taken from a common stock of myth and popular tradition, and here we find uncertainty as well as diversity of opinion. The historian of religion or mythology commonly regards the poems as expressions of existing tradition and belief and finds it convenient to treat them as a unity in which is reflected a fairly coherent stage of religious development; occasionally, however, he feels obliged to exorcise the spirit of the higher criticism by such apotropaic formulas as "in a passage of doubtful authenticity," "perhaps interpolated," "probably of late composition," and the like.² The Homeric

¹ "The Higher Criticism on Olympus," *A. J. P.*, LVIII (1937), pp. 257-274; see also "Homer's Gods: Prolegomena," *T. A. P. A.*, LXVIII (1937), pp. 11-25, especially pp. 16 f.

² Cf. H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (New York, 1929). Walter F. Otto (*Die Götter Griechenlands* [Bonn, 1929], p. 15) remarks that differences in time between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, or between parts of the poems, may be disregarded, "denn in allem Wesentlichen ist die religiöse Anschauung überall dieselbe." Otto Kern (*Die Religion der Griechen* [Berlin, 1926], p. 203) speaks in general

critic on the other hand usually takes a point of view which is a by-product of his theories; if he is looking for criteria which may be used to distinguish *Schichten*, he is naturally tempted to ascribe differences in the portrayal of the gods to the invention of the different poets whose handiwork he is trying to identify.³ Thus Homer is for Finsler a pessimistic philosopher who invented the Olympian scenes of the *Iliad* to express his *Weltanschauung*;⁴ for Wilamowitz he is the creator of the Olympian fairyland of graceful phantasy revealed in the *Apate*.⁵ So potent is the domination of Homeric study by ideas of this sort that Nilsson cannot get wholly free of them even in his brilliant demonstration that much of Greek mythology goes back to Mycenaean origins.⁶ The belief that the Homeric gods and the Olympian scenes are original creations is not, however, restricted to the separatists; Drerup, for example, regards the divine apparatus as the poet's own invention, intended to emphasize by contrast the reality of the human characters and actions.⁷

Both points of view may be traced far back in the history of Homeric criticism, and both of course have elements of truth. Common sense tells us that Homer, like other poets, used what he found and also invented for himself.⁸ Yet even after we

terms of the need to distinguish between earlier and later parts of the poems. Erik Hedén (*Homeric Götterstudien* [Upsala, 1912], p. 3) assumes that the *Odyssey* represents a later stage than the *Iliad*. A. Roussel (*La religion dans Homère* [Paris, 1914], introduction) starts from the assumption of Homeric unity. See also M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1925), p. 135.

³ Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London, 1933), p. 38.

⁴ G. Finsler, *Die olympischen Szenen der Ilias* (Bern, 1906), p. 54; *Homer*, I, part 2 (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 206-215.

⁵ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 284-293, 316-318; cf. the section "Homeric Götter" in *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1931-1932), I, pp. 317-378.

⁶ Cf. *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley, 1932), p. 244, where the Olympian scenes are said to be "sometimes tainted with burlesque, a tone due to the Ionian minstrels, who were fundamentally irreligious."

⁷ E. Drerup, *Das fünfte Buch der Ilias* (Paderborn, 1913), pp. 394-420; *Das Homerproblem in der Gegenwart* (Würzburg, 1921), pp. 416-422.

⁸ Cf. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, p. 39: "There are certainly both in Homer, both traditional myths and poetical fictions. But where is

have benefited by the mediation of common sense, our problems are not divested of their difficulties. We cannot say definitely of any passage or episode, of any motif or characterization, or even any slight detail, whether it is newly invented or drawn from a common stock. Very often this question is of first importance to an understanding of the poet's art, or his religious ideas, or the intellectual and moral background of his times. We do not fully understand the poems if we cannot say whether the tale of Ares and Aphrodite is a late invention interpolated to satirize the popular religion, or is the unconscious expression of a mildly licentious contemporary taste in poetry, or comes from an ancient stock of primitive, naive, amusing tales about the gods. In the same way it is important to know whether the *Apate* is a sacrilegious burlesque upon the holy mystery of the *ιερός γάμος*, or a licentious *nouvelle galante*, or the adaptation to the poet's purpose of an ancient folk tale long told about gods or humans.

If such questions as these are to be answered, we must find more valid criteria than our preconceptions or *a priori* assumptions. We need to know what tales about the gods were current while the poems were being composed. In the complete absence of contemporary external evidence it might seem that the inquiry must inevitably move in a vicious circle. There is, however, a way to avoid the fallacy. Scattered through both poems are brief references or allusions to tales of gods and heroes, or to events and characters in these tales, briefly introduced in analogies, illustrations, similes, or reminiscences, or in descriptions of places or accounts of famous persons and families. For the most part these references are purely incidental, and so phrased that they would be meaningless and impossible were the audience not already well acquainted with the tales.⁹ There are also stories told at greater length, but, like the briefer references, brought in incidentally and not direct, organic parts of the narrative. Here the case is not so certain; there is always the possibility

the dividing line? What is to be ascribed to tradition taken over by a poet, and what to his own imagination?" See also P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 381.

⁹ For example, A 267 f. would be meaningless to hearers who did not know of the Lapiths and Centaurs, or I 6 to those who were not familiar with stories about Pygmies.

that the poet has invented a story for its ornamental value or for the sheer joy of telling it. Yet there is a distinct probability that such incidental, inorganic stories were taken from material already in existence, and in several instances this probability is reinforced by the manner of the telling.¹⁰ Furthermore, when we encounter folk motifs known from the *Märchen* of every land and time, magic potions, for example, or wondrous steeds, or enchanters' wands, we can be sure that they are not new inventions but part of the poet's stock in trade. Finally, if we view all of this material together and perceive that many of the personages, motifs, and episodes bear a marked resemblance to those of folk tale or popular legend, the collection as a whole may reasonably be taken to represent a common stock of myth and popular tale which was familiar to Homeric audiences.

The passages to which I invite attention are for the most part casual references, or brief summaries, or incidental tales, and relate to stories in which gods or mythical and legendary personages have an important part. In the *Iliad*, events which are part of the action before Troy are organic and hence are excluded by definition.¹¹ In the *Odyssey*, the adventures of Odysseus in fairyland and the encounter of Menelaus with Proteus are included because they are generally admitted to draw directly upon popular tale for motifs and incidents. In both poems, a number of typical folk motifs and also characteristic or habitual actions of gods or other supernatural beings are included although the contexts in which they occur are organic.¹² I have tried to indicate as briefly as possible the nature and extent of the material which seems to me pertinent; doubts and differences of opinion are discussed in footnotes or in connection with my general conclusions.¹³

¹⁰ E. g., the tale of Bellerophon, Z 155-205; cf. *infra* note 18.

¹¹ For convenience the line is drawn arbitrarily at the gathering of the host in Aulis.

¹² When it is said that Thetis is in the palace of Nereus (A 357 f.) or that the gods are visiting the Ethiopians (A 423 f.), the statements are in a way part of the action, but they imply a background of story well known to the audience. When Poseidon or Athena uses a magic wand (N 59 f.; ♀ 429; π 172, 456), a folk motif is introduced into the action of the poems.

¹³ In order to keep the apparatus within limits, the passages with which my discussion and conclusions have to do are given here in the

A 260-268 Lapiths and Centaurs; 357 f. Thetis the sea maiden seated beside Nereus in the depths; 396-406 revolt against Zeus; 423 f., 493 f. visit of the gods to the Ethiopians; 590-594 Hephaestus' attempt to defend Hera from Zeus.

B 101-108 legend of Agamemnon's scepter; 512-515 union of Ares and Astyoche; 547-551 legend of Erechtheus; 572 Adrastus; 594-600 Thamyras and the Muses; 657-670 story of Tlepolemus and an exploit of Heracles; 714 f. Alcestris; 741-744 Pirithous and Centaurs; 766 Apollo's servitude to Admetus; 770 horses of Achilles; 782 f. Typhoeus; 811-814 hill called by the immortals "the tomb of Myrina"; 819-821 union of Anchises and Aphrodite; 827 bow given to Pandarus by Apollo.

Γ 4-7 Cranes and Pygmies; 144 Aethra attendant on Helen;¹⁴ 184-190 invasion of Amazons; 236-244 Castor and Polydeuces; 399-409 Paris favorite of Aphrodite; 442-446 abduction of Helen.

Δ 20-67 wrath of Hera and Athena and Hera's mustering of the host, which seem to imply the judgment of Paris;¹⁵ 219

order of their occurrence, and citations which can easily be got from this register are as a rule not repeated. The collection may perhaps be found useful because handbooks of mythology do not ordinarily segregate the Homeric material, and Homeric handbooks usually pay scant attention to mythology or folk tale; cf. T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age* (New York, 1907), p. 2, where the subject is dismissed in a sentence, despite its undoubted importance for an understanding of Homeric life in any but the narrowest sense. It should be made clear that this inquiry is not concerned with theories of composition based upon mythological material (collected and discussed by Drerup, *Homer-problem*, Chap. VI), or with attempts to determine the relative antiquity of this mythical material (cf. Hedén, *Götterstudien*, pp. 31 ff.), but only with the extent and general character of the tales which clearly were known to Homeric audiences. The difficult problems involved in the relations between this material and mythological scenes in early Hellenic or pre-Hellenic art do not come within the scope of this study, which I have attempted to keep as much as possible to the Homeric text.

¹⁴ Unless the story was invented to explain the text, the legend of the abduction of Helen by Theseus is implied; Aethra here has been an annoyance to commentators since Aristarchus, who athetized the line, but here she is, in the MSS. Though Nilsson regards Γ as one of the later books, he takes this passage as evidence that the legend was of respectable antiquity (*Myoenacan Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 187 f.).

¹⁵ Cf. *infra* n. 23.

Chiron's gift of healing herbs to Asclepius; 376-398 exploits of Tydeus from Theban cycle.

E 247 f. Anchises and Aphrodite; 265-272 wondrous horses given as atonement for rape of Ganymede and stratagem by which Anchises bred from them; 383-404 injuries of gods by mortals, Ares shut in a jar, Hera and Hades wounded by Heracles; 546 Ortilochus begot by river god Alpheus; 640-642, 648-651 Ilium sacked by Heracles because of Laomedon's perfidy; 766 implying previous encounters of Ares and Athena; 802-808 Tydeus at Thebes; 844 f. helmet of Hades.

- Z 21-26 union of Bucolion and the naiad Abarbarea; 130-140 Dionysus pursued by Lycurgus, given asylum by Thetis; 152-205 the story of Bellerophon, rich in episodes and motifs that suggest folk tale;¹⁶ 222 f. Tydeus at Thebes; 433-438 perhaps an allusion to the wall built for Laomedon by Apollo, Poseidon, and Aeacus.¹⁷

H 452 f. wall built for Laomedon by Poseidon and Apollo; 469 Jason and Hypsipyle.

© 13-16 misty Tartarus, with gates of iron and brazen threshold, seemingly a familiar conception; 69-74 the golden scales of Zeus;¹⁸ 362-369 Heracles and Cerberus; 393-395 Horae keepers

¹⁶ Potiphar's wife, token of death, tasks set the hero (Chimaera, Solymi, Amazons), one against many, king's daughter and half the kingdom. That the story is taken from familiar tradition is indicated not only by this abundance of folk material but also by the brevity with which the episodes are treated (e. g., the slaying of the Chimaera, 183: *κατέπεφρε θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας*) and by the terse reference to Bellerophon's last unhappy wanderings (200-202). The attempts to prove that these three lines are an interpolation (see Leaf, *ad loc.*) seem to me utterly futile; like many similar feats of analysis, they start from an arbitrary refusal to understand words in their simple, natural sense, for *καὶ καίρος* clearly means, to any but higher critics, "even Bellerophon."

¹⁷ Here again (cf. *supra* n. 14) we cannot be certain whether the text contains an allusion to the story of the wall built by Poseidon and Apollo with the help of a mortal, Aeacus (cf. Pind., *Ol.*, viii, 30 ff.), or the story was suggested by the text. Line 438 is certainly easier to understand on the former supposition.

¹⁸ The higher criticism tends to the view that this passage is an awkward imitation of X 208-213, where we have the original invention (e. g., Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, p. 43; Finsler, *Homer* I, part 2 [1924], pp. 203, 206). Although Nilsson's explanation of a figure on a Cypro-Mycenaean vase as Zeus holding the scales of fate has not been

of the gates of Olympus; 478-481 Tartarus, dark prison of Iapetus and Cronus.

I 381-384, 404 f. legendary wealth of Orchomenus, Egyptian Thebes, and Pytho; 445 f. the notion of miraculous rejuvenation; 448-484 story of Phoenix and his father's curse; 502-512 Ate and the Litae; 524-599 story of Meleager, filled with references and allusions to other legends evidently well known.¹⁹

K 266-270 thievery of Autolycus; 285-290 Tydeus at Thebes; 402-404 immortal steeds of Achilles; 546, 551, 556 f. familiar notion of wondrous horses, gift of a god.

A 1 Eos and Tithonus; 36 Gorgon on Agamemnon's shield; 632-637 cup of Nestor which only he could lift; 670-761 old tales of Nestor with references to exploits of Heracles (Pylos, Augeas) and to the twins Actorion, sons of Poseidon; 794 f. doom of Achilles; 831 f. Chiron Achilles' tutor.

N 20 prodigious strides of Poseidon; 21 f. his submarine palace at Aegae; 59 f. his magic wand; 298-303 Ares and Phobus in the wars of the Ephyrans and Phlegyans; 354 f. birth of Zeus and Poseidon; 450 Minos son of Zeus.

Ξ 147-151 Poseidon's shout, as of nine or ten thousand men; 168 the secret lock of Hera's bower, which none but she might

generally accepted ("Zeus mit der Schicksalswaage auf einer cyprisch-mykenischen Vase," *Bull. Soc. Roy. Lett.*, Lund, 1932-1933, No. 2, pp. 29-43; "Mycenaean and Homeric Religion," *Arch. f. Rel.*, XXXIII [1935], pp. 90 f.), there can be little doubt that the scales of fate and their association with Zeus was an ancient motif, familiar to the poet and to his audience, and there is no valid ground for regarding one of the passages as an imitation of the other. No one who has given real thought to the epic use of formula will fail to allow for the possibility that we have here an ornamental formula, appropriate to crucial moments in combat, which admitted in the third and following lines a wide choice of names or of noun-epithet formulas in the genitive such as are listed by M. Parry, *L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928), pp. 69-78. There is really no good ground for suspecting even Θ 73 f.; the illogical, but psychologically understandable, $\xi\sigma\theta\eta\eta$ is more apt to be early than late. The later feeling is shown in the curious ancient variant $\xi\sigma\theta\eta\eta$ reported in the scholia.

¹⁹ Much of the material suggests familiar folk motifs; e.g., the offense of Oeneus, the monstrous boar, the quarrel over the spoils, the strife of Idas with Apollo for Marpessa, the curse of Althaea. The tale is evidently well known, as Phoenix says (524: $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omega\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\ \kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \alpha\pi\delta\ \rho\acute{\omega}\nu$), and the general belief that the poet is here using familiar material is undoubtedly correct.

- open; 172-174 her wondrous unguent whose fragrance diffused through earth and heaven; 200-204, 301-304 Oceanus and Tethys, progenitors of the gods, and their fostering of Hera during Zeus' struggle against Cronus; 205 f., 304 f. quarrels of Oceanus and Tethys; 214-217 magic girdle of Aphrodite; 234 f., 249-261 the tricking of Zeus by Hera and Hypnus in the Heracles story, with Zeus' mauling of the gods and the protection of Hypnus by Nyx; 271 oath of the gods by Styx; 274, 278 f. Cronus and the Titans; 295 f. early secret amours of Zeus and Hera; 315-328 Zeus' amours with the wife of Ixion (Dia), with Danae, Europa, Semele, Alcmene, Demeter, Leto;²⁰ 347-351 the magic bed of flowers, curtained by a golden cloud;
- 489-491 Ilioneus, son of Phorbas, whom Hermes loved.

O 18-33 tricking of Zeus by Hera in the Heracles story, with Zeus' mauling of the gods and punishment of Hera; 37 f. oath of the gods by Styx; 41-44 Hera's oath to Zeus, true literally, but false in intent; 104-109 Zeus the tyrant of old tale; 121-142 another mauling of the gods averted by Athena; 224 f. Cronus and the nether gods would have felt the conflict between Zeus and Poseidon; 441 Teucer's bow a gift of Apollo; 639 f. Copreus, Eurystheus, and Heracles.

II 36 f. the doom of Achilles; 140-144 spear of Peleus, the gift of Chiron, which only Achilles could wield; 149-151 wondrous steeds of Achilles, by Zephyrus out of the harpy Podarge; 173-178 union of Spercheius with Polydora; 179-192 union of Hermes with Polymela; 328 f. Chimaera; 381, 867 Achilles' wondrous steeds the gift of the gods to Peleus.

P 76-78 horses of Achilles hard for mere mortals to drive; 194-196 arms of Achilles given to Peleus by the gods; 443-445 the gods gave immortal steeds to Peleus, a mortal.

²⁰ Most critics regard 317-327 as an interpolation, upon grounds which would receive scant consideration in any other field than Homeric criticism. That Aristophanes and Aristarchus athetized them is interesting only for the light it throws on Alexandrian criticism; cf. my "Nausicaa et Aristarque," *Rev. Ét. Hom.*, IV (1934), pp. 11 f. To stigmatize the legends, apart from the birth of Heracles, as "not Homeric" is, as I point out later, to reject everything that is mentioned once only in the poems (cf. *infra* n. 23). What really underlies the attempt to excise the passage, apart from the encouragement derived from Aristarchus, is the fallacious notion of "late" Ionian irreverence (cf. *supra* n. 1).

Σ 74-85 the irony of the wish that defeats its purpose suggests folk motifs;²¹ 82-85 arms of Achilles a wedding gift of the gods to Peleus; 117 f. Heracles, dearest to Zeus; 395-405 Hephaestus, thrown from Olympus by Hera, given asylum by Thetis and Eurynome; 431-435 Thetis given to Peleus by Zeus against her will; 440 f. doom of Achilles; 591 f. dancing place wrought by Daedalus for Ariadne in Cnossus.

T 91-133 tale of Zeus and Hera and the birth of Heracles, Hera's trick (oath) and the flinging of Ate from Olympus; 390 f. spear of Peleus a gift of Chiron; 421 f. doom of Achilles.

Υ 74 Scamander called by the gods Xanthus; 105 f. Aeneas son of Aphrodite; 145-148 wall built for Heracles with the help of Athena when he fought the sea-monster at Troy; 206-209 Achilles son of Peleus and Thetis, Aeneas son of Anchises and Aphrodite; 215-240 old legends of Troy about Ganymede and the wondrous horses sired by Boreas (not those given as atonement for Ganymede); 285-287 exceeding power of the men of olden time; 384 f. union of Otrynteus and a naiad.

Φ 2 Xanthus son of Zeus; 141-143 union of Axius and Periboea; 441-457 ridiculous old tale of servitude of gods to Laomedon, his trickery and threats; 444 a year of servitude.

X 29-31 the star men call Orion's dog, a bad sign, bringing fever; 208-213 golden scales of Zeus; 460 perhaps a reference to a maenad;²² 470-472 Aphrodite's wedding gift to Andromache.

Ψ 51 the misty west whither the spirits of the dead depart; 79 men's fates allotted at birth; 187 ambrosial unguent of Aphrodite which magically preserved the body of Hector from

²¹ The fine irony and exquisite characterization of this passage are of course on a far higher plane than popular tale, and the poet's interest in depicting the moods of his characters is alone sufficient to justify the belief that this is his own free invention. Yet the situation in its essential outline is the familiar one of the wish that turns out wrong; Achilles has got his wish, but it has led to the death of his beloved comrade and the loss of his arms. For instances of this motif in Greek mythology, cf. Rose, *Handbook*, p. 299.

²² Here *μαινάδι* *ἰση* is commonly taken to mean no more than *μαυρομένη εἰκνία* (Z 389), and it is impossible to say whether the word has the specialized meaning so familiar in later literature. In view of Z 132, *μαυρομένοιο Διωρύσοιο τιθήνας*, the possibility may at least be entertained.

laceration; 200-230 feasting of the winds in the abode of Zephyrus; 205-207 visits of the gods to the Ethiopians on the shores of Ocean; 276-278 Achilles' wondrous steeds, gift of Poseidon to Peleus; 346-348 Arion, the divine horse of Adrastus, and the wondrous horses of Laomedon; 638-642 twins Actorion, sons of Poseidon, and their marvelous horsemanship; 679 f. funeral games of Oedipus at Thebes; 747 Jason's son Euneus.

Ω 20 f. magic of the aegis, which, like the unguent of Aphrodite, protects the body of Hector; 24 Hermes urged to steal the body of Hector (Master Thief); 29 f. judgment of Paris;²³ 59-63 wedding of Peleus with Thetis, foster-child of Hera, attended by all the gods; 209 f. Moira spins the thread of destiny at birth; 456 superhuman strength of Achilles; 527-533 two casks of Zeus, holding good and evil; 602-617 story of Niobe; 693 Xanthus son of Zeus.

α 8 cattle of Helius; 22-26 feasting of the gods with the Ethiopians; 51-54 Calypso and her father Atlas, who holds the pillars of earth and heaven; 68-73 union of Poseidon and Thoosa, from which was born Polyphemus; 241 Harpies; 337 f. tales of men and of gods sung by the bards to beguile the hearts of mortals.²⁴

²³ Following Aristarchus, who athetized these and the four or five lines immediately preceding, most critics reject this reference as an interpolation. The main argument against authenticity, modern as well as ancient, is summed up in Schol. A to Ω 25 as follows: *τὴν τε περὶ τοῦ κάλλους κρίσιν οὐκ οἶδεν· πολλαχῇ γὰρ αὖ ἐμνήσθη*. If we adopt this principle, we shall have to strike out all the references I have listed on page 16, and may well ask how many times a story must be referred to before it can be regarded as Homeric. I know of no better explanation of Helen's words to Aphrodite in Γ 400-409, or Hera's to Zeus in Δ 26-28, than that the poet is thinking of the judgment of Paris, substantially as we know it from later sources; the frenzy of Hera, sweating up and down throughout the land to muster the Achaeans, suits better with Ω 29 f. than with the idea that she is on the side of the Achaeans merely because she is the patron goddess of Argos (Wilamowitz, *Ilias und Homer*, pp. 287 f.). Rose might better have dismissed the reference as interpolation than offered to the shades of Aristarchus the remarkable interpretation he proposes (*Handbook*, p. 107). See also J. A. Scott, "The Choice of Paris in Homer," *C. J.*, XIV (1919), pp. 326-330.

²⁴ For a careful study of motifs from folk and fairy tale in the *Odyssey*, with references to many interesting parallels, cf. L. Rader-

β 118-120 heroines of olden time, Tyro, Alcmene, and Mycene.
 γ 91 Amphitrite.

δ 85-89 wondrous lambs of Libya; 188 son of Eos (Memnon);
 220-232 Helen's nepenthe and the lore of the Egyptians, who
 are of the race of Paeon; 261 f. Aphrodite and the infatuation
 of Helen; 364-569 Eidothea and Proteus, an episode out of
 folk tale; 563-569 Rhadamanthys and the Elysian Fields, an
 enchanted fairyland; 617 f. a bowl wrought by Hephaestus,
 brought from Sidon.

ε 44-48 magic sandals and wand of Hermes; 57-75 the grotto
 and enchanted gardens of Calypso; 93 ambrosia and nectar;
 118-128 loves of goddesses and mortals, Eos and Orion, Demeter
 and Jason; 136, 209 gift of immortal youth; 185 f. oath of the
 gods by Styx; 272-275 names of the constellations, implying old
 tales; 282, 287 visits of the gods to the Ethiopians; 333-353,
 373, 459-462 episode of Ino-Leucothea and the magic wimple;
 381 Poseidon's palace at Aegae.

ζ 4-10 tales of the Phaeacians and Cyclopes and the founding
 of Scheria; 42-46 Olympus depicted as an enchanted fairyland;
 102-108 Artemis and her nymphs hunt on Taygetus or Eryman-
 thus; 122-124 nymphs of mountain, spring, and meadow; 280 f.
 the notion of union between gods and mortals.

η 36 ships of the Phaeacians, swift as thought; 56-66 tales of
 Phaeacians, gods, and giants, union of Poseidon and Periboea;
 81 abode of Erechtheus in Athens; 86-132 the palace and
 wondrous gardens of Alcinous; 197 f. Fates spin the thread of
 destiny at birth; 199-206 the Phaeacians, like the Cyclopes and
 the Giants, near to the gods, who feast with them; 256 f. promise
 of immortality; 321-326 old tale of Rhadamanthys and Tityus
 and the wondrous speed of the Phaeacian ships.

θ 75-82 oracle given to Agamemnon at Delphi; ²⁵ 223-228 tales

macher, "Die Erzählungen der Odyssee" (*Wiener Sitzungsber.*,
 CLXXVIII, No. 1, 1915). In the main Radermacher is not concerned
 with the incidental references and allusions, but only with the motifs
 which are worked into the poem.

²⁵ This is quite clearly a story based on the motif of the misunder-
 stood prophecy. The oracle of course referred to the fatal quarrel of
 Achilles and Agamemnon, but the latter erroneously understood it of
 the quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus. We are not now concerned
 with the interminable disputation, noticed in the scholia and Eustathius,
 to which the passage has given rise.

of archers of olden time, Heracles, and Eurytus slain by Apollo; 266-366 lay of Ares and Aphrodite, with the motifs of the deceived husband, magic net, spying of Helius, etc.; 448 secret knot of Circe; 556-571 magic ships of the Phaeacians and the old prophecy of Poseidon's wrath.

ι 84-104 fairyland of the Lotuseaters and their magic food; 105-566 adventure with Polyphemus, a folk tale of almost all peoples,²⁶ expanded by the poet, with the familiar motifs of the one-eyed ogre, the wine trick, the Noman trick, the escape with the sheep, the taunts and the stones thrown by Polyphemus; 508-516 old prophecy misunderstood.²⁷

κ 1-79 Aeolus and his floating isle, the bag of winds, sleep and the foolish comrades; 80-132 Laestrygonians, cannibal giants (ogres), midnight sun, clever hero escapes while foolish comrades perish; 135-μ 152 Circe episode, elaborately expanded (e. g., by the Necyia), with enchantress, daughter of the Sun, charmed beasts who fawn upon visitors (212-219), evil potions (236, 290), magic wand (238, 319), the counter-charm or talisman, moly (287-306), prophecy of Odysseus' coming (330-332), attendant nymphs (348-351), magic ointment (392), sojourn of a year (467), all the paraphernalia of folk and fairy tale.²⁸

λ 13-19 dark land of the Cimmerians; 106-109 cattle of Helius; 121-137 land where the folk eat no salt and think an oar is a winnowing shovel; 157 f. barriers that hedge Hades;²⁹ 235-330 tales of heroines of olden time; 235-259 union of Poseidon and Tyro; 260-265 of Zeus and Antiope; 266-268 of Zeus and Alcmene; 269 f. Megara, wife of Heracles; 271-280 Oedipus and Epicaste; 281-286 Neleus and Chloris; 287-297 Pero, Me-

²⁶ Cf. Radermacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff., where references to earlier studies will be found.

²⁷ In this episode, especially 224-229, 492-501, our wise hero of epic is assimilated to the typical figure of folk tale, since otherwise the story could not have been told in this form. Although it is generally true, as Radermacher observes (*op. cit.*, p. 27), that the poet tends to keep the irrational element in *Märchen* to a minimum, he is ready to make exceptions at times rather than spoil a good story.

²⁸ Cf. Radermacher, *op. cit.*, p. 4: "Am echten und treuesten in der Form sind die Züge eines Märchens wohl in der Erzählung von Kirke erhalten geblieben."

²⁹ A favorite *Märchen* motif is the series of barriers, such as rivers, deserts, mountains of glass, which shut off the lands "east of the sun and west of the moon."

lampus, and the cattle of Iphiclus, with the motif of a year's captivity; 298-304 union of Zeus with Leda and the semi-immortality of Castor and Polydeuces; 305-320 union of Poseidon with Iphimedia, mother of the giants Otus and Ephialtes who warred against the gods; 321-325 Phaedra, Procris, Theseus and Ariadne; 326-330 Maera, Clymene, and Eriphyle who betrayed her husband; 492, 508 f. implying the tale of Achilles' disguise before the Trojan war; 547 motif of captive judges awarding the prize of valor; ⁸⁰ 568-626 tales of giants and heroes of olden time, Minos, Orion, Tityus, Tantalus, Sisyphus, Hercules helped by Hermes and Athena; 634 f. the Gorgon's head.

μ 3 f. abode and dancing places of Eos in Aeaea; 39-54, 158-200 Sirens; 59-72 Clashing Rocks; 62-65 doves which bring ambrosia to Zeus; 69-72 Jason and the Argo; 73-100, 118-126, 223-259, 445 f. Scylla; 97 Amphitrite; 101-107, 235-244, 430-444 Charybdis; 127-141, 260-402 cattle of Helius, immortal, tended by nymphs who have their seats and dancing places (318) in the isle Thrinacia, and the catastrophe brought about again (cf. κ 31 ff.) by the sleep of Odysseus and the folly of his comrades.

ν 96, 345 harbor of Phorcys, old man of the sea; 103-112 grotto of the nymphs, with their looms and vessels and two entrances, one for mortals and one for immortals, implying local legends; 159-187 fulfilment of the old prophecy about the Phaeacian ship, suggesting local legends connected with a shiplike rock; 429 f. magic wand of Athena.

ξ 181 f. Arceisius; 292 a year's sojourn.

ο 117 crater wrought by Hephaestus; 225-255 old tales of the house of Melampus, including the cattle of Phylacus and the year's captivity of Melampus, the story of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle, of Eos and Clitus; 455 a year's sojourn.

π 118 Arceisius, father of Laertes; 172, 456 Athena's magic wand; 162 f. terror of the dogs at her unseen presence.⁸¹

ρ 140-146 Proteus and Menelaus; 207 legendary kings of Ithaca, associated with the spring and shrine of the nymphs.

σ 85-87, 116 King Echetus, who seems to be a local ogre;

⁸⁰ This method of deciding the contest suggests the popular tale.

⁸¹ One of the commonest of popular superstitions is the belief that dogs perceive the presence of ghosts or supernatural beings.

193 f. the ambrosia with which Cytherea anoints herself when she joins the dance of the Graces.³²

τ 178 f. Minos the associate of Zeus; 275 f. cattle of Helius; 395-398 Autolycus, the Master Thief, favorite of Hermes; 393-466 visit of Odysseus and the hunting of the boar; 457 f. incantation to stop bleeding; 518-523 tale of the nightingale, daughter of Pandareus, who slew her son Itylus; 562-567 the two gates of dreams.

υ 19 f. the adventure with Polyphemus; 66-78 tale of the daughters of Pandareus, fostered by goddesses, carried off by Harpies; ³³ 351-357 tokens of doom recited by Theoclymenus, blood, darkness and mist, wraiths and phantoms.

φ 22-30 Iphitus and his mares and his slaying by Heracles; 32 the bowmanship of Eurytus; 295-304 Lapiths and Centaurs; 308 f. King Echetus.

ψ 184-206 token of the bed.

ω 12 country of Dreams; 74 f. amphora, wrought by Hephaestus, gift of Dionysus.

This collection, while not exhaustive, is reasonably complete, I believe, in the matter of old legends; it could be considerably expanded were all folk motifs to be noted in detail. Selection is necessarily subjective, and each critic must depend upon his own examination of the text and his own choice of material. There will of course be differences of opinion, both in selection and in interpretation, but I believe that any who will read the poems with particular attention to material of the general types collected will be convinced that a great fund of myth and legend was known to the poet and also to his audiences and that much of this bears the authentic stamp of the primitive popular tale.³⁴

³² The meaning of *κάλλει . . . ἀμβροσίῳ* has been much discussed; it may be taken as "immortal beauty," but *χρῆται* suggests a beauty produced by anointing with ambrosia, as in *Ξ* 170, where certainly we have this motif.

³³ The Harpies, who are stormwinds (cf. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 28), are identical with the *θεῖλλαι* of line 66, but rather more sharply personified here than elsewhere in the *Odyssey* (*α* 241; *ε* 371). In *II* 150 the personification is complete, though complicated by the equine conception of Podarge. Helen's wish in *Z* 345-348, couched in almost the words of Penelope, suggests that she has in mind some such tale as is told here of the daughters of Pandareus, or perhaps a story of children snatched away at birth.

³⁴ "Eine genaue Untersuchung der Motive lässt vielmehr die Ver-

Both poet and hearers know of many strange mythical races, Pygmies and Giants, Cimmerians and Ethiopians, Laestrygonians and Lotuseaters, Phaeacians, Amazons, Centaurs, and Cyclopes.⁵⁵ The two last are close kin to other monstrous beings that lurk in the remoter parts of earth or belong to the distant, legendary past, Sirens, sea monsters, Scylla, Harpies, Gorgon, the Chimaera, the hellhound Cerberus, Briareus, Typhoeus, and the monster slain by Heracles at Troy.

The familiar conceptions of fairyland are found in the references to the Ethiopians and Lotuseaters, the enchanted isles of Circe and Calypso, the floating island of Aeolus, Scheria, the Elysian Fields, and Olympus. There are also marvelous palaces and gardens, like the abodes of Alcinous and Circe, the grotto of Calypso, the brazen castle of Aeolus, the palaces of Poseidon and of Nereus in the depths of the sea, and the dwellings of Zeus and the other Olympians, bright with the gleam of gold and filled with beautiful, sometimes magical, objects wrought by Hephaestus. At the other pole we have the dark and misty realm of Hades and Persephone, the meadow of asphodel, and finally nethermost Tartarus with gates of iron and brazen threshold. Somewhere between are the dark and cheerless lands of the Cimmerians and the country of Dreams.⁵⁶

The limitless stock of popular myth and legend known to the poet, and equally well to his audiences, can scarcely be conceived by the reader who has not given particular attention to the nature of these passing references. Some of them make really an overwhelming impression of broad realms of fantastic story into which the poet allows us the merest glimpse as we

mutung begründet erscheinen, dass hinter dem Epos eine reich blühende und vielseitig gegliederte Erzählliteratur gestanden haben muss, neben Sage und Märchen auch heilige Legende und Novelle bereits entwickelt waren" (Radermacher, *op. cit.*, p. 3).

⁵⁵ The ogre motif is dominant in the episode of Polyphemus and distinct in the account of the Laestrygonians (κ 112-116, 120, 124). In σ 85-87 Echetus resembles certain figures in the legends of Theseus.

⁵⁶ In these elfin lands we find the curious intermingling of fact with fancy that is so common in *Märchen*; for example, hints of polar nights and days (λ 14-19; κ 82-86), the land whose folk eat no salt and have never seen an oar (λ 121-128; ψ 268-275), and the uncertainty about the Phaeacian ships, which now are rowed by amazingly good oarsmen and now seem to go of themselves (θ 555-563).

follow the thread of the action in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.⁸⁷ There is for instance B 814, the hill near Troy which the immortals call "the tomb of agile Myrina"; E 766, with its tantalizing suggestion of other encounters in which Ares had been worsted by Athena;⁸⁸ Z 200-202, implying an unhappy last chapter in the life of Bellerophon; Θ 362-365, suggestive of lost episodes in the tale of Heracles; η 323 f., the visit of Rhadamanthys to Tityus; θ 226-228, the death of Eurytus; ο 250 f., the love of Eos for Clitus; ρ 207, hints of old tales of the spring in Ithaca and kings of olden time; σ 85-87, which suggests there were stories about Echetus, apparently a sort of local ogre. Other allusions are less striking because the tales at which the poet hints are familiar to us in the forms they took in later literature, yet they are equally valuable as evidence of a common stock of myth and folk tale on which the poet could count to make his allusions intelligible to any audience. For example, he refers once only to the Pygmies (Γ 6), to Daedalus (Ξ 592), to the elfin steed Arion (Ψ 346), to Niobe (Ω 602-617), to Jasion, the ill-fated lover of Demeter (ε 125), to the translation of Ino (ε 333-335), to Itylus (τ 522), to the fate of Pandareus' daughters (υ 66-78). Yet each of these references, even though it be limited to a word or two, implies a well known tale or group of tales.

Where there are repeated references to a single story, each is likely to be of this same sort, that is, a mere hint or casual mention which evidently served to recall the entire story to the hearer's mind. For example, the immortal steeds of Achilles are first mentioned at the end of the Catalogue (B 770), merely

⁸⁷ What has been gleaned from later sources in regard to these mythical figures will be found in Roscher's *Lexicon* and in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-M.*, as far as that work has progressed. We have always to consider the possibility, in some cases the certainty, that later writers are inventing stories to explain allusions they no longer understand; thus, in the case of Myrina, we cannot say what, if any, of the marvelous tales found in Diod. Sic., iii, 54 ff., where Dionysius of Mytilene (2d cent. B. C.) is quoted, were known in Homeric times; in Strabo, xii, 8, 6, p. 573, the identification with the Amazons seems to be merely an inference from the epithet.

⁸⁸ Perhaps in connection with the exploits of Heracles; cf. Θ 362-365; [Hes.], *Shield*, 325-344, 443-456; Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 479 f. and, on the association of Heracles with Athena in early art, I, 2215 f.

as the finest horses in the Achæan host; as such they are promised by Hector to Dolon (K 322 f., 330 f.). The first allusion to their supernatural character is the remark of Odysseus to Dolon, later repeated by Apollo to Hector, that they are hard for mortals to manage, save for Achilles, a goddess' son (K 402-404 = P 76-78). We learn their names and pedigree at II 148, where their part in the action begins; their sire was Zephyrus and their dam the harpy Podarge, pasturing in a meadow by the stream of Ocean. When they leap the trench (II 380 f.), and when they bear Automedon to safety (II 866 f.), we are told that they were a gift of the gods to Peleus. At P 426 they refuse to leave the battlefield, and stand mourning for the fallen Patroclus until Zeus, filled with pity, breathes into them goodly might, crying "Why did we give you to Peleus, a mortal, and ye ageless and immortal?" The famous passage in which Xanthus is miraculously endowed with speech and foretells his master's death (T 392-424) contains no allusion to the story of the horses except the words "famed offspring of Podarge." From Ψ 277 f. we learn that Poseidon gave them to Peleus, and it seems likely, in the light of the poet's references to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, to the spear and the arms of Peleus, that they also were a wedding gift. These elfin steeds call to mind other instances of this familiar motif, the mares tended by Apollo for Admetus (B 763-767), the horses given by Zeus as atonement for the rape of Ganymede and the foals bred from them by a trick of Anchises (E 265-273; cf. 640, 651), the wondrous steeds of Erichthonius sired by Boreas (Y 223-229), Arion (Ψ 346 f.), and the comments of the chieftains on the horses of Rhesus (K 546, 551, 556 f.); a related motif is the marvelous horsemanship of the twins Actorion, sons of Poseidon (Ψ 638-642). With immortal steeds may be compared the cattle and sheep of Helius, which are not born and die not (μ 127-131), Orion's dog (X 29), and perhaps the horned lambs of Libya (δ 86), which verge on the supernatural.

Not only is the poet's memory well stored with the *Gemeingut* of popular legend, but he is thoroughly acquainted with the principle cycles relating to the earlier generation of heroes and consistently assumes an acquaintance as thorough on the part of his hearers. His references to the exploits of Heracles, to the legends of Thebes, and to the Argonauts imply the general

outlines of accounts found in later literature, though there are of course divergences in details.³⁹ As regards the earlier episodes in the tale of Troy, he is familiar with the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and with the judgment of Paris, and has apparently an inexhaustible fund of story about the royal house of Troy.⁴⁰

In addition to the famous list of Zeus' loves and the catalogue of heroines in the *Necyia*, allusions to the amours of gods, nymphs, and mortals are scattered through the poems. It is clear that this was a favorite type of story and that many of these legends had spread beyond the localities of origin and become part of the common stock of song, familiar to poets and to audiences everywhere.

The abundance of this material cannot be doubted, and we have seen how many of the motifs bear the stamp of folk and fairy tale.⁴¹ Besides fabulous races and monsters, strange lands and palaces, immortal steeds and cattle, unions of human beings with gods and nymphs, we may note, without any attempt at classification or completeness, that the passages to which I have invited attention contain references or allusions to magic wands, talismans, enchanted ships and marvelous devices, superhuman strength, metamorphosis, invisibility, prodigious strides and shouts, rivalry with gods, magic potions and unguents, the gift of immortality or of eternal youth, servitude of supernatural beings, gifts of gods to mortals, misuse of magic gifts, broken compacts with gods, scales of fate, stock tricks and stratagems of folk tale, one against many, tokens of death, Potiphar's wife, the king's daughter and half of the kingdom, trial of skill for a

³⁹ The more important references are, for Heracles, B 659 f.; E 392-397, 640-651; O 362-369; A 690-693; E 250-256; O 25-30, 630 f.; T 98-124; T 145-148; O 223 f.; A 266-270, 601-626; O 25-30; for Thebes, A 376-398; E 802-808; Z 222 f.; K 285-290; Ψ 679 f.; A 271-280, 326 f.; O 244-247; for Jason and the Argo, H 468 f.; Φ 41; Ψ 747; μ 69-72.

⁴⁰ On the judgment of Paris, cf. *supra* n. 23.

⁴¹ For an excellent brief analysis of typical "folk-tale motifs," see Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, pp. 49-60. Reference may now be made to the exhaustive index of folk motifs compiled by Stith Thompson, which supersedes in completeness all earlier collections: "Motif-Index of Folk-Literature," *Indiana University Studies*, XIX-XXIII (1932-1936); also issued by the Finnish Academy of Sciences as *FF Communications*, Nos. 106-109, 116-117, Helsinki, 1932-1936.

woman's hand, fabulous treasures, talking animals, the Master Thief, secret locks and knots, tricks by means of oaths, asylum to a god, the wish that defeats its purpose, portents and evil signs in the heavens, fates allotted at birth, vessels of good and of evil, misunderstood prophecy, deceived husband, magical snares, dances and hunts of nymphs and goddesses, sleeping hero and foolish companions, enchantresses, a full year's sojourn or captivity, Gorgon's head, tokens of recognition, wraiths and phantoms, the frequent use of the triad.⁴² After full allowance is made for differences of opinion in the interpretation of particular passages, we cannot well doubt that the poet composed against a rich background of ancient myth and folk tale, all so familiar to him and to his hearers that it was simply taken for granted without any conscious act of thought or memory—alluded to, amplified, or tacitly assumed, according to the poet's changing moods and purposes. Its relation to what is explicitly said in the poems is very much that of the complex background of fiction and of history against which the modern novel is composed.

Although the action in both poems tends to be upon the human plane, with only admixture of the fabulous or supernatural,⁴³ a sharp line cannot be drawn between the rational and the fantastic—after all the poet is telling a tale of the heroes of olden time. The material in which we are interested is found mainly in the allusions to old tales or in the fairylands of the *Odyssey*, but it is continually spilling over into the proper action of the poems. The plot of the *Odyssey* and several major episodes come from *Märchen*,⁴⁴ and we are likely to meet a fantastic motif anywhere in either poem. Circe wields a magic

⁴² See the exhaustive collection of triads in J. W. S. Blom's dissertation, *De typische Getallen bij Homeros en Herodotos* (Nijmegen, 1936), pp. 15-43.

⁴³ Cf. my "Télémaque et le plan de l'Odyssée," *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XLVII (1934), pp. 161 f.; "Homer's Gods: Prolegomena," *T. A. P. A.*, LXVIII (1937), pp. 15 f.; Radermacher, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁴⁴ Radermacher, *op. cit.*; cf. E. Bethe, *Homer I, Iliad* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 32. The discussion by W. J. Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey* (Oxford, 1930), though rather subjective and arbitrary, offers an interesting analysis. In recognizing the abundance of folk material in the *Odyssey*, where it stares the reader in the face, critics have usually failed to understand how much of the same material is implied in the scattered allusions and references of the *Iliad*.

wand in Aeaea, where Eos dwells and has her dancing places, but Athena does the same in Ithaca or Poseidon on the battlefield of Troy, and Hermes is seldom without his potent staff. The steeds of Achilles belong to the legend of Peleus and Thetis but we see them on the battlefield, and the horses captured from Aeneas by Diomede were sired by the immortal stallions that Zeus gave to Tros. Diomede wounds Ares as he might any human opponent, yet the god cries out with the voice of ten thousand men and rises into the heavens like a vast, dark cloud. Everywhere the natural and the supernatural are mingled inextricably.

We have now to examine more particularly the traces of old tales about the gods, and the possibility that these old tales determine the conceptions of the gods presented in the Olympian scenes. In the account of Poseidon's union with Tyro (λ 235-259), which represents as we have seen a very common motif, the god lay with the woman where the river Enipeus met the sea, and round about them was set a dark wave, mountain high, which arched over and hid the god and the mortal woman. This watery grotto created by the god for his embraces, miraculously wrought in the fluid element, is precisely the counterpart of the bed of flowers and the golden cloud in the Apatē (Ξ 346-351); in both we have clearly the same motif, probably taken from old popular tales of divine amours, and there seems to be no valid reason for regarding the latter passage as a burlesque upon the holy, mystic marriage of Hera and Zeus.⁴⁵ Again, the central

⁴⁵ The appearance of the *τεπὸς γάμος* in cult is in no way incompatible with the interpretation here proposed, for traditions of cult and of popular tale relating to the same characters or episodes may coexist and may be connected by mutual borrowings. What is important is the lack of valid grounds for the assumption that the union of Hera and Zeus was narrated only in religious poems, in which it was treated with reverence, until the poet of the Apatē seized upon it as a theme for a sacrilegious burlesque, and the consequent conclusion that the Homeric treatment is incompatible with a reverent attitude toward the gods. If popular tales of divine amours were as abundant in the Homeric age as the allusions in the poems suggest, it is scarcely conceivable that they ignored the union of Hera and Zeus, and in Ξ 295 f. we find an allusion to a story of their first stolen embraces which strongly suggests the popular tale. Finsler's theory (*Die olympischen Szenen*, pp. 18 ff.) that Ξ 347-351 are actually taken from an old

theme of the Apate is explicitly recited in the poet's references to the story of Heracles (Ξ 249-261; cf. O 16-33), and when we consider its elemental simplicity, a woman tricking a man by the oldest and most universal of feminine arts, we see clearly that the general atmosphere of the episode and the characterizations of the divine participants derive from ancient popular tradition.

In the Apate Zeus does not actually maul Hera, but frightens her by threatening to do so and by reminding her of what had happened when she used the trick before in her persecution of Heracles. At that time he had hung her up by the hands with anvils fastened to her feet, and in his rage had flung from Olympus the gods who would have rescued her; her confederate Hypnos would have been flung into the sea had he not been saved by Nyx, whom Zeus scrupled to offend. It was perhaps on this occasion, or at any rate on a similar one, that Hephaestus, attempting to defend Hera from her enraged consort, was seized by the foot and hurled from the battlements of heaven (A 590-594). Zeus does not actually use violence toward any of the gods in the Olympian scenes, but he is always threatening to do so and is expected by the other gods to make good his threats at any moment.

This incessant quarreling between Zeus and Hera, which runs through all the Olympian scenes of the *Iliad*, seems to have had an equally large part in the old tales of Heracles so often alluded to in the poem. In the story of Heracles' birth (T 95-133), Hera tricks Zeus by a device which has a strong flavor of *Märchen*, and Zeus satisfies his rage by flinging Ate from Olympus. The story of Hephaestus thrown from Olympus by the will of Hera because of his deformity and given asylum by the sea maidens Thetis and Eurynome, for whom he wrought secretly in their grotto much marvelous jewelry, bears all the earmarks of the popular tale (Σ 395-405).

sacred poem of cult breaks down when the episode is studied in its entirety; the lines are at one with the extravagant description of Hera's boudoir and her toilet (Ξ 166-186), all of which suggests folk material intended to create the atmosphere of unearthly magnificence appropriate for divine embraces. Whatever may be the date of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, the treatment of this identical motif in 58-74 seems to rest on the same immemorial tradition of popular tale.

In fact the dominant motif of the Olympian scenes throughout both poems is the quarreling, the division and conflict, among the gods, which closely parallels the strife and conflict between the human characters. During the course of the *Menis*, it is the quarrel of Hera with Zeus, which we are never allowed to forget; the poet cannot repeat continually such tense episodes as the close of the *Apate*, the open breach in *A*, or the fruitless sortie of the goddesses in *Θ*, but the motif is felt in all the scenes in which Zeus nags maliciously at Hera or reproaches her for her bitterness toward the Trojans. In the brief scene *Σ* 356-367, to which one Zenodorus,⁴⁶ otherwise unknown, owes his little measure of immortality, we have perhaps the transition to the form in which the motif appears after the reconciliation of Achilles and Agamemnon; from this point on it is not so much the anger of Hera against Zeus as strife between the gods who favor Troy and those who are friendly to the Achæans, beginning with the *Theomachy* and ending with the quarrel over Achilles' treatment of Hector's body. In the *Odyssey* the Olympian scenes are fewer and generally shorter, perhaps because the theme of the poem makes it less appropriate to parallel the human action by divine. Yet in three of the scenes the motif is the anger of Poseidon and the conflict between his wishes and Athena's, and in a fourth the wrath of Helios is appeased only by prompt compliance with his ultimatum;⁴⁷ in the final scene,

⁴⁶ Wilamowitz (*Die Ilias und Homer*, p. 170) speaks appreciatively of the ancient critic, but points out that he should have gone a bit farther and expunged also 168, 181-186; in justice to Zenodorus, however, it must be remembered that he may have done so earlier in his commentary and should at least be given the benefit of the doubt. If we may judge by what is said in the scholia, the ten books of Zenodorus, had they been preserved, would have reduced much of the modern higher criticism to the status of mere repetition. The lines in question are an integral part of the tradition, and I have yet to hear any objective reason for rejecting them; the arguments of the higher critics, who are of course practically unanimous in condemnation (cf. "Nausicaa et Aristarque," *Rev. Ét. Hom.*, IV [1934], p. 11, n. 2), are not impressive to one who is really familiar with the Olympian scenes.

⁴⁷ This passage again (cf. *supra* n. 46) is rejected by most critics and seems to have been condemned by Aristarchus (cf. sch. to I 277). The most tangible objection to its authenticity, that it is a heterogeneous element in the tale of wanderings, is most cogently presented by Ove

between Zeus and Athena, we have, as Zeus observes, only the completion of the plan proposed by Athena in the earlier scenes. It is no exaggeration to say that in both poems the Olympian episodes are constructed almost wholly around this single, dominant motif, and if the quarrels, conflicts, and threats of the gods against one another should be taken out, nothing would remain. We have seen that the motif is at least as old as the tales of Heracles so often referred to in the poems. There are indications that it was as old as the earliest legends about the gods, for we have the unpleasantness engendered by the amours of Eos and Demeter with mortal men, the legend of Typhoeus, the conflicts of Zeus with Cronus and the Titans and with the giants, Otus and Ephialtes. Against this background, Thetis' story of the revolt against Zeus and Hera's reference to marital quarrels of Oceanus and Tethys, which taken by themselves might seem to be the poet's own invention, appear to be reminiscences of ancient legends.

The story of Ares and Aphrodite differs from other Olympian scenes in being incidental to the action. Both the general theme and the detail—deceived husband, spying friend, magic snare, discomfiture of the guilty pair—mark it as one of the most ancient and universal of popular tales, in which, depending on

Jørgensen, "Das Auftreten der Götter in den Büchern ϵ - μ der Odyssee," *Hermes*, XXXIX (1904), p. 378. On the other hand Rothe presents reasonable and, in my opinion, sufficient grounds for its acceptance (*Die Odyssee als Dichtung*, Paderborn [1914], pp. 103 ff.). I can see no reason for rejecting it, unless we are prepared to maintain that a poet is committed to invariable homogeneity. Furthermore, I am indebted to my former pupil, Dr. F. M. Combellack, of the University of Oregon, for the significant observation that the text which results from excision of the suspected lines exhibits a clear violation of established Homeric usage in transition from direct speech to narrative; the matter will be treated more fully in a study on which Dr. Combellack is now engaged. It must be remembered also that we are dealing with *Mêrohen* (cf. Radermacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff.) and that the two principal motifs in the suspected passage, Lampetia's message and the threat of Helius, seem to be eminently in place in an episode of this nature. I hesitate to refer to the desirability of making clear at this point what is not clear from the words of Circe (μ 137-141) or of Tiresias (λ 110-115), that the storm, though sent by Zeus, is a direct punishment for the offense against Helius; to the higher critic this will be the surest sign that the passage is interpolated.

the artist's mood and purpose, the actors may be human beings or equally well, following the tradition of naïve anthropomorphism, gods. It seems to be a clear instance of the invasion of divine mythology by the popular tale. The passage is commonly regarded as "late" and satiric in intent.⁴⁸ For this view there is no real evidence; it rests on a preconception which is arbitrary and demonstrably unlikely. Against it are the clear marks of the popular tale, the tone of naïve anthropomorphism, and the ingenuous mingling in the closing lines of the reverent with the ridiculous.⁴⁹

The quarrels and conflicts of the Olympian scenes commonly have their origin in affronts or injuries received by gods from mortals; the anger of Hera and Athena has its source in the judgment of Paris,⁵⁰ and Poseidon is their ally because of his ill treatment by Laomedon (Φ 441-457); Poseidon's irritation at the Achaean wall, his anger against Odysseus and against the Phaeacians, and the wrath of Helios are similarly motivated. In the general form of an insult or injury to a supernatural power this is among the commonest of folk motifs. One of its types is the contest to which a mortal provokes a god, as for example B 594-600, Thamyras and the Muses; I 559 f., Idas and Apollo; θ 226-228, Eurytus and Apollo; here might be put the presumptuous words of Niobe to Leto (Ω 607 f.). Another common motif is the servitude of a supernatural being to a mortal, which appears several times in the poet's allusions to old tales, as for example, B 766, Apollo's servitude to Admetus; H 452 f., Φ 441-457, the year's service of Apollo and Poseidon to Laomedon; somewhat similar is the temporary subjugation of a supernatural being by stratagem, as in the story of Menelaus and Proteus.

In our collection of material are also instances of gods fostering mortals and immortals, of gods seeking asylum when attacked or pursued by enemies, of the wounding of gods by mortals, of gifts given by gods to mortals, of the help and companionship constantly vouchsafed by gods to favored human

⁴⁸ However, cf. Drerup, *Homerproblem*, p. 421, and especially P. Friedländer, "Lachende Götter," *Antike*, X (1934), pp. 209-226.

⁴⁹ Cf. "Higher Criticism on Olympus," pp. 271 f.; "Homer's Gods: Prolegomena," pp. 11 ff.

⁵⁰ *Supra* n. 23.

beings. In fact the divine apparatus of the poems, by which the gods are introduced as actors, seems in general to derive from the *Märchen* element in ancient myth; as divine mythology developed, it took over from folk tale the supernatural motifs which are among its most distinctive features and utilized them in the specific form of divine intervention by anthropomorphic gods.⁵¹ A thorough search would probably reveal other common motifs of popular tale in the Homeric portrayal of the gods. For our purpose, however, the quest need not be pursued further; enough has been given to show that the Olympian scenes are in large part an adaptation of familiar motifs and situations to the poet's themes, and the divine participants not so much his own free invention as traditional figures, gods of ancient myth and folk tale.

It would be hard to find a better illustration of the way in which the concepts of folk tale influence Homer's characterizations of the gods than the figure of Hermes,⁵² who is at once the patron and protector of the Master Thief—in this instance Autolycus—and himself the Master Thief. When he cleverly steals Ares out of the brazen vessel, the feat seems to be part of an ancient tale; when the gods beg him to steal away the body of Hector, the poet is perhaps inventing, but inventing in consonance with the characterization of the god familiar from immemorial tradition.

When the poet is thinking of gods in general, as superior powers and not as *dramatis personae* of some ancient story, he is under no limitations save those of his own spirit and imagination; he may think of them and speak of them as the supreme, majestic rulers of the cosmos; he may make them guardians and defenders of the noblest ideals to which the thought of human beings has risen in his day. Nor is this conception necessarily vague or shadowy, or restricted to collective notions of the gods; he may imagine any single one of the gods against a general

⁵¹ On the general problem, cf. W. Wundt, "Märchen, Sage und Legende als Entwicklungsformen des Mythos," *Arch. Rel.-Wiss.*, XI (1908), pp. 200-222, especially p. 212. For an excellent discussion of the relation of divine to heroic mythology and of both to folk tale, cf. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, pp. 38-75, 172-179. Drerup gives a thoroughgoing review of earlier work in *Homerproblem*, Chap. VI.

⁵² Cf. H. J. Rose, *Primitive Culture in Greece* (London, 1925), p. 159.

background of divine grandeur and may depict him as acting on this plane. Apollo as the author of sudden death, or descending in awful majesty to smite the Achaeans, wiping out with ineffable might the trench and wall thousands of mortals had toiled to make, blasting with a touch, almost with a gesture,⁵³ the mightiest of warriors, represents a majestic conception of the gods; in these appearances he is august and terrible. He is not so impressive when he takes part in an Olympian squabble and is the target of Hera's abuse, or in the Theomachy when he evades Poseidon's challenge, or even when he tricks Achilles by fleeing before him in the form of Agenor;⁵⁴ when he is brought into a merry tale of adultery on Olympus to jest with Hermes at the plight of the culprit pair, little is left of his majesty. So Ares, when the poet thinks of him as the embodiment of war, is clothed in terrible grandeur, but he is rather a figure of fun in the Olympian scenes, caught in Hephaestus' net, tumbled with Aphrodite upon the ground by the stout hand of Athena, shut in a brazen pot by the Aloidae, or wounded and sent screaming with pain from the battlefield by Diomedes.⁵⁵ The Helios by whom the heroes swear their solemn oaths is a mighty divinity who sees all and hears all, but in the tale of Ares and Aphrodite he is the husband's spying friend and in the old *Märchen* about his cattle he has to be told of the injury that has been done him and then has to beg Zeus to punish the offenders. The general principle will bear repetition. When the poet is thinking and speaking of the gods as superior beings, supreme rulers of the cosmos, he is free to endow them with whatever attributes of grandeur, nobility and power he

⁵³ One is reminded of the death of Hunding in *Die Walküre*, where the portrayal of divine omnipotence and human helplessness attains perfection—with the aid of music. When Homer leaves the actual slaying of Patroclus to human agency, he is following his usual practice of keeping the supernatural within certain rational limits; cf. "Télémaque," pp. 161 f.; "Homer's Gods: Prolegomena," pp. 15 f. I hope to treat this subject more fully in a future study.

⁵⁴ The episode cannot be classed as an Olympian scene, but is closely connected with the scene which has preceded (cf. § 515-519) and that which follows (X 166-213), and there is a flavor of *Märchen* about Apollo's trick, his taunts, and Achilles' reply.

⁵⁵ This episode again (cf. n. 54) is closely connected with Olympian scenes and in the same tone.

likes; he is dealing with a general concept which is progressively developed step by step with the thought, feeling, and imagination of humanity; nothing constrains him except the limitations of his own spirit. But when he wishes to introduce the old, naïve tales of primitive myth and folk lore, or to allude to familiar episodes in these tales, or perhaps to model new tales or episodes upon this ancient type, he is no longer free; his gods must be the authentic figures of *Märchen* and myth.⁵⁶ If he wishes to tell the stories in which Zeus is portrayed as boasting and bragging, making love to mortal women and goddesses, mauling other gods and flinging them out of Olympus, cringing under the sharp lash of Hera's tongue, or hanging her up by the hands and thrashing her, or threatening to do so, his Zeus will have to be this brutal, blustering, grotesque, pathetic creation of the semi-savage imagination. So also in the case of his human characters; he cannot tell the tale of the one-eyed ogre about Odysseus without substituting for his stately human hero an absurd figure of folk tale.⁵⁷

As an explanation of the poet's vacillation in his portrayal of the gods between the ridiculous and the sublime, this hypothesis has certain advantages. It does not require us to assume that an artist capable of composing the *Iliad* was incapable of seeing the gods in more than one aspect, or to postulate as many poets as there are differences in the conceptions of divinity. It frees us from the necessity of overworking the diaskeuast, the interpolator, the *Bearbeiter*, and the *Flickpoet* in order to account for diverse points of view in the text which actually is before us. To me it seems clear, simple, and adequate, and it does violence neither to the text nor to what we know of human nature and the artistic temperament. The general principle was observed

⁵⁶ This is recognized by Andrew Lang, *The World of Homer* (New York, 1910), pp. 120-122, and by Erik Hedén, *Homerische Götterstudien* (Upsala, 1912), pp. 43 f.

⁵⁷ Though this material may have been, as Nilsson thinks ("Der homerische Dichter in der homerischen Welt," *Antike*, XIV [1938], p. 31), outmoded, it was evidently too popular with audiences to be discarded because of inconsistencies which only conscious criticism discerns (cf. "Homer's Gods: Prolegomena," pp. 18 ff.). However, in view of the long survival of equally primitive material in cult, we may doubt whether it was in any real sense outmoded or old fashioned.

by at least one ancient critic, who said *ὅταν εἰς τὴν ἀξίαν ἀτενίσῃ τῶν θεῶν, τότε φησὶν αὐτοὺς μὴ κινεῖσθαι περὶ θνητῶν, ὥς οὐδὲ ἂν ἡμεῖς περὶ μυρμηγκῶν· ὅταν δὲ ἐπιλογίσσῃται τὴν ποιητικὴν, ἔπεται τοῖς μύθοις καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐκτραγῶδει, συμμαχίας καὶ θεομαχίας παράγων.*⁵⁸

When Drerup asks whether Homer believed in the gods he portrayed so ironically or grotesquely, he is, I believe, unwittingly allowing an intrusion of modern feeling. The question would not have occurred to the poet or to any of his hearers. Our poet thought of gods as supreme powers, majestic in their sublimity, and he thought of gods as figures in ancient story, actors in many a ridiculous or revolting episode conceived in the semi-savage imagination of a remote past. At times the one conception would be uppermost, at times the other, but potentially both were always present in his mind. Both were equally familiar, and he was never troubled by their inconsistency, of which he was unaware. Skepticism lay in the future; the men who would become aware of the inconsistency and be troubled by it and dispute about it and eventually use it as a guide for dissection were still to be born. So, if it pleased the poet to tell a story about the gods that was funny and perhaps indecent, why should not he and his hearers enjoy it to the full?

GEORGE M. CALHOUN.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

⁵⁸ Sch. ABT to Θ 429; cf. sch. T to Ω 526, both quoted by Adolf Roemer, *Homerische Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 149 f. When the ancient critic says *ἔπεται τοῖς μύθοις*, he is thinking primarily of the stories from which the poet takes his plots and of the limitations to which the gods are subjected as *dramatis personae* (cf. "Homer's Gods: Prolegomena," pp. 19 ff.). His fundamental distinction, however, between gods of story and gods of general concept, is that with which we are concerned.

SOME ADDENDA TO LIDDELL AND SCOTT.

Perusal of H. Stuart Jones' preface to the new Greek lexicon of Liddell and Scott helps one realize what a great amount of labor in the making and excerpting of texts, new and old, still remains to be done before we shall have a complete list of the words, forms, and meanings citable in Greek writings even down to the time of Justinian. Meanwhile such small and random contributions as the following may not be unwelcome.

What I have to add comes in large part from a hitherto unknown version of the *Life of Aesop* which I am preparing to edit, and which is cited below by reference to the leaves of the unique manuscript containing it (G = MS 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, of the late 10th century). This is a popular text which goes back in essentially its present form to the second or possibly the first century after Christ, although it was evidently based in part upon an older written tradition; see my *Studies*,¹ pp. 24 ff. It contains, along with a noteworthy residuum of old Attic, especially comic idiom, a great many vulgarisms, nearly all of which have at least type-parallels in the papyri and vulgar literature of the first four centuries of the Christian era. There is probably nothing in it that is demonstrably Byzantine in origin. The archetype of the version referred to below as *W* is probably not older than the 11th century; but it is only a revised and abbreviated edition of an ancient version similar to G.² *W* is cited by page and line of Westermann's edition, even for words that do not stand in his text.³ The oldest version of the folkbook known as the *Physiologus* (*Phys.*) is cited by the chapters in F. Sbordone's recent edition.⁴ It is also contained in G, which Sbordone did not use. This once widely current book is not listed by Liddell and Scott,

¹ *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (American Philological Association, Monograph VII, Haverford, Pa., 1936).

² Cf. *Studies*, pp. 27 ff.

³ *Vita Aesopi*, etc. ed. A. Westermann, Brunsvigae, 1845 (Londini apud Williams et Norgate). Westermann's edition depends almost entirely on one MS which often gives no clue to the oldest reading; see *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assn.*, LXIV, pp. 203 f., 211 ff., 219 ff.

⁴ Cf. *A. J. P.*, LVIII, pp. 488 ff.

although its archetype is demonstrably older than 400 A. D. and in all probability dates back to the second century after Christ. Finally, I must explain that the two or three citations of Georgides' *Gnomologion* (10th or early 11th century) are from the manuscripts themselves, instead of from Boissonade's *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. I, which is inaccessible to me at present; the numbers given refer to the *sententiae* in the order in which they occur in the anthology.⁵

I

Words not listed

ἀδικοιολόγητος, *taking no heed of justice*, Georgides, 11.

ἀκακούργος, *innocent*, *Phys.*, 28^{bis}.

ἀκηδῶδης, *stale, stuffy, in need of exercise*, G 50^r; cf. *Studies*, p. 11.

ἀκουμβέω = Lat. *accumbo*, G 38^r: ἀκουμβήσωμεν.

ἀκρόλευκος, *very white*, G 55^r: γραμματηφόρος ἐν χλαμῶδι ἀκρολεύκω. *W* has χ. διαλεύκω.

ἀλιπέπερι, *seasoning of salt and pepper*, G 41^v: ἀλιπεπέρεως. In *W* 27. 27 all manuscripts have ἀλοπεπέρεως.

ἀμυκτηρίστως, *without flinching*, G 53^v: ὁ δὲ Αἰσωπος ἀκούων (i. e. the jibes of the Samians) ἀμ. ἡσυχίαν ἑαυτῷ κτησάμενος ἤρξατο λέγειν.

ἀναυράζω, *boil* (intrans.), Palladius in Pseudo-Kallisthenes, III, 7 (ed. Müller).

ἀνθόλοψ, *a wild antelope resembling the oryx*, Ps.-Eustathius, *Comment. in Hexaëmeron* (Migne, *P. G.*, XVIII, 740C). This word originated in the Greek *Physiologus* and passed thence into many Latin translations of the same, where it is variously spelled *autalops*, *antula*, etc., (O. Fr. *antelop*).⁶ In most Greek manuscripts of the *Phys.*, however, it was supplanted by ὄδρωψ (see list II).

ἀντιμειδιάω, *smile back at* (in flirtation), G 34^v.

ἀποχλωρίαινω, *turn pale suddenly*, G 38^v (-αίνει).

ἀποχλωρίαινω, = the foregoing, G 42^v (-αῖ).

⁵ I expect to keep these numbers in a future edition of the text; Boissonade's text depends upon an incomplete manuscript (Par. 1166).

⁶ Further details concerning the history of this word will appear in my forthcoming article "Physiologus," in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *E. H.*

ἀρραβωνέομαι, *pledge for oneself* (i. e. to marriage), W 19. 26: ἀρραβωνήσομαι αὐτόν.

ἀρτοδοτέω, *give out loaves of bread*, G 29^r.

ἀσκοκῆλη, *a tumor as large as or resembling a wineskin* (?), W 11. 9. The word is applied to Aesop as a deformed man.

Variants: -κύλη, -κοίλη, -κύλης, etc.

In another passage (G 53^v) Aesop is metaphorically described as στάμνος κήλην ἔχων. In the eighth edition ἀσκοκῆλης, *having a bad rupture*, is cited from the *Glossaria* of H. Stephanus.

ἀσπιδοχελώνη, *shield-turtle* or *asp-turtle* (?): a fabulous sea monster mentioned in *Phys.*, 17, Ps.-Eust., *Hex.* (Migne, *P. G.*, XVIII, 725A), and Basil, *De Contubernalibus*, 9 (Migne, *P. G.*, XXX, 824C) and later identified with the whale in mediaeval bestiaries. For a full discussion of the probable meaning of the word see A. S. Cook, *The Old English Elene, Phoenix, and Physiologus* (New Haven, 1919), pp. lxxxi ff. Cook decides in favor of the meaning *asp-turtle*, i. e., a kind of sea serpent, and so Sophocles in his *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*.

ἄτλαστος = ἄτλατος, G 28^v.

αὐτοβούλως, W 42. 28.

ἀφιλοπόνητος, *not fond of work*, G 41^v.

ἀφορμία, *a deterrent*, G 27^v: ὅτι κατὰ παιδίων προνικῶν ἐτοίμην ἀφορμίαν (i. e. Aesop as a bogey) ἡγόρακας.

βρωματέω (?), G 35^v: ἐβρωμάτησεν αὐτήν (sc. τὴν κύνα). Since η and ι are often confused in this manuscript, the original reading may have been -τισεν. The latter verb is cited once in the new edition from Aquila, a commentator on the Old Testament.

γλωσσόζωμος, *tongue-soup*, G 42^r.

δακτυλίσσιος — δακτύλιος, G 48^r.

δάνδηξ, *a kind of large dog*, Ps.-Kall., II, 33 (cod. B, ed. Müller): ἦσαν δὲ ὡς κύνες μεγάλοι, οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν (the Macedonians) καλούμενοι δάνδηκες.

δερματοκόπτης, gloss on σκυτεύς in margin of G 86^v in text of the fables.

διαποπύζω, *murmur back and forth*, W 40. 13: οἱ ὄχλοι διεποπύζον εἰς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες, κτλ.

διαφορτώω, *divide a burden*, G 28^r: γούργαθον . . . ὃν ἐβούλοντο τέσσαρες διαφορτώσασθαι.

δικόρωνον, *the favorable omen of two crows*, G 50^r and W 35. 33. Crows were proverbially faithful lovers and rarely seen alone; cf. Aelian, *Hist. An.*, III, 9, *Phys.*, 27, and D'Arcy Thompson's *Glossary of Greek Birds*. To see one crow only is therefore a bad omen, and this is called μονοκόρωνον by the author of the Aesop biography (*ibid.*, not in L. & S.).

δουλοκόπης, *one who consorts with slaves* (sexual sense), G 40^v: μὴ προσίθι μοι, δουλοκόπα, μᾶλλον δὲ κυνοκοῖτα (words of Xanthus' wife, who thinks that her husband is siding with Aesop and the dog against herself). It is possible that δ. is an error for δουλοκοῖτα. At one time I thought of δειλο- or δελοκόπης (cf. δειλοκοπέω), *cheater*, but that word is elsewhere unattested.

δυσπλοέω, *fare badly*, contrasted with εὐπαθέω, Georgides, 35. ἐδράστερος (or ἐδραστηρός?), *sure-footed*, in the figurative sense of being able to meet any situation, G 50^v: ἐπεὶ οὕτως εἰ ἐδράστερος (sic) καὶ συνετός. Cf. ἐδράζω, ἐδραστικός.

ἐμπιπλάω and ἐμπιμπλάω, = ἐμπίμπλημι, *Phys.*, 30.

ἐναναπαύομαι, *rest in*, Palladius in Ps.-Kall., III, 12: οὐδὲ ἐνανεπαύσατο ταῖς ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ἀμεριμνίαις.

ἐπαφορμίζομαι, *set sail again*, in the figurative sense of begin again (? cf. ἀφορμίζομαι), W 29. 30: Xanthus had already scored one count against Aesop by causing the dinner guest, whom Aesop had invited, to make an unnecessary remark; he now tries to provoke the guest into making another such remark, and his renewed effort is introduced by the word ὁ δὲ Ξάνθος ἐπαφορμίζόμενος ἔφη.

ἐτοιμολογία, *readiness of speech*, G 54^r and W 9.20 (ἐτυμ- f. l. in West.).

εὐεπινοήτως, *cleverly, ingeniously*, G 34^r.

εὐήλικος, — εὐήλιξ, G 34^v: εὐήλικον (acc. masc.).

εὐπέπτως, *with good relish*, i. e. ready to digest, G 22^v: εὐπέπτως ἔχων πρὸς τὰ σῦκα. Cf. *Studies*, Plate III.

εὔροϊκος, *ringing true*, Ps.-Kall., II, 41 (cod. C, ed. Müller): ὅλος ἦν χροσὸς εὔροϊκος.

εὐρυχώρως, *with plenty of room*, G 46^v.

εὐσχημόνως, *gracefully*, G 51^v.

ιοῦχος, *poisonous*; see Elinor Husselman in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assn.*, LXVI, p. 125. The word occurs in a fable of Babrius recently recovered in codex G: Ἰκτίνος ιοῦχόν ποθ' ἀρπάσας ὄφιν.

κακινκάκως, miserably, G 29^r: καὶ κ. ἤλθόν εἰς πανδοκεῖον (said of heavily burdened slaves travelling on the highway). The origin of this adverb, which occurs in a number of Byzantine texts without any verb of motion, has not been very well understood. Sophocles in his *Lexicon* cites the misleading analogy of the classical phrase κακῇ (or κακῶς) κακῶς. E. Kurtz (*Byz. Zeit.*, III, pp. 152 ff.) is nearer the truth in explaining κακιν- (= κακῇν) as an adverb on the analogy of τὴν ταχίστην, τηράλλως, μακράν, etc.; but he thought that no particular substantive was to be understood, and that the expression was infelicitous as involving a tautology. It remained for Krumbacher to point out (in an editorial note to Kurtz' article, p. 154) that this adverb must have originated in some such ellipsis as κακῇν (ὁδὸν ὁδεύσας) κακῶς ἀπώλετο, adding that in Modern Greek the double adverb κακῇν κακῶς is often used with verbs of motion, e. g. κακῇν κακῶς θὰ πάει. The context in which κακινκάκως is found in G bears this out: "they travelled a miserable road miserably."

καλλίοφος, good looking, G 30^r: οὐά, οὔτοι καλύοφου (sic).

καλόδουλος, good to one's slaves, G 31^v and W 17. 20.

κατορκῶ, bind with an oath, G 66^r: κατορκώσας αὐτὸν κατὰ τοῦ Διός.

καυμάτινος, characterized by, or belonging to heat, G 32^v: καυμάτινης δὲ ὥρας ὑπαρχούσης.

κινιτιάω, = *βιγητιάω*, G 35^r: σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς κινιτιάῃν (said of a woman). The right spelling is probably *κινητιάω*. In the eighth edition this word was cited once from "Plato Com. Φα. 2. 21" (= Athenaeus, X, 441E), but Kaibel reads *βιγητιάῃν* without mention of a variant. β and κ look slightly alike in some minuscule hands, but there is no mistaking the κ in G, whatever its origin.

κορικωρόνη, on the analogy of *χελιχελώνη*, is plausibly restored by L. Deubner (*Hermes*, XLVIII, p. 303) in the variously corrupted *Hochzeitsspruch* reported by Horapollo, I, 8 and the scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.*, 3, 32.

κραστιφόρος, grass-bearing, Palladius in Ps.-Kall., III, 13 (Müller): ἡ κρ. Σκυθία.

κυνοκοίτης, one who lies with a dog, G 40^v. See above under *δουλοκότης*.

κῶλος, — Latin *culus*, Hierocles, *Facetiae*, 235 (Eberhard, p. 63), W 36. 18 & 33.

λαγυνίσκος, dim. of λάγνος, G 53^v.

λακμηνάριον, a kind of low shoe or slipper (?), G 30^r: λακμηνάριον αὐτὸν ὑποζώσας. The article in question is contrasted with a βαθὺν (*sic*) ὑπόδημα, which would help cover up the shin.

λεπτόκλωνος, with fine branches, *Phys.*, 36 and *Ps.-Eust.*, *Hex.* (Migne, *P. G.*, XVIII, 740C).

λογομυθοποιός, composer of λόγοι and μῦθοι, epithet of Aesop in *W*; see *Studies*, pp. 194 f.

μάνδιξ, δ, = Latin *mantica*, G 23^v, 24^r, 24^v.

μάνδραξ, stable boy (?), a term of abuse in G 47^v; cf. μάνδρα.

μάππα, = Latin *mappa*, G 37^r.

μεσάιλιον, see list II under μεσαύλιον.

μονοκόρωνον, G 50^r and *W* 35. 33; see under δικόρωνον above.

μυριάριθμος, *Ps.-Kall.*, I, 19 (*cod. C.*, Müller).

νωδός, speechless, unable to talk, (νῆτ αὐδ-), G 22^r, 25^r, 25^v, 45^r. The various contexts leave no doubt about the meaning of this word; it is applied to Aesop who at first could not utter a word, but who had very good teeth (G 28^v, *W* 13. 13).

δλονυκτί, all night long, *W* 28. 14.

δοσπριοφάγος, vegetarian, *Ps.-Eust.*, *Hex.* (Migne, *P. G.*, XVIII, 745A).

παραβιβρώσκω, nibble off, G 39^v: παραβέβρωται.

παραπόνησις, perversity, *W* 55. 24: γνούς δὲ Ζεὺς τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ τὴν π. τοῦ κανθάρου (in relentlessly bothering the eagle).

παρακάτερος, on each side, G 31^r: οἱ παρακάτεροι παῖδες.

παρέμβροχος, somewhat intoxicated, G 47^r.

πασανάρχης, head steward of a household, G 27^v: καὶ ποιήσει (*sc.* αὐτὸν) πᾶσανἀρχὴν (*sic*) ἢ θυρωρὸν ἢ μάγειρον.

Πάσης, the proverbial rich man (cf. πάσμαι). *Diogenian*, VIII, 40: τὸ Πάσητος ἡμωβόλιον, the rich man's penny that always comes back to him. Cf. O. Crusius, *Verhand. der 40. Versammlung deut. Philol. u. Schulmänner zu Götting*, p. 40.

πατερίων, endearing diminutive of πατήρ, *P. Oxy.*, 2083 recto, l. 7 (see *Studies*, pp. 46 f. and Plate I). In the corresponding text of G the word occurs three times. Cf. συνδουλίων below.

περιαύλιον, see below under μεσαύλιον.

πηγματιστής, δ, a kind of dove mentioned in *Phys.*, 35. Etymology suggests the meaning nest builder, but the context is of little help.

πολυνήσαμος, seasoned with much sesame, *W* 30. 1 (πλακοῦς π.).

πρατείον, = *πρατήριον*, W 14. 16 and 19.

πρίβατον, = Latin *privatum*, *privy*, W 23. 17.

πριμιπιλάριος, = Latin *primipilarius*. G 53^v: *πιθήκων πριμηπη-
λάριος* (*sic*), *captain of the apes*.

προαρραβωνίζω, *pledge to marriage beforehand*, G 33^v: *προαρρα-
βονίζω* (*sic*) *αὐτὸν ἐμαντῇ*.

προσαναβλύζω, *rise to the surface spontaneously*, W p. 9 (not
in West.): *τὰ σῦκα χολοποῦά ὄντα προσανέβλυσαν καὶ αὐτομάτως
ἀνέδραμον*. See *Studies*, p. 43.

προσβάσκανον, *scare crow, charm against evil influences*, G 28^r:
πρ. τοῦ σωματεμπορίου.

ρίζοκάλαμος, G 26^v and W 11. 7, seems to mean some kind of
bulb or a root vegetable like a carrot or an onion: *οὗτος ῥ. ἐστίν
ἢ ἄνθρωπος*; according to this biography Aesop was pot-bellied
and weasel-armed, and is elsewhere likened to a cauldron with
feet, a wineskin, a bottle, a goose egg, etc.

σαπρόμορφος, *deformed in appearance*, G 62^v. Cf. *σαπρία* in
list II.

σημάντια, *tá, gossip* (?), G 32^v: *οὕτως γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὰ σ.* This
should mean "such are the reports about me"; *παρ'* is probably
an error for *περί*.

σκοτόταφος, *hidden trench* (?), Ps.-Kall., III, 33 (*cod. B*, ed.
Müller): *καὶ ἐκέλευσα παρεμβολὴν γενέσθαι καὶ τάφρους καὶ σκοτο-
τάφρους περιτεθῆναι, ἵνα ἀβλαβῶς τὰ στρατόπεδα διαμείνῃ*.

σόρδος, = Latin *surdus*, G 22^r. The text reads *σηνόςσορδος*,
but this, as the context and the remainder of the tradition show,
must be a corruption of *σιμός, σόρδος*.

στολάριον, *dim. of στολή*, G 29^v.

στομαχώδης, *prone to anger*, G 32^v (*στομαχόδη*).

σύγχυλος, *of the right mixture or seasoning to promote di-
gestion* (?), W 29. 32: *οὔτε γὰρ ἀρώματα οὔτε ἐλαιον οὔθ' ὁ ζωμὸς
σύγχυλος*.

συνδουλίων, *dim. of σύνδουλος*, G 27^v: *χαίρετε, συνδουλίονες*. Cf.
πατερίων.

σωματεμπορίον, *a slave-dealer's headquarters*, G 27^r, 27^v.

σωματομξία, *sexual intercourse*, Palladius in Ps.-Kall., III, 12
(Müller).

τάβλωσις, = Latin *tabula*, a *panel* or *list*, but by metonymy
the horses and riders listed for a race, in Ps.-Kall., I, 19 (*codd.*

B. and C in Müller's edition): ἐξῆλθον αἱ ταβλώσεις τῶν ἵππων, ἀνοίγησαν οἱ ἀφετῆρες τῶν καγκέλλων, προεπήδησαν πάντες, κτλ.

ταφιάζω, *cover up*, Ps.-Kall., III, 6 (*cod.* B, Müller): τοῦτο τὸ χώρημα . . . ἐστὶν ἡμῖν καὶ τάφος· ὅδε γὰρ ἀναπανόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ταφιάζοντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ὕπνον.

τοιουτόμορφος, *of such shape*, G 26^v: τὸ εὐτάμορφον (*sic*) ἀπόμαγμα.

II

New citations of rare words.⁷ New meanings or new uses.

New forms. Corrections

ἄγειν, = Latin *agere, do*, G 26^v; cf. *Studies*, p. 17.

ᾄδω, *chatter, talk idly*, Aristophanes *fr.* 124b (Hall and Gellert): "They used to sing τὰς δίκας. Yes, by Zeus, they did; and I'll give you proof. Even now, whenever anyone pleads a case badly, the older men present in court exclaim 'ᾄδεις.'" This meaning is probably more common than one would infer from the single citation from Philo in L. & S. ("ᾄδεται λόγος, *the story runs*, Ph. 1. 189").

ἀλαζών, ἀλαζονότερος, G 35^r.

ἀλμίζω, *season with salt*, W 24. 10. The right reading (ΜΟΛ) is μαδίσας τε καὶ ἀλμίσας, but Westermann has only καδίσας, an error.

ἀμαξεύω, τὴν ἀμαξευομένην ὁδόν, G 23^v.

ἀμείνων. οὐ γὰρ ἀμεινον (Hes., *Op.*, 750, Hdt., I, 187) means *it is not good*, rather than "twere better not," The Greek is more positive even in a negation. ἀμεινον has something of the ritualistic meaning of *fas*, and the comparative force has almost disappeared. Cf. Hesiod, *Op.*, 759, τὸ γὰρ οὗτοι λωῖόν ἐστιν; Heraclitus, *fr.* 110 (Diels), ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι ὁκόσα θέλουσι οὐκ ἀμεινον; Hdt., II, 47, ἐμοὶ . . . οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερός ἐστι λέγεσθαι.

ἄμελξίς, W 25. 27.

ἀμόρφως, G 24^v.

ἀνακραυγάζω, ἀνεκραύγασαν, G 27^v.

ἀνέξοδος, *unable to get out*, G 44^r; see *Studies*, p. 46.

ἀπεμπώλησις, *sale*, G 26^r in the margin. Note the orthography. L. & S. mention only ἀπεμπόλησις in the sense of *riddance* (ἀκαθαρσίας, Hp., *Decent.*, 5).

⁷ That is, such as are cited from only one or two sources in the new Lexicon.

ἄπληγος, in the literal sense of ἄπληκτος, *without receiving a blow*, W 29. 19.

ἀπόητος, *unable to do anything, useless*, P. S. I., 156 and G 22^r; see *Studies*, p. 41.

ἀποκρισιάριος, W 41. 30.

ἀπόμαγμα, term of abuse applied to Aesop, G 26^v.

ἀρμενίζω, *sail*, *Phys.*, 39 (thrice).

ἀρχέμπορος, G 26^r and 26^v (used playfully and not in the strictly technical sense).

ἀρχιγεωργός, G 26^r.

ἀφελπίζω, G 53^v: οὐ γὰρ ἱατρὸς τὸν νοσοῦντα ἀφῆλπισεν ἰδὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀφὴν ψηλαφήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἐπέγνω.

Ἀφροδίτη, in concrete sense of an *embrace*, Achilles Tatius, V, 25: εἰς ἀφροδίτην κἀν μίαν.

ἀφύτεντος, Georgides, 80: ἀφ. πόθος θᾶπτον μαράίνεται. The meaning may be *uncultivated*, rather than "unplanted," although φυτεύω seems always to mean *plant*.

βαστάζω, *endure*, *Phys.*, 29.

βρωματίζω, see βρωματέω in list I.

γερανομαχία, G 26^v: οὗτος (Aesop) τῆς γερανομαχίας σαλπιστῆς ἐστίν.

γλωσσόκομον, *pocket-book, purse*, G 36^r.

διακινέω, G 50^r: <ἵνα> διακινήσωμεν, *in order that we may take exercise*. See *Studies*, p. 11.

διακλονέω, G 28^r: ὁ δὲ ἐξήρχετο ὡς ἄτλαστον βαστάζων τὸν γούργαθον, ὅλος διακλονούμενος.

διακυβεύω, figurative use, G 51^v (cf. *Studies*, p. 19): εὐσχημόνως τὸν βίον διακυβεύουσιν.

διάπλασμα, G 53^v.

διέλευσις, Syntipas in Eberhard's *Fabulae Romanenses Graece Conscrip̄tae*, p. 180. 5.

δῦππεύω, figurative sense, G 47^r: τοῦ δὲ πότου δῦππεύοντος, "the night drave on," etc.

δουλαγωγός, δ. τεκμήριον, *a token of slavery*, G 54^v.

δουλάριον, G 67^r, used of male slaves.

ἐγγίζω, followed by direct object in the accusative, *Phys.*, 22.

ἐνυδρος, subst., a kind of *ichneumon*, *Phys.*, 25. Cf. Ammianus Marc., XXII, 15, 19: *enhydrous ichneumonius genus*. The manuscripts of the *Phys.* have also ἐνύδριος, ἕλλος, etc.

ἐξάπινα, *perhaps*, W 25. 20; cf. τάχα and πολλάκις.

ἐπτασφόνδυλος, G 34^r: ἐπτασφόνδυλά μοι ῥήματα εἶπας. This may possibly have suggested to Horace the expression *sesquipedalīa verba* (*A. P.*, 97). There are other indications that Horace was acquainted with the *Life of Aesop*; compare *Serm.*, I, 1, 46-49 (the slave carrying the bread basket) with *W* 12. 26 ff.⁸ L. & S. have ἐπτασφόνδυλος only in the supplements to Part 6, citing it from the *Cyranides* of Hermes, where it applies literally to the scorpion's tail.

ἐρημάζω, G 32^v.

ἐτερόγλαυκος, Ps.-Kall., I, 13 (*cod.* B, Müller).

εὐεπινόητος, G 30^v and 49^r.

εὐόμματος, with *good-looking eyes*, *W* 20. 27.

εὖσωμος, *W* 20. 27.

εὐτόκιος, *Phys.*, 19 (εὐτ. λίθος).

ἔψω and ἐψέω: ἤψηκας, G 38^v; ἤψει, *ib.*, 37^v.

ἔσότης, G 33^r.

ζητημάτιον, G 36^r.

θέσις, *sight, appearance*, Ps.-Kall., II, 33 (*cod.* C, Müller): ὅπως ἴδῃ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου θέσιν, εἰ ὅλως ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει ἐν αὐτῷ ἔστιν.

θερίστριον, G 34^v.

κακόδουλος, *hard on one's slaves*, G 31^v and *W* 17. 20.

καπριῶ, καπριῶσα, of a woman, *W* 19. 25 (not in *West.*).

καταγογγύζω, G 33^r.

κατάκομος, *laden with fruit or foliage* (?), Ps.-Kall., III, 6 (*cod.* B, Müller): ὅταν οὖν πεινάσωμεν πορευόμεθα εἰς τὰ κ. δένδρα καὶ ἐσθίομεν καρποὺς αὐτομάτων.

λιμόξηρος, G 28^v.

μαδίζω, *W* 24. 10; see above under ἀλμίζω.

μαγειρία (or -εία), *cookery* in the abstract sense, *W* 29. 31.

μεθόδιον. Since *methodion* in Petronius 36 means *trick*, the reference to that passage does not belong under the second meaning of this word ("II — μέθοδος II 2" — *method, system*) but separately at the end of the entry μεθόδιον; there one should read "III — μέθοδος III, Petronius 36."

μεσαύλιον. In *P. Oxy.*, 2083. 27 this word does not mean "a piece of flute-music," but is a diminutive formation from

⁸ In G Aesop is accused by the other slaves of wishing to have ready access to the bread in the basket, a detail which is omitted in *W*.

μέσσυλος, *courtyard*; see *Studies*, p. 47. The equivalent in G is τὸ μεσσυλον, which is probably also a genuine form. In W 24. 8 we have both περιάυλον (MBPW) and περιούλιον (Ολ).

μεταμελέομαι, μεταμελοῦ, G 38^v.

μονόκερως, subst., the *unicorn* of fable, *Phys.*, 22, whence chiefly its fame.

μυριώνυμος, epithet of Isis in G 23^v. Cf. *deae multinominis* in Apuleius, *Met.*, XI, 22.

μυρμηκολέων. I, *ant-lion*, *Lxx Jb.* 4, 11, cf. Strabo, XVI, 4, 15 (774). II, *a fabulous creature that is half lion and half ant*, *Phys.*, 20 and Ps.-Eust., *Hex.* (Migne, *P. G.*, XVIII, 745A). III, *lion-ant* (insect), *Cyran.*, p. 68 and 262, Gregory, *Mor.*, V, 20, 40 (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXV, 700).

οικοτραφής, G 39^v: οἰκοτραφεῖ (*sic*) κύνα.

ὀξύζω, *season with vinegar*, G 38^r (ὀξύσας). It is doubtful whether this verb is to be identified, as in L. & S., with ὀξύζω = "taste or smell like vinegar."

ὀράριον = Latin *orarium*, G 29^v and 30^r.

πέραμα, *a crossing over*, Palladius in Ps.-Kall., III, 10: ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ περάματος τῶν Βραχμάνων πρὸς τὰς ἐαυτῶν γυναῖκας.

πιπράσαι, aorist infinitive apparently formed by analogy from the present πιπράσκω, W 10. 27.

πλακουντάριος, G 45^r (*bis*).

πλοιαφέσια, τά. This is the probable reading in Apuleius, *Met.*, XI, 17, as emended by recent editors.

ποδατός, indefinite adjective, *of some nationality (origin) or other*, G 34^v: ἵνα σου ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐξῶν ποδαπὸν ὠνήσῃ σωματίον.

πολιτευτής. In *Phys.*, 14, 23, and 27 this word means not "statesman" but *citizen*, and perhaps more particularly a citizen or active member of the Christian brotherhood. *Phys.*, 29: ἐόικασιν οἱ γενναῖότατοι πολιτευταὶ τῷ χερσαίῳ (βατράχῳ). φέρουσι γὰρ τῶν πειρασμῶν τὸν καύσωνα . . . οἱ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου ὑδρώδεις εἰσὶν. Cf. *NT Act. Ap.*, 23, 1: *Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ Θεῷ ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας.

*πρίαμαι, πριασώμεθα, W 21. 17.

πρίων, name of a sea fish in *Phys.*, 39, probably an equivalent of *πίστις*, although it is the dolphin rather than the *πίστις* that the author describes.

πρόβατον. θαλάσσιον πρ., *a sluggish fish* (cf. Aelian, *Hist. An.*, IX, 38), used as a term of abuse in G 40^v and W 15. 15.

προπλάττω, ὁ προπλασθεὶς ὄνειρος, G 35^v; cf. *Studies*, p. 18.

σαπρία, *physical deformity*, G 33^r. Likewise σαπρός in this text regularly means *deformed*, and Aesop refers to himself as σαπρός in a matter-of-fact way (28^r).

σατυρικός, *satyr-like*. Pliny, *N. H.*, X, 138: neque harum (*sc. scopum*) *saturicos* motus, cum insidentur, plerisque memoratos facile conceperim mente; *ib.*, XIX, 50: *saturica* signa, i. e. statues of Priapus in gardens. Cf. *Satyricon* as the title of Petronius' novel.

σημειολύτης, G 53^v; cf. *Studies*, p. 23. The word is cited by L. & S. only once in the supplements to Part 9.

σκαλίζω, W 22. 1.

σκελίζω, *deceive*, G 35^r: ἐσκελίσθαι σε τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ. Cf. *Studies*, p. 18 (top).

σπινθήρ. ὑποκαίεις σπινθῆρσι λόγων, G 43^r.

ὑδρῶψ, *a fierce type of antelope*, according to *Phys.* 36 and its numerous derivatives, but the word in this sense probably originated in a corruption of ὄρυξ or of ἀνθόλωψ (list I); cf. *A. J. P.*, LVIII, p. 495.

υἱοποίητος, subst., G 59^r.

ὑπόμωρος, subst., G 43^r.

ὑφειλμός, κατὰ προσθήκην καὶ ὑφειλμόν, W 24. 21 (not in West, who reads ὑφεισμός erroneously with *cod. W*).

φωνόμιμος, φ. ἡχώ, G 24^r; see *Studies*, p. 13.

χθεσινός, G 42^v.

χύσις, *haste*, G 32^v.

B. E. PERRY.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

ALEXANDER, CYNICS AND STOICS.¹

In 1937 Professor M. H. Fisch published two articles in this Journal² of which the object was to controvert the views about Alexander's ideas which I had expressed in a lecture to the British Academy³ and to give a different interpretation. Circumstances prevented me from noticing these articles earlier; but they require notice, lest I seem to acquiesce in views with which I profoundly disagree. On the personal matter in these articles I need not comment, beyond saying that Fisch sometimes fails to distinguish between what individual Stoics *did* and what Stoicism officially taught, and that I have certainly *not* changed my view of the primacy of the Stoa in the Hellenistic world, a view which, as I have always made clear, rested solely on their ethics. Meanwhile other work bearing on the subject of my lecture has appeared, and I hope in this paper to do some reconstruction which will take the matter further than I left it.

I must assume that the reader knows the studies in question. I was examining four passages⁴ in literature which, *prima facie*, show that Alexander was the first to think of something which may be called the unity of mankind or a human brotherhood, and I gave three convergent trains of reasoning to show that there was a strong presumption that this was true. Fisch's first article criticised my reasoning, and the second gave his own view. It has commonly been supposed that these ideas were taken from Stoicism and attributed to Alexander; Fisch utilises this, but believes that they came primarily from Cynicism through the medium of Onesicritus, who persuaded the world that Alexander was a "cosmopolitan" like himself. This view of the Cynics and Onesicritus is not new; in particular, it seems

¹ I am much indebted to Professors F. E. Adcock and A. D. Nock for reading this paper in MS.

² "Alexander and the Stoics," *A. J. P.*, LVIII (1937), pp. 59, 129. Cited as "Fisch."

³ Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the unity of mankind," *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XIX (1933), p. 123. Referred to as "lecture."

⁴ Ptolemy I in Arrian, VII, 11, 8 and 9; Eratosthenes in Strabo, I, 66 + Plutarch, *de Alexandri Fortuna aut Virtute*, 329 B ff.; Plutarch, *ib.*, 330 E; Plutarch, *Alexander*, XXVII. All are given later in their places.

to have had a certain attraction for that acute critic Dr. E. Schwartz,⁵ though so far as I know it has otherwise obtained no acceptance. But Fisch goes further: Onesicritus started a "Cynic-Stoic tradition" which not only attributed to Alexander its own "cosmopolitanism" but, since it appears in every writer of any importance on the matter, so falsified his history that we really know nothing about him: "The quest of the historical Alexander" is likely to end in "illusion" (p. 144).

I begin with Cynicism. If Alexander's ideas were merely attributed to him by, or taken from, the Cynics, then the Cynics must have held these ideas; and of that there is no trace. Certainly Cynic "cosmopolitanism"⁶ is a common cliché in books; but I have never met with any attempt to prove it, and certainly Fisch makes none. What was Cynicism? It was not a *philosophy* like those of the four schools, with a body of doctrine; it was a way of life, a mode of thought,⁷ and was entirely negative; you were to discard everything on which civilisation had been built up, and often enough, unless you were a Crates or a Demonax, you ended by finding nothing at the bottom but mere animalism. It never *constructed* anything, anything which affected men otherwise than as individuals; cynicism and universalism are a contradiction in terms. This was what so puzzled Zeller; he, like others, took Cynic "cosmopolitanism" for granted, but he could not reconcile it with Cynicism as he knew it.⁸

Three things are commonly quoted in support of Cynic "cosmopolitanism," two of them being remarks attributed to Diogenes by Diogenes Laertius. The historical Diogenes of Sinope, founder of Cynicism, became the subject of a legend which made of him the ideal philosophic saint; it is very difficult to disentangle the real man from the legendary figure, and many of the stories told of him and of the sayings attributed to

⁵ *Rhein. Mus.*, XL (1885), pp. 250-4, based on the antithesis νόμος—φύσις; often mentioned in his other writings.

⁶ I avoid this horrible word except in quoting; Greeks never used it, and to-day it means something entirely different from anything Alexander thought of, and merely creates prejudice.

⁷ Well brought out by D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism*, 1937, pp. 7 ff.

⁸ See *Socrates and the Socratic schools* (Eng. Trans.), p. 276.

him are merely figments of the legend.⁹ I will assume, however, that he really did make the two remarks in question. The first is that somebody asked him where he came from, i.e. from what city, and he replied *κοσμοπολίτης*,¹⁰ literally, "I am a citizen of, or in, the universe." The circumstances were that the dominant party in Sinope had wrongfully accused and imprisoned his father, who had died in consequence, and had driven Diogenes himself into exile;¹¹ and when asked what his city was, the embittered exile in effect replied "I have none." I will come to the actual meaning presently. The word was never again used by any Greek, except for Lucian's quotation of the remark in his skit on Diogenes;¹² it occurs twice in Philo, but he was a Jew. Had it come into use as a catchword, it must, like other philosophical catchwords, have found its way into the tradition.

The second remark,¹³ which shows the meaning of the word, has invariably been quoted without its context, a bad habit; the first clause, down to *λέγων*, is always omitted, and *πολιτεία ἐν κόσμῳ* is mistranslated as "world-state" or something of the sort: and Fisch's translation, "the only right state is that of the world" (p. 144 n.) is no more in the Greek than is Dudley's "the only true commonwealth is that which is as wide as the universe" (p. 35). What the Greek says is: "Diogenes laughed at things like long descent and fame, saying that they

⁹ It will suffice to refer to the long examination by Kurt von Fritz, "Quellenuntersuchungen zu Leben und Philosophie des Diogenes von Sinope," *Philol.*, Supp. Bd. XVIII, 1926, though even he hardly goes far enough. Diogenes-legends went on being manufactured for centuries (Epictetus has some new ones) like Alexander-legends in India; I know two of the latter myself which originated under British rule (one of them is alluded to by Sir A. Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaissances*, p. 32, n. 15).

¹⁰ Diog. Laert.; VI, 63, *ἐρωτηθεὶς πόθεν εἴη, κοσμοπολίτης ἔφη*.

¹¹ Dudley, *op. cit.*, p. 21, from Mr. C. T. Seltman's unpublished paper *Diogenes of Sinope, son of the banker Hikesias*. This paper, on the coinage of Sinope, was read at the Numismatic Congress in 1936; a brief résumé has appeared in the *Transactions* of that Congress, p. 121, and in *Proc. Camb. Philol. Soc.*, CXLII-CXLIV, p. 7; a more detailed synopsis is given in Dudley, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-5.

¹² *Βίων πρᾶσις*, 8.

¹³ D. L., VI, 72, *ἐγγενείας δὲ καὶ δόξας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα διέπειζε, προκοσμήματα κακίας λέγων· μόνην δὲ ὀρθὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι τὴν ἐν κόσμῳ*.

were merely ornaments which concealed the evil that was behind them: the one true citizenship was that in the universe." The *πολιτεία ἐν κόσμῳ*, then, has to be something which either gets rid of claims to fame and long descent altogether or else renders them meaningless; and no form of state, even world-wide, would prevent people being proud of their pedigrees or prevent one man being of greater repute than others. There has never been any reason to doubt Epictetus' interpretation (III, 22, 47). How, he asks, does a man live without city or home? Well, the god sent a man (Diogenes) to show you. "Look at me," he said; "I have no home, no city, no possessions, no family; I have only the earth and the sky." That is the *πολιτεία ἐν κόσμῳ*, and that is the meaning of *κοσμοπολίτης*. He was free of the earth and the sky; it mattered nothing to him where or how he lived; one place, as Epictetus says (III, 24, 66), was as good as another, whether he lived as a free man in Athens, a captive among pirates, or a slave in Corinth. This also gives the meaning of that other Cynic phrase, borrowed from Euripides,¹⁴ *πᾶσα γῆ πάτρις*. It is all purely negative; *κοσμοπολίτης* has nothing to do with any belief in the unity of mankind or a human brotherhood, but means someone not attached to any community, as we use the word in phrases like "a cosmopolitan crowd."¹⁵

But Diogenes wrote a *Politeia*, an Ideal State, like Plato and Zeno? Certainly in the third century a work existed called *Διογένης Πολιτεία*, but little is known about it. It said that knucklebones should be current coin and that weapons of war were useless;¹⁶ probably it advocated community of women;¹⁷ it *may* also have contained a defence of incest and parricide, but this suggestion *may* be based on the tragedies attributed to Diogenes. There is no description anywhere of what the book was; but Plutarch says that its basis (*ὑπόθεσις*), like those of the States of Plato and Zeno, was Lycurgus' Sparta,¹⁸ and it must therefore have depicted, not anything "cosmopolitan," but a small state with narrow limits, as did Plato and Zeno (for

¹⁴ Fr. 1047; see my lecture, note 6.

¹⁵ Cf. Dudley, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 f.

¹⁶ Philodemus, *περὶ Στοϊκῶν*, P. Hero. 339 (P), col. XIV, line 1, in W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos* (Vol. 6 of Weesely's *Studien sur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, 1906), p. 61; Athen., IV, 159 c.

¹⁷ Dudley, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁸ Plut., *Lycurgus*, XXXI.

Zeno's *Politeia* see *infra*). It cannot therefore be used as an argument for Cynic "cosmopolitanism," even if Diogenes did write it.

But it is quite uncertain whether he did write it, or whether it is one of those innumerable Hellenistic works attributed by their authors to well-known names. The evidence stands thus. The Stoic Cleanthes (262-230) asserted that it was written by Diogenes¹⁹ and praised it. His successor Chrysippus (230-208-4) referred to it as by Diogenes in six different works,²⁰ and also praised it. Philodemus in the first century B. C. made his Stoic protagonist admit that some in his day, *τινὲς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς*, did not think it genuine, but made him appeal for its genuineness to "library catalogues and libraries";²¹ presumably Stoic libraries or book-lists are meant, but in any case it means no more than it means to-day (say) that in any library you will find the *de Fluviiis* bound up in any edition of Plutarch. There was then a Stoic tradition from the middle of the third century that the work was genuine. On the other hand, Satyrus, who lived and worked in Alexandria in the latter part of the third century, asserted that Diogenes wrote nothing at all,²² as did Sosicrates of Rhodes, who may or may not have worked at Alexandria, in the second century;²³ while Sotion of Alexandria, c. 200-170 B. C., gave a short list of Diogenes' works which differed considerably from the orthodox list but which did not include the *Politeia*.²⁴ Satyrus and Sotion were Peripatetics; Satyrus wrote semi-popular biographies, including Lives of the philosophers, while Sotion and Sosicrates wrote Successions of the philosophers. Nobody supposes that Satyrus investigated

¹⁹ Philodemus, *ib.*, col. XIII, line 21 (p. 60 in Crönert, *op. cit.*) = S[toicorum] V[eterum] F[ragmenta], I, 590.

²⁰ Philodemus, *ib.*, cols. XIII, line 26—XIV, line 29. But Dudley, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f. is hardly correct in saying that Chrysippus "asserted" its genuineness; D. L., VII, 34, which he cites, refers only to the *Politeia* of Zeno.

²¹ Philodemus, *ib.*, col. XIII, lines 12 ff., *αἱ τ' ἀναγραφὰι τῶν πινάκων αἱ τε βιβλιοθήκαι*. Crönert left it open whether this meant Callimachus' *Pinakes* or only Cynic (or Stoic) lists; surely, had the former been meant, it must have been *ἀναγραφά*.

²² D. L., VI, 80, and on Satyrus' date Gudeman, *Satyros* 16 in *P.-W.*

²³ D. L., *ib.*, and on his date Laqueur, *Sosikrates* 3 in *P.-W.*

²⁴ D. L., *ib.*, Susemihl, I, 48; Stenzel, *Sotion* 1 in *P.-W.*

the question of the authenticity of Diogenes' *Politeia* for himself; he repeated his statement from some one before him.²⁵ There was then at Alexandria a Peripatetic tradition from the middle of the third century that the *Politeia* of Diogenes was a forgery. We cannot trace either the Stoic or the Peripatetic tradition further back than the middle of that century.

The current explanation of the problem, as given by von Fritz (*op. cit.*, pp. 55-7) and adopted by Dudley (*op. cit.*, pp. 25 f.), is that the *Politeia* was genuine, but in course of time the Stoics became ashamed of it; and as they now desired to attach themselves to Socrates by means of a fictitious succession Socrates—Antisthenes—Diogenes—Crates—Zeno (this is true), they committed a fraud, or rather Sotion did, by omitting the *Politeia* from among Diogenes' works. The explanation is impossible. If Stoics wanted to commit a fraud of this sort, it can only have been after Chrysippus' death (in the Olympiad 208-4 B. C.), for he was all-powerful in the school and regularly assumed the genuineness of the book; but Chrysippus' contemporary Satyrus had already asserted that the *Politeia* was not Diogenes'. This seems conclusive, apart from the fact that von Fritz does not explain why a Peripatetic at Alexandria, where it is not known that there were ever any Stoics, should lend himself to a Stoic fraud.²⁶ As a fact, the Stoics did, later on, try a somewhat similar fraud at Pergamum by means of the Stoic librarian Athenodorus, who was detected;²⁷ and if they could not bring off such a thing at Pergamum, with the library in their hands, they had no chance at Alexandria, where they had no following. It is, unfortunately, not known how Callimachus catalogued the work in his *Pinakes*; we merely have the two opposed traditions, the Stoic that it was genuine, the Peripatetic that it was not; neither side possessed the modern technique for detecting forgeries, and no decision is possible. The *Διογένης Πολιτεία* is therefore no evidence for Cynic "cosmopolitanism." But if I were com-

²⁵ Gudeman, *op. cit.*, suggested Callimachus.

²⁶ von Fritz, *op. cit.*, p. 57 says that first the Stoics (i. e. Satyrus and Sosicrates) denied that Diogenes ever wrote anything at all, and then found it safer to attribute to him some works of their own invention (Sotion's list). But (a) Satyrus was not a Stoic, and it is not known that Sosicrates was; (b) Sotion comes in date *between* them. This theory, therefore, cannot be supported.

²⁷ D. L., VII, 34; Susemihl, II, p. 246.

pelled to decide, I should follow Alexandria; for while the early Stoics had an axe to grind in the matter, their opponents had not, and the science of Alexandria (in the widest sense of the word), based on Peripateticism, did, with whatever faults and imperfections, attempt according to its lights to get at the objective facts of any matter in question.²⁸ If the work was a forgery it was doubtless put together from Zeno's *Politeia*.

With this, the whole basis of Fisch's reconstruction is gone: if there was no such thing as Cynic "cosmopolitanism," Onesicritus could not have attributed it to Alexander. However, I had better look at his Onesicritus, because of his "Cynic-Stoic tradition."

He begins (p. 129) by saying that Onesicritus was the son of Philiscus, Alexander's "boyhood tutor"; he had known Alexander "from his early years," and had two sons who became pupils of Diogenes. This is largely a confusion of Onesicritus of Astypalaea, the historian, with the *Ὀνησίκριτος τις* from Aegina who sent his sons, one of them named Philiscus, to Diogenes;²⁹ but neither Onesicritus is recorded to have had a father named Philiscus. This personage is never mentioned in antiquity and, as far as I know, was invented in a dissertation in 1864; but one cannot assume that, because a man was named Philiscus, he must have had a grandfather of the same name; and if he had, the son of that Philiscus would have been Onesicritus of Aegina, not Onesicritus the historian. Suidas indeed, under Philiscus of Aegina, has an entry *ὁ διδάξας γράμματα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα*; but this is a chronological impossibility for the only known Philiscus, the son of Onesicritus of Aegina, and in any case the evidence that Alexander's "boyhood tutor" was Leonidas is overwhelming; the name Philiscus in Suidas is certainly wrong, an occurrence far too common in late compilers to call for remark. The whole of Fisch's story of Alexander's early relations with Onesicritus is unfounded, as are his stories of Alexander's early connections with Cynics. Of course Alexander knew and quoted Antisthenes, and Antisthenes on Heracles may have reinforced his interest in Heracles as his ancestor. But this

²⁸ Cf. Christ-Schmid⁶, II, 1, p. 246, a striking appreciation.

²⁹ They were certainly different people: Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, II B, p. 469; H. Strashburger, *Onesikritos* in *P.-W.* (I cite this from an advance off-print, so I cannot give column figures.)

has nothing to do with Cynics. Socrates' pupil Antisthenes had certain traits later called Cynic, and in the second century B. C. he was brought into the succession, as already noticed; but the Cynic "school" was founded by Diogenes long after Antisthenes' death,⁸⁰ and neither Diogenes nor Crates is known to have talked about Heracles. There is no evidence, or even probability, that Alexander got his knowledge from Onesicritus; he got it, with much else, from his tutor Aristotle, Antisthenes' fellow-pupil. All this part about Alexander and Onesicritus is what has been called "history in the potential mood." Fisch is so determined to connect the young Alexander with Cynics *somehow* that he not only refers to the stories of the meetings of Alexander (when world-conqueror) with Diogenes, which have been blown to pieces too often to notice, but even suggests (p. 130) that he may have met Diogenes at Thebes when he (Alexander) "was a guest in the house of Diogenes' pupil Crates." This is from another yarn in Diogenes Laertius (VI, 88), which says that Alexander once lived in Crates' house as Philip had lived in that of Hipparchia. Philip was once at Maroneia, and *might* have been lodged in the house where Hipparchia afterwards lived. But when could Alexander have been at Thebes? He was thirteen when Philip brought Aristotle to Pella; Philip could not have sent him away after that, and from sixteen onwards he was playing his part in affairs; at sixteen he governed Macedonia during Philip's absence. It could only have been, then, when or before he was twelve;⁸¹ and the absurdity of this is patent. How the story arose is plain enough: the marriage of Crates and Hipparchia attracted much attention, and if Philip had once lived in Hipparchia's house, obviously Alexander had to live in that of Crates. It is merely one of the attempts to connect Crates with Alexander which complement the similar attempts to connect Diogenes with Alexander.⁸²

⁸⁰ von Fritz, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Dudley, *op. cit.*, chap. 1.

⁸¹ I. e. in or before 344. Dudley, *op. cit.*, p. 23 deduced from C. T. Seltman's already mentioned paper that Diogenes did not arrive in Greece till c. 340, i. e. later (on the known dating of Ariarathes it should be, on his argument, 334 or 333). But I am not using this, as there seem to me to be too many uncertain factors.

⁸² There is a foolish one in D. L., VI, 93: Alexander asks Crates if he should restore Thebes, and Crates says "What good? Another Alexander would destroy it." The only occasion on which Alexander and Crates

It may be as well to give here what is known about Onesicritus. He first actually appears in India, as a naval officer who steered Alexander's ship on the Hydaspes; but apparently he had been in Bactra,³³ and was presumably one of the people, of many types, who came out to Alexander to Bactra in the winter of 329-8. The only thing told of his earlier life is that he is said to have heard Diogenes;³⁴ but as Alexander subsequently made him Nearchus' lieutenant, the islander must have been known as a competent seaman. He is called a Cynic; he could repeat the Cynic catchwords,³⁵ but was not living the Cynic life, was devoid of Cynic principles,³⁶ and had a most un-Cynic desire to represent himself as more important than he really was.³⁷ That is all, apart from his book.

Much of the rest of Fisch's second article is concerned with the influence which Onesicritus' book is supposed by him to have exercised on all and sundry; he makes no attempt—it could not be made—to show that there was anything in the book about "cosmopolitanism," the only thing that could matter, but he states (p. 134) that "Onesicritus throughout represented Alexander as giving practical effect to Diogenes' ideal of world-citizenship," a thing which, as we have seen, never existed, in the sense Fisch means. As the basis of this statement is gone, I need not go through the exposition; but we get some strange statements,³⁸ as that later "universal historians" were "all fol-

could conceivably have met was when Alexander was actually destroying Thebes.

³³ Fr. 5 in *F. Gr. Hist.*, no. 134 = Strabo, XI, 517.

³⁴ Plut., *Alex.*, LXV; Strabo, XV, 716; D. L., VI, 84.

³⁵ Fr. 17 = Strabo, XV, 715.

³⁶ Fr. 17, he said that it was not fitting that Alexander should go to the gymnosophists if they would not come to him, i. e. he was a respecter of persons. See W. Hoffmann, *Das literarische Porträt Alexanders des Grossen im griechischen und römischen Altertum*, 1907, p. 14.

³⁷ Fr. 17, he represented that Alexander had sent him to the Gymnosophists; fr. 27 = Arr., VI, 2, 3, he tried to make out that he had been nauarch. As to this last, Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, II B, p. 470, and Strasburger, *op. cit.*, are right beyond any question in following Arrian. Fisch, p. 132, cites "Arrian 8, 20" for his belief (it is not new) that Onesicritus was "co-commander"; there is no "Arrian 8", but if he means *Indike* 20 it has no bearing on the matter.

³⁸ The sentence on p. 141: "Strabo reworked and continued Poseidonius and also led up to Polybius," is I suppose a complicated misprint.

lowing Onesicritus" (p. 142); that Crates professed to be a citizen of "the cosmopolis" (p. 133), when what Crates is alleged to have said is that he was a "fellow-citizen of Diogenes" (D. L., VI, 93) and even that comes in the impossible story about Alexander and Thebes already mentioned; and that it is "the Cynic-Stoic portrait of Alexander which emerges from Arrian's book" (p. 143), which would mean that Ptolemy I was a "Cynic-Stoic." What he really relies on is his suggestion that the material parts of Plutarch's *de Alexandri Fortuna* are from Onesicritus; I will come to this later. The slight connection made out between Onesicritus and Zeno (pp. 133 f.) may be correct,³⁹ but affords nothing which bears on his "Cynic-Stoic tradition."

As regards Alexander, which is all that matters here, Onesicritus' book really counted for little. Doubtless it was one element in the vulgate, though the extent is not known,⁴⁰ and it was used for minor matters; Strabo included it among his sources for the geography, animals, and plants of India, Pliny among his sources for birds and trees, and Juba used it for the Carmanian coast, which Onesicritus had seen. He has of course left the impression on both the ancient and modern worlds that he was a really good liar,⁴¹ but this is perhaps not quite fair, for he was not professing to tell the truth. His book, we are told, was an encomium which interpreted Alexander in the way that Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* had interpreted Cyrus, though not so well done as its model;⁴² that is, it was a professed romance about Alexander as is the *Cyropaedia* about Cyrus. One can see what it counted for by considering the passage of which Fisch makes a feature, that on Alexander and the Gymnosophists.⁴³

³⁹ He calls *κατόρθωμα* one of Zeno's "most important technical terms," though it never occurs in the Zeno fragments. But Zeno *may* have used it: "recte factum" in *SVF*, I, 231.

⁴⁰ Strasburger, *op. cit.*, lists Cleitarchus' borrowings or supposed borrowings.

⁴¹ Strabo, XV, 698 = Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, T 10; Gellius, IX, 4, 1-3 = Jacoby, T 12; and most moderns, though some (list in Strasburger) have regarded his picture of Alexander as an attractive and spirited performance. Unhappily we do not know what it was.

⁴² D. L., VII, 84, τῇ ἐμπνεύει παραπλήσιος.

⁴³ Fr. 17 = Strabo, XV, 714-6.

Alexander did meet and converse with certain Gymnosophists; ⁴⁴ the story was well worked up in history, legend, and romance.⁴⁵ But Onesicritus said that Alexander had *not* conversed with the men himself, but had sent *him* to do it; and among the very numerous later versions we possess, not one follows Onesicritus.⁴⁶ What is he actually known to have said about Alexander? Two trifles which may be true—that he slept with the *Iliad* under his pillow ⁴⁷ and that he only possessed 200 talents when he crossed the Hellespont ⁴⁸ (other figures are extant). Four whole-hearted untruths: the Queen of the Amazons story; ⁴⁹ the story (from Olympias' propaganda) that Alexander died of poison; ⁵⁰ the story that he sent Onesicritus to talk to the Gymnosophists; the story that he fought the battle with Porus in order to be praised by Athenians.⁵¹ One story probably untrue—the dogs at Bactra.⁵² And he did call Alexander a philosopher in arms (if indeed the phrase will bear that weight, which is not certain).⁵³ That is all. He *may* have represented Alexander as a bringer of civilisation; it is chiefly guesswork. He may perhaps, as Fisch and others have supposed on the strength of the "philosopher in arms," have represented him as a Cynic philosopher. But the question at issue is Alexander's universalism; and of universalism Onesicritus gives no hint.

Before coming to the "Cynic-Stoic tradition," I must turn for a moment to the Stoics. Fisch of course takes the view that the Stoics, no less than the Cynics, attributed their own uni-

⁴⁴ Arrian, VII, 1, 5-6. This is the true version.

⁴⁵ See U. Wilcken, *Berlin SB.*, 1923, pp. 174 ff.; Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (cited as "Bactria and India"), 1938, pp. 429 ff.

⁴⁶ Tarn, *ib.* Wilcken's analysis, *ib.*, pp. 175-7, shows that Onesicritus' story was untrue.

⁴⁷ Fr. 38 = Plut., *Alex.*, VIII.

⁴⁸ Fr. 2 = Plut., *Alex.*, XV.

⁴⁹ Fr. 1 = Plut., *Alex.*, XLVI.

⁵⁰ Fr. 37 = *Mets Epitoms*, 97 (Wagner).

⁵¹ Fr. 19 = Plut., *Alex.*, LX (the saying only, not the battle).

⁵² Fr. 5 = Strabo, XI, 517 (who disbelieved it); see Tarn, *Bactria and India*, pp. 115 f. There was another version, source unknown, which put the dogs in Hyrcania, not Bactra: Plut., *Mor.*, 499 D; Silius Ital., XIII, 473 f.; and see von Fritz' reconstruction (*op. cit.*, pp. 50 f.) of Stob., *Flor.*, IV, 55, 11, p. 1119 H.

⁵³ Fr. 17 = Strabo, XV, 715, ἐν δαλούς φιλοσοφούντα. But it must be considered in relation to the whole context.

versalism to Alexander (that was the subject dealt with in my lecture); and the Stoics really had universalism to attribute. Now one effect of Fisch's theory of a "Cynic-Stoic tradition" is that there runs through his work the belief that, if you can manage to call this or that writer a Stoic, that is enough to discredit him: as regards Alexander, no Stoic could tell the truth, for he was committed to his own fancy portrait. It is therefore suggested at the start (p. 64) that the four passages I used are all tainted at the source by the Stoicism of their authors, who are called Strabo, Plutarch, Eratosthenes, and Arrian (they are really Ptolemy I, Eratosthenes, and Plutarch); for these writers would all know and "silently follow" the "Cynic-Stoic tradition" about Alexander. I must look at these writers.

Strabo was a Stoic, but I was not using Strabo; I was using a passage of Eratosthenes of which part is given by Strabo (I, 66). However, as Fisch has appealed to Strabo, to Strabo let us go. Though Strabo has much about Alexander in India, it is all geography and natural history, cited from Aristobulus and Nearchus; but he does *once* speak in his own person, and it is the exact opposite of Fisch's theory: he says that Alexander believed the yarns about Semiramis and Cyrus because his own good fortune had made him full of *ῥῆφος*,⁵⁴ which is the great illusion, false pride or insolence.⁵⁵ I shall return to the Stoics and Alexander's *ῥῆφος*.

Arrian was a Stoic, but I was using Ptolemy I (*infra*), not Arrian. In fact, however, Arrian wrote, not as a Stoic, but as an historian and a man; consider e. g. his account, without a trace of Stoic comment, of Alexander's passion over the murder of Cleitus and his bitter remorse, together with his (Arrian's) own humane verdict that many kings had done evil, but he had never heard of another who repented.⁵⁶ Arrian would indeed have horrified an orthodox Stoic, to whom all *πάθη* were anathema.

To call Plutarch the Academician, the bitter enemy of the

⁵⁴ Strabo, XV, 680, *τετυφωμένον ταῖς τοιαυταῖς εὐτυχίαις*.

⁵⁵ On *ῥῆφος* see Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 240, n. 7; Dudley, *op. cit.*, p. 56, n. 8; J. Stroux, *Philol.*, LXXXVIII (1933), pp. 222 ff.

⁵⁶ Arr., IV, 9; VII, 29, 1. Further on his position in this respect see Stroux' article (last note), pp. 238-40.

Stoics, half a Stoic needs no refutation. But I am coming to Plutarch later.

Lastly Eratosthenes, who is so important that I must quote Fisch verbatim (p. 64). "Eratosthenes was a pupil of Zeno and a disciple of Zeno's older pupil Aristo (a Stoic with Cynic leanings); he wrote Aristo's life and, like Aratus his fellow-Stoic and fellow-librarian at Alexandria, he put Stoic metaphysics into astronomical poetry." The only piece of truth in this sentence is that Ariston is said to have been one, among others, of Eratosthenes' teachers.⁵⁷ Aratus was never librarian at Alexandria; there was no such thing as a fellow-librarian; he is not known ever to have been at Alexandria at all;⁵⁸ he was at least a generation earlier than Eratosthenes; there is no work of Eratosthenes, or any among those falsely attributed to him, which "put Stoic metaphysics into astronomical poetry" or into anything else. There is no evidence that he wrote Ariston's Life; among his works was one called *Ariston*,⁵⁹ of which nothing is known, but the title shows that it was a dialogue, as most scholars have supposed. He was not a pupil of Zeno, though Strabo says so for polemical purposes;⁶⁰ the date of his birth is known,⁶¹ and renders it impossible,⁶² for the date can only be from Apollodorus, i.e. Eratosthenes' own, while unfounded statements that the famous X was a pupil of the famous Y are not uncommon; there is an exact parallel in the impossible story which made Chrysippus a pupil of Zeno, and which even in antiquity some saw could not be true,⁶³ on the dates.

What in reality was Eratosthenes? Certainly neither a Stoic nor a Cynic; no one in antiquity ever called him either. Strabo rebuked him for his attitude to the true Stoics, and said that the men he honoured were Ariston the heretic and Arcesilas the

⁵⁷ Athen., VII, 281 c; Suidas, *s. v.*, who adds that his other teachers were Lysanias the grammarian and Callimachus.

⁵⁸ He used sometimes to be confused with Theocritus' friend Aratus of Cos, now known from inscriptions.

⁵⁹ Athen., *ib.*

⁶⁰ Strabo, I, 15.

⁶¹ Suidas: Olympiad 126 = 276-3 B. C. Zeno died in 262.

⁶² See Christ-Schmid², II, 1, p. 246, n. 5, where this is treated as settled.

⁶³ D. L., VII, 179; von Arnim, *Chrysippos* 14 in *P.-W.*

sceptic, the head of Plato's Academy;⁶⁴ but there is nothing to show that he followed Ariston's teaching—his one mention of him is to rebuke him for his leaning toward pleasure⁶⁵—and what influenced him was undoubtedly not the Cynicism of Ariston but the scepticism of Arcesilas. For if he called one work *Ariston*, he called another *Πλατωνικός*; he could be reckoned to the Platonists,⁶⁶ and his nickname "the New Plato"⁶⁷ is pretty conclusive; Wilamowitz was certainly right in summing him up as a moderate sceptic.⁶⁸ But philosophy of any kind was with him a very secondary matter, and he was not going to be forced into the doctrine of any school;⁶⁹ he was really a great man of science—with his imperfect means he measured the earth's circumference to within 200 miles of the true figure—and no Stoic before Poseidonius ever touched science; the two spheres never crossed, and indeed Ariston would have liked to abolish physics altogether.⁷⁰ As a critic, Eratosthenes rebutted the Stoic interpretation of poetry and especially of Homer,⁷¹ and his best-known pupil was the philologist Aristophanes of Byzantium, who taught Aristarchus. His influential *Chronica* displayed a large knowledge of history; he could be called a historian,⁷² and as a historical critic he could display a scepticism which is almost modern.⁷³ The suggestion (p. 139) that he took his ideas of Alexander from a romance like that of Onesicritus is impossible; I shall come to his real source presently.

At last I can turn to the "Cynic-Stoic tradition" about Alexander; for there really was one, though not quite of the kind which Fisch envisages. If Cynics, or Stoics, transferred their own beliefs to Alexander—if they attempted to mould his figure

⁶⁴ Strabo, I, 15. *SVF*, I, 345 = D. L., IV, 40 may mean that other Stoics besides Strabo attacked him.

⁶⁵ Athen., VII, 281, c, d.

⁶⁶ Stob., *Ecl.*, I, p. 378, 1-7 W.; Susemihl, I, p. 411, n. 10^b.

⁶⁷ Suidas, *ib.*, δεύτερον ἢ νέον Πλάτωνα.

⁶⁸ *Antigonos von Karystos*, p. 310. This is what νέον Πλάτωνα must mean, after Arcesilas.

⁶⁹ Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 15 and his citations. Scepticism was not a school, in this sense.

⁷⁰ D. L., VII, 160.

⁷¹ Knaack, *Eratosthenes in P.-W.*, col. 276; Christ-Schmidt², II, 1, p. 247.

⁷² Stephanus, *Κυρήνη*.

⁷³ E. g. Arrian, V, 3, 1-4.

after their own image—they must at the least have thought pretty well of him; on the contrary, they both thought very badly of him indeed. Onesicritus, the imperfect Cynic, may (as some believe) have tried to reconcile Alexander the king with Cynic ideas by making Alexander a Cynic philosopher;⁷⁴ but he had no following, and this was not the Cynic view. To Cynics, Alexander was a man full of *ῥῆφος*, as comes out clearly in the stories they invented in which Diogenes puts him firmly in his place;⁷⁵ from *ῥῆφος* to tyranny was but a step, and in the Cynic version of his meeting with the Gymnosophists he is a tyrant who threatens the harmless recluses with death.⁷⁶ The Stoics (I postpone the third century for a moment) took exactly the same line; from Diogenes of Seleucia and the Middle Stoa onwards they emphasized his vices and particularly his *ῥῆφος*,⁷⁷ the quality of all others which Zeno had singled out for condemnation;⁷⁸ and when we come to the Stoics of the Roman empire, few things more savage have been written than Seneca's attacks on him as a cruel and insatiable tyrant⁷⁹ and Lucan's long description of him as the evil star of humanity.⁸⁰ The Peripatetics had said that Aristotle had turned out a perfectly good pupil, but his fortune (*τύχη*) had ruined him and made him a tyrant;⁸¹ the Stoics said he was vicious from the start, and the fault lay with his *paidagogos* Leonidas, who ought to have knocked his *ῥῆφος* out of him.⁸² Later, the two things, *ῥῆφος* and *τύχη*, were occasionally combined.⁸³

⁷⁴ The only evidence is the phrase *ἐν ὅλοις φιλοσοφῶντα*.

⁷⁵ See Hoffmann's analysis, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁷⁶ Wilcken, *op. cit.*, p. 177, on *P. Berlin* 13044; he dates it c. 100 B. C. or slightly earlier.

⁷⁷ Stroux' illuminating article already cited. I have been very carefully through Fisch's Appendix III (p. 150) and his citations; he does not shake Stroux' position in the least.

⁷⁸ *SVE*, I, 317 = D. L., VII, 22.

⁷⁹ Especially *Ep.*, 94, 62-3; 119, 7. It has been suggested that Seneca's development of the customary Stoic criticism of Alexander may have been due to distrust of Nero's policy: E. M. Sanford, *Harvard Stud. in Class. Philol.*, XLVIII (1937), p. 86.

⁸⁰ *Pharsalia*, X, 20 ff. *Sidus iniquum gentibus* is line 35.

⁸¹ Tarn, *CAH*, VI, 400; Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 f. But it is common ground to everyone.

⁸² Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-6.

⁸³ Strabo, XV, 686, *ἐντυχίαις τετυφωμένον*.

Certainly we have no fragment of the third century Stoics which refers to Alexander; but it is not credible that Diogenes of Seleucia should have started the school on a completely new view of him a century and a half after his death, and there seems to be an important witness for the early third century in Megasthenes. That writer, when in his account of the Brahmans he came to τὰ κατὰ φύσιν, ascribed to them Stoic views,⁸⁴ which he could hardly have done unless he had been a Stoic himself; and his version of the meeting of Alexander and the Gymnosophists, like the Cynic version, makes Alexander a tyrant who threatens the men with death.⁸⁵

That is the real "Cynic-Stoic" Alexander throughout: no idealised figure, but a tyrant full of τῦφος. I need say no more; but I want to get the first part⁸⁶ of Plutarch's *de Alexandri Fortuna*, which I deferred considering, on to its real basis, and that can now be done. It is an attack on both the Peripatetic belief in Alexander's τύχη and the Cynic-Stoic belief in his τῦφος.⁸⁷ Plutarch had read widely, if not very critically; he was big enough himself to recognize greatness when he saw it, and he had no patience with either the Stoic or the Peripatetic attacks on Alexander; and the first part of the *de Fortuna* is no rhetorical exercise or work of the study, but was written in a white heat of passion⁸⁸ by a man testifying to the faith that was in him, that Alexander had proved himself a better philosopher than the philosophers who maligned him. Fisch's attempt, following a theory of Schwartz', to show that much of the work was derived from Onesicritus misconceives its nature; its sources were as wide as Plutarch's reading, and if he quotes Zeno or other Stoics it is to refute Stoic calumnies from their

⁸⁴ Schwartz, *Rhein. Mus.*, XL, p. 239; Susemihl, I, p. 550.

⁸⁵ His version is Arr., VII, 2, 2-4 = Strabo, XV, 718. In Strabo Alexander threatens ἀπειθοῦντι κόλασιν, which means death (ἀποθανόν in Strabo; ἀποθανόντα, Arr., VII, 2, 4).

⁸⁶ The unfinished second part, with its repetitions, has no bearing here. What it may be I do not know: conceivably not Plutarch at all.

⁸⁷ Stroux, *op. cit.*, p. 232. Τύχη is obvious. For τῦφος see 330 A, τρυφωμένης ψυχῆς; the references to τρυφή (insolence) 330 E, 332 A; and the assertion (331 A) of Alexander's μετρίότης, Aristotle's favourite virtue.

⁸⁸ This explains such slips of memory as Ἀραχωσίους for Γεδρωσίους in 328 C, and Σογδιανή for Δραγγιανή in 328 F.

own teaching: Alexander had already practised what they afterwards preached. As to section 5 in particular, on Alexander as a bringer of civilisation, which is Fisch's main standby, most of its items are far later than Onesicritus: they relate to things of the Seleucid or Graeco-Bactrian periods (the section is almost exclusively occupied with the Far East) which, like many other things, had been attributed back to Alexander; Plutarch, if challenged, would doubtless have said, and said truly, that without him they would not have been. Performances of Euripides or Sophocles (328 D) almost certainly,⁸⁹ and Indians worshipping Greek gods (328 C) certainly,⁹⁰ are simple facts of the second century B. C.; the teaching of agriculture (328 C) to "Arachosians" (it should be Gedrosians) is Hellenistic;⁹¹ the *terminus ante quem non* of the mysterious reference to the Gedrosians acting Greek plays (328 D) is unmistakable;⁹² and the list of the five cities (328 F), taken (not at first hand) from the lost historian of the Farther East whom I have called "Trogus' source," can be dated to within a year or two of 87 B. C. and makes no sense at any other time.⁹³ There is one item, that Alexander taught the Hyrcanians marriage (328 C), on which I have failed to get any information;⁹⁴ it may reflect some real discovery of a tribe that practised group-marriage or something of the sort, which Greeks would regard as promiscuity, and might be from anyone at any period. The story that Alexander stopped the Sogdians killing their fathers (328 C) *might* be from Onesicritus, because of his story (fr. 5) about the dogs at Bactra; but the two things are not at all the same. That Onesicritus represented Alexander as a bringer of civilisation is mostly guesswork;⁹⁵ but, even if he did, it has no bearing on the question of Alexander's universalism.

⁸⁹ *Bactria and India*, p. 383 and n. 5.

⁹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 380.

⁹¹ Probably the same statement as that in Pliny, *N.H.*, VI, 95: "Alexander forbade the fisheaters to eat fish," which means that some Hellenistic ruler later had tried to establish agriculture along the Gedrosian coast; see *Bactria and India*, pp. 260, 482. One could not talk of teaching *Arachosians* agriculture, though new plants or methods might possibly have been introduced later into Seistan.

⁹² *Ib.*, p. 94: after Demetrius' conquest of Sind.

⁹³ *Ib.*, pp. 48-50.

⁹⁴ *Ib.*, p. 81, n. 9.

⁹⁵ It rests on the story of the dogs at Bactra.

Fisch's reconstruction, therefore—Cynic "cosmopolitanism," Alexander the Cynic, Onesicritus creating a Cynic-Stoic tradition which reappears in Eratosthenes and nearly every important writer we know—vanishes when looked into. I must now turn for a moment to his first article, the criticism of my lecture; I will be as brief as possible, for, though most of my lecture is good evidence, it is not now the most important evidence. I shall therefore omit many secondary matters and suppositions in that article, not because I agree with them, but because so many are unfounded that to go through them would merely be tedious. Where I meet criticism that seems sound I shall say so.

His section C (pp. 77-82) is chiefly an attempt to prove that the *oikeiosis* doctrine was Stoic and that Theophrastus had nothing to do with it; he follows (p. 80) a mistranslation of a passage which von Arnim wrongly included under Zeno.⁸⁶ This subject I need not consider, for it has been done for me: Dr. Fr. Dirlmeier, who is preparing a new collection and edition of the fragments of Theophrastus, has since shown at minute length that the passages I said were from Theophrastus *are* his, and that the *oikeiosis* doctrine was his alone and not Stoic, till at a much later time the Stoics adopted it.⁸⁷ This book deals with all the points but one. No one, as I noted before (lecture, n. 101) has ever supposed that Theophrastus' amazing extension of the doctrine to all mankind was his own idea; Dirlmeier duly notes (p. 72) that love of all mankind was earlier than the Stoics, but does not go into Theophrastus' source beyond mentioning the old (and inadequate) idea that it might be Empedocles. What I wrote about it stands; but I note in addition that one of Alexander's supposed "plans," which are late Hellenistic,⁸⁸ made Alexander refer explicitly to (Theophrastus') *oikeiōsis* (a rare word) and to a *συγγενική φιλία* of Europe and

⁸⁶ *SVF*, I, 197, *τὴν δὲ οἰκείωσιν ἀρχὴν τίθεται δικαιοσύνης οἱ ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος*, which is not "Zeno"; that would be *οἱ περὶ Ζήωνα*.

⁸⁷ "Die Oikeiosis-Lehre Theophrasts," *Philol.*, Supp. Bd. XXX, 1, 1937; for the supposed Zeno passages, *SVF*, I, 197, 198, see p. 48. As he fortunately did not know my lecture he cannot have been influenced by it.

⁸⁸ Diod., XVIII, 4, 2-5; Tarn, *J. H. S.*, XLI (1921), p. 1, and forthcoming article on "Alexander's plans."

Asia,⁹⁹ which is simply Theophrastus' extension of the *φιλία* of the family to all mankind; and this means that the writer, whoever he was, believed, as I do, that Theophrastus took his idea of the general *φιλία* of all men from Alexander.

The rest of this section deals with Cassander's circle; beyond the attempt to get rid of four closely reasoned pages on the date of Euhemerus by an *ipse dixit* (p. 78), all I need notice is the description of Alexarchus as "lunatic" and "comic." One cannot write Macedonian history from Greek gossip. It is not "comic" that Ouranopolis was the only city on the Greek mainland to found a colony in Asia,¹⁰⁰ presumably for Alexarchus' (and Cassander's) brother Pleistarchus, just as the great Ionian cities—Magnaesia, Ephesus, Miletus—founded colonies for different kings;¹⁰¹ nor that we either have to believe that Alexarchus was still remembered in Bactria in 165 B. C. or to believe in a most peculiar coincidence.¹⁰² Of course Alexarchus was not quite normal;¹⁰³ that has nothing to do with it. I think Fisch has made one minor point about him;¹⁰⁴ otherwise there is nothing in C.

There is little in section B either, pp. 69-77 (on the line of

⁹⁹ *Ib.*, XVIII, 4, 4: *σωμάτων μεταγωγὰς . . . ὅπως τὰς μεγίστας ἡπείρους (Europe and Asia) ταῖς ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ταῖς οἰκειώσεσιν εἰς κοινὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συγγενικὴν φιλίαν καταστήσῃ.* The *ἐπιγαμίαι* refer to the weddings at Susa, and *κοινὴ ὁμόνοια* to the *ὁμόνοια καὶ κοινωλία* of the prayer at Opis (*infra*); the rest is Theophrastus. Neither Wilcken (*Berlin SB.*, 1937, p. 202) nor Berve (*Klio*, XXXI, p. 166) has noticed the reference to Theophrastus.

¹⁰⁰ Ouranopolis in Pamphylia, Ptolemy, V, 5, 6; obviously during Pleistarchus' rule.

¹⁰¹ Evidence in *Bactria and India*, p. 6.

¹⁰² *Ib.*, p. 210; cf. p. 92.

¹⁰³ O. Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus und Salomoneus*, 1933, pp. 14, 76, argued that he suffered from schizophrenia. This disease has recently been pleaded in an English Court of law; but the medical evidence adduced went to prove a mentality which is not in point for Alexarchus.

¹⁰⁴ He may be right (p. 78) in saying that my suggestion that Alexarchus might be a possible source for Zeno's Eros was "unhappy." There are many alternatives, like Plato's *Ἔρως φιλανθρωπότητος* (*Symp.*, 189 C), which I also suggested; or Aristotle's First Cause, *κινεῖ ὡς ἐρώμενον*; or better perhaps Pherekydes (Diels, *Vorsoer.*, 71 B. 2 and 3) where Zeus transforms himself into Eros to assure the unity of the world. Or Zeno might even have thought of it for himself.

kingship); but I must just look at his three chief points, which are (1) that the Stoic tradition was monarchic from the first, and therefore I was wrong in separating the king from the Stoa; (2) that I was wrong in saying that Stoic literature never says it was anyone's business to promote Homonoia; and (3) that Diotogenes and Pseudo-Ecphantus were Stoics, and cannot be confidently dated.

(1) The idea that early Stoics regarded kingship as the ideal form of government was started by Professor Kaerst in 1898,¹⁰⁵ chiefly on the strength of the friendship between Zeno and Antigonus Gonatas, though he also cited some passages from Roman imperial times (p. 66, n. 1) which are not evidence for the early Stoa. But the acts of individual Stoics are not evidence for Stoic theory; you can be the personal friend of a man with whose politics you disagree, and the friendship of Zeno and Antigonus was a matter of personal liking and of ethics, i. e. the philosophy of *conduct*, not of political theories. Kaerst repeated his belief in his history,¹⁰⁶ and gave three references, which I have verified afresh; they do not bear on the matter, for or against. The belief has been widely quoted (as I did myself, long ago), solely on Kaerst's authority; there is no evidence, and in face of Zeno's own teaching¹⁰⁷ how could there be? My note 51 to my lecture, which deals with the subject, is quite correct; but in view of Fisch's note on p. 70 I will give two third century quotations on kingship. Sphaerus (*SVF*, I, 625) said that Ptolemy IV was not a king; being taken to task, he said "Very well; being what he is (i. e. a worthless creature) he is a king." Contempt for kingship cannot go further.¹⁰⁸ Chrysip-

¹⁰⁵ J. Kaerst, *Studien zur Entwicklung und theoretischen Begründung der Monarchie in Altertum*, p. 67, the relations of Zeno, Sphaerus, and Persaeus with kings. His quotation here from Stobaeus (cf. Suidas, βασιλεῖς I) which he calls Stoic, is from one of those unknown treatises περὶ βασιλείας which every school wrote. For a recent reconstruction, in Kaerst's sense, of what Sphaerus *might* have been doing at Cleomenes' court see F. Ollier, *Rev. E. G.*, XLIX (1936), p. 536. Pretty well all we *know* is his connection with education.

¹⁰⁶ *Gesch. des Hellenismus*², II, p. 308 and n. 1.

¹⁰⁷ That the σπουδαῖος οὐτε βιάσει οὐτε δεσπόξει, *SVF*, I, 216.

¹⁰⁸ An exact modern parallel for Sphaerus' "apology" is the famous "bones to a bear" story in *Mr. Midshipman Easy*.

pus¹⁰⁹ said that if the wise man wanted to make money (a thing which the Stoic σοφός in Stoic eyes had no business to want) the three best ways were, to go to a king, to sponge on his friends, or to prostitute his wisdom; ¹¹⁰ he said elsewhere that the wise man would willingly go to a king for the money he would make ¹¹¹ (a thing Chrysippus himself refused to do). Plutarch missed the savage sarcasm of this, and was puzzled as to why Chrysippus should have said it when he had so often said that the wise man did not need money.¹¹² Of course it was all explained away later,¹¹³ as other inconvenient sayings in other religions have been. Fisch's sole argument for his view is that "there is no evidence that any early Stoic favoured anything but kingship" (p. 70, n. 6), which needs no comment; he has no evidence that they did favour it. What they did do was to regard earthly constitutions as of value solely in so far as, and in proportion as, they might in their eyes approximate to that Divine Reason which was King of the universe; hence at different periods, in the changing circumstances of the world, they gave their preference to different forms of government, as for example when they changed over from the Roman oligarchy to Roman emperors.

(2) He cites two passages to show that the Stoics thought it was people's business to promote Homonoia; neither, when read, bears on the matter at all. Chrysippus¹¹⁴ said that everything in the universe comes into being for the sake of something else, as the scabbard for the sword, etc., and man is born for the sake of contemplating and imitating the universe. Poseidonius¹¹⁵ said that the end (τέλος) of man was to contemplate the truth

¹⁰⁹ SVF, III, 693 = Plut., *Mor.*, 1043 B-E.

¹¹⁰ τὸν ἀπὸ σοφιστείας, a word invariably used in a bad sense, which therefore gives the meaning of the whole saying; cf. Plut., *Mor.*, 1047 F, where Chrysippus classes together going to a king to make money and σοφιστεῖν ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ.

¹¹¹ SVF, III, 691 = Plut., *Mor.*, 1043 B-E. In D. L., VII, 189 he calls getting a living from a king a ludicrous method (καταγέλαστος).

¹¹² *Mor.*, *ib.*

¹¹³ Stob., *Ecl.*, II, VII, 11 m., p. 109 W.

¹¹⁴ Cicero, *de nat. deorum*, II, 14, 37; I give the context.

¹¹⁵ Clem., *Strom.*, II, 21 [129, 4]; I quote from O. Stählin's edition, 1906. Poseidonius thought the τέλος was τὸ ζῆν θεωροῦντα τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀλήθειαν καὶ τάξιν, καὶ συγκατασκευάζοντα αὐτὸν (MS αὐτὴν) κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, κατὰ μὴδὲν ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλόγου μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς.

of the universe and its arrangement, and to bring himself into conformity with it as far as possible and not to be led astray by the irrational part of the soul. Fisch (p. 71), adopting a MS reading αἰτήν, translates "doing one's best to help establish it"; but it has been universally seen that αἰτήν must be altered to αἰτόν, because it makes no sense with what follows: as the clause beginning κατὰ μηδέν relates to the man himself, the preceding clause beginning συγκατασκευάζοντα must do the same, or we get nonsense.

(3) There is no possibility of Diotogenes and Pseudo-Ecphantus being Stoics, because they wrote in a Doric dialect.¹¹⁶ There is no reason to doubt Stobaeus that they were Pythagoreans. Professor Goodenough did great service in bringing these fragments of lost treatises περὶ βασιλείας into the daylight, and as such I quoted them; with Fisch's long attack on his views I am not concerned. My dating of Diotogenes, which Fisch of course had to reject, can hardly be wrong, not merely from the striking parallels in language I gave, which he does not notice, but because of the strange fact that no one, not even legend, took any further notice of Demetrius the Besieger once the generation which had known him was dead.

The rest of section B calls for little remark. He has not shown that my view of Iambulus is wrong; he cannot know—no one can—that in the Pergamene revolution it was Blossius who brought in Iambulus, though he builds on this (pp. 74 f.); and I fear I have not seen the reason for bringing in Seneca's *de Clementia* (p. 77), which deals with the purely non-Stoic concept that the king was the soul of the state and is a nauseous piece of flattery of Nero.

Part of section A (pp. 64-9)—Zeno's *Politeia*—is on a different footing. I had missed the real point, and was open to damaging criticism; some parts of Fisch's pp. 67, 68 are justified, but he did not see the real point either, so I must do my own criticism of myself. I wrote in the common belief that Zeno's *Politeia* and Zeno's World-state were the same thing,¹¹⁷ and so dragged the World-state down to the level of the *Politeia*; I am now satisfied that they were totally different things. Zeno's

¹¹⁶ Professor Nock called my attention to the importance of this.

¹¹⁷ Based on Plutarch, *de Alexandri Fortuna*, 329 A.

Politeia was a strictly limited state, like Aristotle's; he took as its basis (*ὑπόθεσιν*) Lycurgus' Sparta,¹¹⁸ the most limited state the Greek world knew; you could go abroad from his state,¹¹⁹ which implies other states or countries beside it; there was community of women, and each citizen was to love *all* the children as though he were their father,¹²⁰ which implies a quite small community; and, as I said, only the worthy, a small class, were citizens;¹²¹ the unworthy were like the Helots at Sparta, and Zeno said,¹²² "If the unworthy speak against the worthy, shall he not suffer for it?" Helots again. No wonder later Stoics disliked the *Politeia*, and said that Zeno had not always been Zeno.¹²³ What Plutarch *describes* in his famous passage¹²⁴ is Zeno's later World-state, though *apparently* he calls it the *Politeia*; it may be a slip of memory, but it seems much more probable that he is using the word here loosely for "state" and not in the sense of Zeno's early book the *Politeia*;¹²⁵ for the World-state had no fixed name, and Plutarch might just as well have called it a πολιτεία as Chrysippus¹²⁶ and Areius Didymus¹²⁷ called it a σύστημα and Cicero a "city."¹²⁸

It follows that the argument on pp. 15 (135) f. of my lecture is not valid against the thesis, maintained by Fisch and many others, that Alexander's universalism was merely attributed to him from the later universalism of the Stoics (though my other two lines of reasoning *are* valid and sufficiently con-

¹¹⁸ SVF, I, 261 = Plut., *Lycurgus*, XXXI.

¹¹⁹ SVF, I, 268 = D. L., VII, 133, ἀποδημίας ἐρεκεν, the ordinary word for going outside the bounds of your own state.

¹²⁰ SVF, I, 269 = D. L., VII, 131.

¹²¹ SVF, I, 222 = D. L., VII, 33. Fisch, p. 69, says that no disfranchisement (of the unworthy) is implied. But the Greek is plain enough. Kaerst, *Entwicklung*, p. 73, took it as I do.

¹²² SVF, I, 228, οὐκ αἰμώξεται; Fisch, p. 69, translates this: "If the Incompetent dispute with the Competent, he will come off badly, won't he?" No such meaning of αἰμώξεται is known (see the new Liddell and Scott); and φαῦλος is hardly "incompetent."

¹²³ Philodemus in Crönert, *op. cit.*, cols. XV ff., pp. 55 ff. Ζήνων γὰρ οὐκ ἦν δὲ is col. XV, l. 15.

¹²⁴ *De Alexandri Fortuna*, 329 A.

¹²⁵ He would not have called this *Politeia* ἡ θαυμαστομένη.

¹²⁶ SVF, III, 528.

¹²⁷ SVF, III, 527 = Stob., *Eccl.*, I, p. 184, 8 W.

¹²⁸ *De leg.*, I, 7, 23; *de nat. deorum*, II, 62 (154).

clusive); but it is not very important, for the proof that Alexander was the first to think of it depends now on something different. So I can return to my four passages; but before considering the first three, which now all stand together, I had better notice the criticisms of my view of the fourth,¹²⁹ which stands alone. Alexander is supposed to have said: "God is the common father of all men, but he makes the best ones peculiarly his own," *ἰδίους ἑαυτοῦ*; and I said that the "adoption of the best" was not Stoic, but unique. Fisch's argument (p. 65) for the second clause being Stoic is that Diogenes is reputed to have said that the wise were dear to the gods, which does not meet *ἰδίους*, and Aetius' statement that Heracles, the Dioscuri, and Dionysus were raised to the gods for benefitting mankind,¹³⁰ which does not satisfy the meaning: these were all sons of Zeus *κατὰ φύσιν*, and you cannot *make* your own sons your own. Professor Wilcken has also dealt with this passage;¹³¹ he of course refers the second clause to Alexander's adoption by Ammon, as Plutarch practically does and I did (I think now I would say adoption *and* counselling);¹³² but as to the first clause, while he does not deny that Alexander said it, he takes the view that it does not matter if he did, for it is a mere commonplace which proves nothing: every Greek had known it since Homer's *πατὴρ ἄνδρων τε θεῶν τε*. I wish they had. Homer's phrase is only a phrase for "head of the world" or something of the sort; there are gods in Homer whom Zeus neither fathered nor created, together with their human descendants (e. g. Poseidon's). Every Greek had known Homer's phrase for centuries without deducing from it Alexander's idea, and all that can be said is that it *may* have been one among other things which may have "prepared" Alexander's mind;¹³³ few great ideas fall from the blue

¹²⁹ Plut., *Alex.*, XXVII, ὡς πάντων μὲν ὅντα κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα τὸν θεόν, ἰδίους δὲ ποιούμενον ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους.

¹³⁰ *SVF*, II, 1009. Aetius only gives it as one of the ways in which man may acquire knowledge of the divine.

¹³¹ "Die letzten Pläne Alexanders des Grossen," *Berl. SB.*, 1937, p. 199.

¹³² Arrian, VI, 19, 4 (twice).

¹³³ E. g. some of the things given by Max Mühl, *Die antike Menschheitsidee*, 1928, pp. 3-12, on which see my lecture, n. 6. I may mention here that, as to Plato, *Protagoras*, 337 c in that note, Fisch (p.

without *some* preparation, but the genius is the man who transcends the partial anticipations and seizes the idea, and in this case that man was Alexander. It is possible that we possess a very early reference to, and therefore confirmation of, this saying of Alexander's: Megasthenes, in his version of the meeting between Alexander and the gymnosophists, makes the Indian Dandamis say to him "If you are son of Zeus, so am I";¹⁸⁴ and it does not appear what else Megasthenes could have had in mind, for this is much earlier than the earliest Stoic enunciation of the fatherhood of God by Cleanthes¹⁸⁵ and Aratus of Soli.¹⁸⁶

I can now come to my first three passages, and I start with the sentence in the passage from Eratosthenes¹⁸⁷ (my second passage) in which he says that Alexander believed that he had a mission from the deity to be the harmoniser and reconciler of the world, mixing men's lives and customs and marriages as in a loving cup.¹⁸⁸ Where did Eratosthenes get his extraordinary phrase "reconciler of the world" and his extraordinary metaphor of the loving cup, to which there seems no parallel in Greek literature? I should have seen long ago that his loving cup,

143, n. 25) is right in fact in saying that my phrase "Athenian" citizens was wrong; the context shows that it should have been "Greek," the sense being the same in either case. His *deduction* I may omit. On the much discussed question of Antiphon see now especially J. Mewaldt in *Genethliakon W. Schmid*, 1929, p. 69, who (pp. 81-3) decides against his *ὁμόνοια* having anything to do with a *Gemeinschaftsgefühl* of all mankind.

¹⁸⁴ Arr., VII, 2, 3. ¹⁸⁵ *Hymn to Zeus*, l. 4. ¹⁸⁶ *Phainomena*, l. 5.

¹⁸⁷ Paraphrase of the whole passage in my lecture, p. 7 (127) and see n. 25. Part of the passage is in Strabo, I, 66, from the words *ἐπὶ τέλει* to *εὐεργετῆν*; whether what follows, from *ὥσπερ δὲ ἄλλο* to the end of book I, be also taken from Eratosthenes, as Schwartz thought (*Rhein. Mus.*, XL, p. 253) or be Strabo's own, as Bernhardt, Bernays, and Hoffmann thought (Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 16) is not material here. The remainder of the passage is in § 6 of Plutarch, *de Alexandri Fortuna*, from *οὐ γὰρ ὡς Ἀριστεύου* (329 B) to the end. Fisch (p. 139) would follow Schwartz in also giving what precedes, from *καὶ μὴν* to *πάρεσχεν*, to Eratosthenes. It is immaterial to my argument, but it must in fact be Plutarch's own, from the antithesis of *λόγος* and *ἔργον* (328 B); for that is the keynote running through the whole of the *de Fortuna*.

¹⁸⁸ *κοινὸς ἦκεν θεῶν ἀρμοστής καὶ διαλλακτὴς τῶν ὄλων νομίζων, . . . ὥσπερ ἐν κρατῇ φιλοτησίῳ μέγας τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰ ἥθη καὶ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τὰς δαίτας.*

κρατήρ φιλοσησίος, is the krater of the scene at Opis,¹³⁹ and that that is what he is speaking of; and I must now go through that scene (my first passage) very carefully.

Alexander gave a banquet to 9,000 people, which ended in them all making a libation together, followed by his prayer. That Arrian's narrative comes from Ptolemy is certain;¹⁴⁰ but there may of course have been other accounts also, and it is likely that, if Alexander gave a banquet to 9,000 men, as the prelude to a solemn religious act in which all participated and of which the culminating point was his prayer, that prayer would have contained more than the twelve words we have, though we cannot go behind what Arrian gives. At Alexander's own table sat "Macedonians," "Persians," some Greek seers, some Magi, and those representatives of "the other peoples" who, through being distinguished for this or that, were ranked highest in dignity; what proportion of the 9,000 were at his own table cannot be said, but it was anyhow a large number, for among them were the most prominent men from every race in the empire. All those at his table (οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν) drew wine from a krater on his table for the libation, which was led by the Greek seers and the Magi. Arrian says the whole 9,000 made one libation, i. e. together at the sound of the trumpet.¹⁴¹ They cannot all have drawn from the one krater; but, even so, that krater must have been enormous, as all those at Alexander's table drew from it, and a thing which would certainly have remained in the mind of any eye-witness of the scene was that

¹³⁹ Arr., VII, 11, 8 and 9. What Alexander prayed for was τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὁμόνοίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς Μακεδόσι καὶ Περσῶσι. I take τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ to be only a formula covering things like ὑγίεια and σωτηρία; I have not gone into it, but cf. the ritual prayer in Diod., I, 70, 5 for τῇ τε ὑγίειαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ πάντα.

¹⁴⁰ E. Kornemann, *Die Alexandergeschichte des Königs Ptolemaios I*, 1935, p. 164, cf. p. 219 (excluding of course the speech to the mutineers). It cannot be separated from the account of the wedding at Susa (cf. Eratosthenes' reference to γάμους in the loving cup, *de Alexandri Fortuna*, 329 C, and the use by Plutarch of φιλοσησίον in respect of the weddings, *ib.*, 329 E) and it is certain from the nomenclature that the account of the weddings in Arrian is from Ptolemy, as the brides' names and the pairings are correctly given: mistakes came in soon enough.

¹⁴¹ For the Macedonian, and Alexander's, custom of giving the signal by trumpet see Tarn, *J. H. S.*, XLVIII (1928), pp. 210 f.

great krater on Alexander's table and representatives of all the peoples of the empire drawing from it; notionally, they were all mixed in that krater as a private man's guests were, notionally, mixed in a loving cup.¹⁴²

As Eratosthenes applies his metaphor of the loving cup to his phrase "reconciler of the world," that phrase must relate to the scene at Opis also, and it shows that when Alexander prayed for homonoia and *κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς* he was including all the peoples present, i. e. all the peoples of his empire together with the Greeks. Professor Kolbe in 1936¹⁴³ pointed out that the prayer must have included all the peoples of the empire, but he did not prove his view, beyond citing those satraps of Alexander's who were Asiatics but not Persians; Wilcken has since flatly contradicted him,¹⁴⁴ on the ground that the prayer only *mentions* Macedonians and Persians; he himself would reduce the whole thing to an arrangement for the protection of Asia while Alexander was conquering the West. Eratosthenes is decisive that Kolbe was right; but in fact analysis alone would show that more than Macedonians and Persians were included. For the libations were led by the Greek seers and the Magi, neither of whom therefore could have been omitted from the prayer. But the distinction between Greeks and Macedonians at that time was a sharp one, and Arrian is always careful to distinguish them; and, on the other side, the Magi would be Medes, neither could Alexander have omitted his wife's Bactrian kinsmen, whom he had actually taken so much trouble to reconcile, even to marrying into their class. At the least, therefore, "Macedonians" must include Greeks, and "Persians" other Iranians. This has been obscured by translating *κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς* as "partnership in the rule (of the empire)"—I fear I have done it myself;¹⁴⁵ Eratosthenes shows that it must be "partnership in the empire" or "the realm," and the Plutarch passage next to be considered will bear this out.

¹⁴² On the loving cup see my lecture, n. 27.

¹⁴³ W. Kolbe, *Die Weltreichsidee Alexanders des Grossen*, 1936, p. 18.

¹⁴⁴ *Berlin SB.*, 1937, 10 [199], n. 6. Followed by H. Berve, *Klio*, XXXI, pp. 135, 161. Berve's note on the Eratosthenes passage (p. 161, n. 1) has no point once Eratosthenes' source is known.

¹⁴⁵ I gave it however correctly in *Hellenistic Civilisation*², p. 73, a "joint commonwealth."

I have no doubt that the actual prayer was longer. Ptolemy tried to give facts, and the prayer was a fact, but by the time he wrote he had long parted company with Alexander's ideas, and he would hardly be concerned to expatiate too much on a prayer whose sentiments were the condemnation of his own methods of rule. But I cannot go behind the words we have; and as, though the prayer included everyone, our version only *names* Macedonians and Persians, they must be taken as typical, the two peoples who had been the protagonists in the war; and what Alexander was praying for was the reconciliation of the whole of the two sides in the great struggle and the partnership in his empire of all the peoples it included—a joint commonwealth in which all those peoples were to be partners rather than mere subjects. The revolutionary nature of such an unheard-of idea needs no emphasising.

It is now evident that my third passage, from Plutarch's *de Alexandri Fortuna*,¹⁴⁶ is also taken from, and refers to, the scene at Opis. Alexander's intention, it says, was to bring about for all men homonoia, peace, and *κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους*—partnership, or communion, with one another; the first and third expressions are the words of the prayer, while "peace" follows from homonoia, and *κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους* shows that the *κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς* of the prayer does mean partnership in the realm and not partnership in rule. Whether this passage is Plutarch himself or Plutarch again quoting Eratosthenes I do not know. But in my lecture I had combined with it another passage,¹⁴⁷ which I now think ought not to come in; it is only Plutarch's own deduction from what he knew. Certainly *μᾶς πολιτείας* might represent the *κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς* of the prayer, and that might be said to entail *ἓνα δῆμον*; but *ἐνὸς ὑπῆκοα λόγου* is new, and I am not very sure what it means, for *λόγος* never seems actually to mean "law"; perhaps "subject to one principle." This passage therefore is not now part of my demonstration.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ 330 E, *πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμόνοϊαν καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρασκευάσαι διανοηθέντα.*

¹⁴⁷ *De Alexandri Fortuna*, 330 D, *ἐνὸς ὑπῆκοα λόγου τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ μᾶς πολιτείας, ἓνα δῆμον ἀνθρώπων ἅπαντας ἀποφῆναι βουλόμενος.*

¹⁴⁸ There may be some justification for Fisch (pp. 66-7) connecting this passage (but not the other) with the "world-conquest" idea, by Plutarch's time a commonplace.

There is one further point. The prayer as we have it includes only the peoples of the empire and of the Greek world; but in Eratosthenes¹⁴⁹ Alexander's intention extends to "the world" and in Plutarch to "all men." This need not imply any contradiction, for the phrase "all men" had often been used in a more limited sense,¹⁵⁰ and there is at least one instance in a historian of the phrase τὰ ὅλα, "the world," meaning Alexander's empire;¹⁵¹ modern men use the words "the world" loosely enough, even to calling the Roman empire a "world-state."¹⁵² The only question would be whether Eratosthenes and Plutarch, who had more information than we have, knew of a version of the scene at Opis in which Alexander explicitly included all men in his prayer for homonoia. I shall not speculate on this; but it is clear that, in the prayer as we have it, homonoia might stand alone as a general conception and not be conditioned by Μακεδόνι καὶ Περσῶν. It may not be very material; for, on the one hand, Alexander's statement that all men were sons of one Father, and the ideas of human brotherhood with which he inspired Theophrastus and the Stoics, sufficiently indicate his own thoughts; and, on the other, the inclusion of the Greeks shows that the prayer was not confined to his empire.

Of my four passages, then, the first three all relate to Alexander's prayer at Opis. I said in my lecture that I could not prove Alexander's universalism and that I claimed no more than a strong presumption in its favour; it is now, as I see it, certain. It antedates Stoicism—that is, the opening by Zeno of his school—by just 23 years.

I must mention in conclusion that there is now a totally different matter, which, as I see it, is no less important than

¹⁴⁹ Fisch (*ib.*) connects the Eratosthenes passage also with the "world-conquest" idea, and says I omitted this. There was nothing to omit; there is nothing about it in the Eratosthenes passage anywhere. On the "world-kingdom" see further my forthcoming article on "Alexander's plans."

¹⁵⁰ Instances in my lecture, n. 13, of it meaning all Greeks.

¹⁵¹ Diod., XVIII, 50, 2; the context makes it certain.

¹⁵² Kolbe, *op. cit.*, p. 18 calls the scene at Opis the birth of the idea of a universal *Weltverbrüderung*; and V. Ehrenberg, *Alexander and the Greeks*, 1938, pp. 39, 61, 83, calls Alexander's actual realm the "empire of the world." It has often been called a *Weltreich*; I do not know if this was the word in the unpublished German original.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF LYSIAS.

In continuation of the study of durative and aoristic tenses which was begun in the fifty-fourth volume of this *Journal*, a rapid survey was made of the speeches of the orator Lysias for the purpose of finding passages that have as variant readings an aorist and a durative tense of the same verb, whether one of the two variants is a critic's conjecture or both are in the manuscripts. The ultimate purpose was to reëxamine the rival claims of the two tenses in these passages in order to get the better text in each case.

The result of the study was in most cases to confirm the reading of the manuscripts as over against the conjectures of textual critics. It became apparent too that, when so-called emendations of the text were made in this group of words, it was usually the durative tense that was "emended" to the aorist rather than the reverse. Sometimes the examination of a passage showed that either the durative tense or the aorist made good sense, fitted the context, and yielded an acceptable translation; in these cases the reading that has the better manuscript support should be adopted. The position taken in this paper is distinctly opposed to the attitude of those critics who seem to be more concerned to emend the text than to defend the reading of the manuscripts.

Cobet¹ changed seven of the nineteen durative forms of *πείθομαι* in Lysias to the aorist in the belief that the scribes by a sort of conspiracy deliberately altered forms in *πιθ-* to corresponding forms in *πειθ-*. Four of the seven occur in the protasis of a conditional sentence, the remaining three are occurrences of the participle *πειθόμενοι*, which in two instances has a conditional force. A careful study of the tense of *πείθομαι* in the seven passages shows that in all of them it expresses continuance, for, while obedience may at times be thought of as a simple act, it is perfectly natural at other times to regard it as a continued act of compliance with the advice, request, directions, or commands of another.

The fame of the great Dutch critic led some of the editors, notably Hude, to adopt these conjectures which substituted the

¹ *Nov. Lect.*, p. 410.

aorist for durative forms. Some support for Cobet's point of view may be found in the fact that some or all of the manuscripts of Aristophanes give forms in *πειθ-* in eleven passages² in which the aorist in *πιθ-* is required by the metre; yet in other places³ the metre makes it necessary to use the durative forms in *πειθ-*. It must be noted, in particular, that the second aorist middle form *ἐπιθόμην* is epic and poetic, even though it does occur in an Attic inscription,⁴ a decree of about 380 B. C. In the course of time it gave way to *ἐπέισθην*⁵ which to some extent agrees with it in meaning.

Of the seven passages in Lysias that Cobet changed, three have the form *ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πείθοσθε*, "if you will give obedience to me," "if you will allow my reasoning to weigh with you,"⁶ "if you will follow my advice." They are XVIII, 20, XXXIV, 4 and 5. *πείθοσθε*, the manuscript-reading here,⁷ is supported by the following passages in which the forms in *πειθ-* are required by the metre:

Hom., *Il.*, II, 364: εἰ δέ κεν ὥς ἔρξης καὶ τοι πείθωνται Ἀχαιοί.

Eur., *Hec.*, 399: οὐκ, ἦν γε πείθῃ τοῖσι σοῦ σοφωτέροις.

Ar., *Vesp.*, 568: κἄν μὴ τούτοις ἀναπειθώμεσθα, τὰ παιδάρι' εὐθὺς ἀνέλκει.

The familiar formula *ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ*, or a variation of it such as we have in the Lysias passages, occurs in Ar., *Ran.*, 1134, 1239, *Th.*, 1167, *Eccl.*, 209, 239, *Av.*, 1086; Plat., *Protag.*, 325d, *Euthyd.*, 304a, *Rep.*, IV, 420e, *Legg.*, 888c; Isocr., XI, 49, XV, 137; Dem., XXIII, 116. In these places the form in *πειθ-*, besides being in the manuscripts, is found in the best editors, if not, as in some cases, in all of them. The only occurrences of this expression in which the short form *πιθ-* is required by the metre are Ar., *Eq.*, 962; Soph., *El.*, 938, *Trach.*, 570, *O. T.*, 321, and here, it must be observed, *πείθῃ* in every instance is

² *Nub.*, 87 bis, 862, 1083, *Vesp.*, 749, 761, 1027, *Av.*, 164 bis, 1011, *Ran.*, 1376.

³ *Eq.*, 1051, *Vesp.*, 117, 278, 568, 746, *Av.*, 5, 7, *Lys.*, 484, *Bool.*, 772.

⁴ *O. I. A.*, II, 38, 14 (= *I. G.*, II², 29, 14).

⁵ Cf. Kühner-Blass, *Ausführ. Gram. d. griech. Spr.*, II, 511; Rutherford, *New Phryn.*, p. 217.

⁶ From Jebb, Soph., *Electr.*, 1016.

⁷ In Lys., XXXIV, 4 the MSS have both *πειθ-* and *πιθ-*.

found at the end of the line as a verse-close. When Lysias wanted to employ the aorist in this phrase, it was the passive, not the middle, that he preferred to use, e. g., XXI, 12 and XXVIII, 16: *ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πεισθῇτε*, "if I succeed in persuading you." Cf. Eur., *I. A.*, 1240.

One of the passages in Lysias that Cobet changed is an unreal conditional in XIII, 53: *καίτοι εἰ ἐκείνοις ἐπέθου⁸ καὶ ἤθελήσας ἐκπλεῦσαι μετ' ἐκείνων*, "and yet if you had been disposed (or ready) to take their advice and had been willing to sail away with them." The so-called "conative" force of the imperfect⁹ which includes such meanings as "wanted to," "was willing to," "was ready to," "was for taking," gives to the verb *πείθεσθαι* here approximately the same meaning that *ἤθελήσας* adds to *ἐκπλεῦσαι*. This reading *ἐπέθου* gets confirmation from Dem., XIX, 162: *καὶ μὴν ὅτι τὸν Φίλιππον ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῃ καταλάβομεν ἂν, εἴ τις ἐπέθετό¹⁰ μοι καὶ τὰ προστεταγμέν' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐποίει κατὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα, κάλει τοὺς ἐκεῖ παρόντας μάρτυρας*, and § 173: *καίτοι καὶ τᾶλλ' ἂν ἅπαντ' ἀκολούθως τούτοις ἐπέπρακτο, εἴ τις ἐπέθετό¹⁰ μοι*.

Three occurrences of the participle *πειθόμενοι*, changed by Cobet to *πιθόμενοι*, remain to be considered. The conditional force of two of them makes them akin in meaning to the *ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πείθῃσθε* group quoted above. These two passages are:

(a) Lys., XXVI, 14: *ἢ πειθόμενοι πῶς ἂν οἴεσθε διαβληθῆναι*; "or, if you should yield obedience to him, if you should act in accordance with his wishes, what blame do you suppose you would incur?" (*πειθόμενοι* = *εἰ πείθοισθε*.)

(b) Lys., XXVI, 21: *ὑμέτερον δὴ ἔργον ἐστίν . . . σκέψασθαι ποτέρῳ ἂν πιθόμενοι . . . ἄμεινον βουλευσάισθε*, "consider whether you would come to a better decision by doing his bidding or mine, by following obediently his advice or mine." (*πιθόμενοι* = *εἰ πείθοισθε*.) In these two passages, as in those that have *ἐὰν πείθῃσθε*, the durative present implies continued obedience.

The remaining example of the present participle of *πείθομαι* that Cobet changed to the aorist is Lys., XXV, 27: *ὥστε οὐκ ἄξιον τούτοις πολλάκις χρῆσθαι συμβούλοις, οἷς οὐδὲ ἅπαξ ἐλυσιτέλησε*

⁸ Here Rauchenstein, Gebauer, Scheibe, and Hude follow Cobet in changing to *ἐπίθου*.

⁹ Hultsch's imperfect of evolution.

¹⁰ *ἐπείθετο* of the MSS is read by Blass and Fuhr here.

πειθομένους, "so that it is not worth while to use these men often as advisers since their advice was not once profitable to you, however often you followed it." The present participle here expresses repetition as well as continuance.

The durative force of *πειθόμενοι* when it occurs elsewhere in Lysias¹¹ is not challenged. For the aorist participle, when it was required, Lysias used *πεισθής*.¹²

There can be little doubt that Cobet was at fault in changing *πειθ*- forms to corresponding forms in *πιθ*- in the seven passages considered above. The durative tense is the reading of the manuscripts, it fits the context in every instance, its use can be paralleled in Lysias or elsewhere, and so the form was manifestly written by Lysias.

Hude outdoes Cobet in I, 50. Here all the MSS except the Laurentian and all the editors including Cobet read the imperfect *ἐπειθόμην*, "I lived in obedience to the laws of the city." Hude alone reads *ἐπιθόμην*.

We turn now to another group of passages which may be considered together because they have the same syntactical construction. This construction is the use of the aorist or present infinitive after a verb of saying or thinking where the future infinitive is expected. When the MSS have the aorist or present instead of the future, the editors are called upon to decide whether to retain the reading of the manuscripts or to alter the text.¹³ Usually they change to the future, sometimes they add *ἄν* or more rarely *δεῖν* or *χρῆναι*. Madvig and Stahl¹⁴ stand out prominently among those who change the text. Yet the examples of the aorist, in particular, that are found in the literature are too numerous to be passed over lightly. It is familiar in Homer¹⁵ where it is found usually in positive rather than negative sentences, it occurs in drama¹⁶ also, and is fairly

¹¹ VI, 33, XXI, 20, XXII, 10, (Plat., *Phaedr.*, 233a).

¹² II, 61, VII, 39, IX, 2, XIII, 10, 53, 61, XVIII, 19, XX, 16, XXII, 3, XXIII, 5, frgg. I, 2, CXVIII, CXIX (Thalheim).

¹³ See Classen-Steup on Thuc., II, 3, 2, Anhang.

¹⁴ *Quaest. Gram. ad Thuc. Pertin.*, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁵ After *φημί* in *Il.*, III, 28, 366, *Od.*, IX, 496, XX, 121; after *φάσκω* *Od.*, XXII, 35; after *εἶπον* *Il.*, XIII, 666-7; after *νόέω* *Il.*, XXII, 235; and after *φρονέω* *Il.*, III, 98.

¹⁶ Aesch., *Septem*, 429; Eur., *I. A.*, 462; Ar., *Nub.*, 35, 1141.

common in prose.¹⁷ The present infinitive too is found in prose.¹⁸ The use of the present infinitive is made easier by reason of the possibility of interpreting the durative present as having something of the force of μέλλειν and the future infinitive. Such an interpretation is appropriate in the case of Xen., *Hell.*, V, 1, 15, *Anab.*, IV, 2, 4, *Cyr.*, III, 2, 20,¹⁹ *De Re Equestr.*, IX, 7; Thuc., I, 127, 1, IV, 127, 1, whereas the entrance of the will in οὐ φημι "refuse" makes one regard Hdt., VI, 99; Xen., *Hell.*, I, 6, 3, *Anab.*, I, 3, 7, IV, 5, 15, as examples of the timeless object infinitive.

After verbs which imply a future action like ὁμολογέω, "agree," "promise," and ὑποσχεόμεαι, "promise," the aorist or present infinitive is used²⁰ as well as the future infinitive, because the meaning of the main verb shows plainly that the action of the infinitive takes place in the future, and so no further indication of future time is needed. So in English one may either employ the form of indirect discourse, "he promised that he would do this," or use the timeless object infinitive, "he promised to do this." And similarly one may say "he thought that he would do it," or "he thought to do it," the word "thought" in the latter sentence being used in the sense of "purposed," "intended," "meant." This then is the counterpart in English of Greek verbs of thinking which, though usually followed by indirect discourse, sometimes take after them a timeless object infinitive in the aorist or present; and yet in translating these verbs of thinking when they are followed by such an object infinitive one finds that the English word "expect" in the sense of "think" usually gives a more satisfactory rendering because it has less of the element of will and yet retains the notion of futurity.

¹⁷ After φημι in Thuc., V, 22, 1; Plat., *Euthyd.*, 278c (ἐφάρην resumes ὑπέσχοτο); Xen., *Hell.*, I, 6, 14, V, 1, 32, *Cyr.*, VI, 1, 19; Lucian, *Peregr.*, ch. 35; after οἶμαι Isocr., VIII, 29; after νομίζω Thuc., II, 3, 2, III, 24, 1, VI, 24, 1; after δοκέω Hdt., VIII, 86, IX, 109; Thuc., IV, 36, 1; after λογίζομαι Thuc., IV, 28, 5.

¹⁸ After φημι in Hdt., VI, 99; Xen., *Hell.*, I, 6, 3, *Anab.*, I, 3, 7, IV, 5, 15; after νομίζω Thuc., I, 127, 1, IV, 127, 1; after οἶμαι Xen., *Hell.*, V, 1, 15, *Anab.*, IV, 2, 4, *Cyr.*, III, 2, 20, *De Re Equestr.*, IX, 7.

¹⁹ The presence of μέλλοις in the previous sentence readily suggests the meaning of μέλλειν here.

²⁰ Hom., *Il.*, XX, 85 (cf. XXI, 477); Hdt., VI, 92; Xen., *Anab.*, I, 2, 2, II, 3, 20; Plato, *Crito*, 51e, 52c and d; Dem., XLII, 12, 17.

It may be noted here by way of parenthesis that just as *δμολογέω*, *ὑπισχνέομαι*, and similar verbs show by their meaning that the action of the infinitive depending upon them lies in the future, so also in the case of other verbs, notably those of saying and thinking, the context sometimes makes it clear that the action of the dependent infinitive takes place in future time, thus relieving the author of the necessity of using the future tense of the infinitive and allowing him to employ the aorist or present for simple or durative action, as the sense may demand. The context may do this either by the meaning of the passage as a whole²¹ or by the use of some future form or expression within the sentence, whether this be the protasis of a future conditional clause as in Thuc., V, 22, 1, VI, 24, 1 (IV, 36, 1); Xen., *Hell.*, V, 1, 15 and 32, *Cyr.*, VI, 1, 19, *De Re Equest.*, IX, 7; Isocr., VIII, 29, or a future infinitive coupled by means of a coördinate conjunction with the aorist or present infinitive in question, as in Aesch., *Septem*, 429 (*ἐκέρσειν οὐδὲ σχεθεῖν*); Thuc., IV, 28, 5 (*τοῦ ἐτέρου τεύξεσθαι, ἢ ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι ἢ χειρώσεσθαι*), IV, 52, 3 (*κακώσειν καὶ χειρώσεσθαι*), VI, 24, 1 (*ἀποτρέψειν ἢ ἐκπλεῦσαι*, cf. *οἴσειν καὶ προσκτήσεσθαι* in § 3), VIII, 5, 5 (*κομείσθαι καὶ ποιήσειν καὶ Α. ἢ ἄξειν ἢ ἀποκτείνειν*).

The manuscripts of Lysias have the aorist infinitive after a verb of saying or thinking in nine passages²² and the present infinitive in six²³ where the action lies in the future and so would usually be expressed by the future infinitive. The editors vary in their treatment of the text in these places; for the most part they change it, adopting one or the other of the familiar conjectures. Scheibe is the most consistent of them and also the most conservative. Strangely enough, in one such passage, XII, 93, *εἰνους φοντο εἶναι*, no editor ventures to emend.²⁴ A safe course to follow in this matter is to keep the manuscript-reading wherever it admits of a reasonable explanation, and to resort

²¹ See, for example, Odysseus' declaration to the wooers just after he had killed Antinous, *Od.*, XXII, 35:

ὃ κύνες, οὗ μ' ἔτ' ἐφάσκεθ' ὑπότροπον οἰκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.

²² XII, 19, 26, XIII, 15, 32, 47, 53, XIX, 25, XXVIII, 4, XXXIII, 2.

²³ VIII, 8, 12, XII, 93, XV, 12, XIX, 23, XXX, 21. (There are no doubt more examples of the aorist and present infinitive in Lysias, but these are all that came under the writer's observation.)

²⁴ Dobree alone suggests a change. He would add *δεῖν*.

to emendation only where this is absolutely necessary. Accordingly, one is willing to change λύσασθαι in XIX, 25 and γενέσθαι in XXXIII, 2 to the futures λύσεσθαι and γενήσεσθαι, and to add ἄν to γενέσθαι²⁵ in XIII, 32 and to ὁμολογῆσαι in XXVIII, 4, just as one readily adds ἄν to γενέσθαι in Xen., *Hell.*, I, 7, 29, to εἰπεῖν in Isae., II, 25, and to γενέσθαι in Plat., *Protag.*, 316c. On the other hand, the reading of the manuscripts should be retained in the passages discussed below.

In four of the five examples of the aorist infinitive in Lysias that are quoted below the negative is used. This is as it should be, for it is with the aorist that the negative is usually associated.²⁶ The negative in these passages, however, is drawn away from the infinitive to the finite verb by reason of the strong attraction of οἶμαι and φημί for it, an attraction for the negative like that of the English verb "think" when followed by indirect discourse.

XII, 19: ὅσα οὐδεπώποτε ᾔοντο κτήσασθαι, "such as they never thought to get into their hands," "such as they never expected to come into possession of." κτήσασθαι, an object infinitive without time-value, is governed by ᾔοντο in the same way that the infinitive "to get" in the translation is governed by the verb "thought." The editors, however, with the exception of Scheibe and a few others adopt Dobree's conjecture κτήσεσθαι.

XII, 26: οὐκ οἶε . . . δοῦναι δίκην; "do you not expect to pay the penalty?" δοῦναι here is a timeless object infinitive depending upon οὐκ οἶε just as the object infinitive νομίζεσθαι in the previous line depends upon ἀξιούς, a verb of will and desire; and these two expressions are correlated by the particles μέν and δέ. Most of the editors change the text in one way or another. Madvig's deletion of οἶε, adopted by some editors, makes the sentence ungrammatical. It may, however, be con-

²⁵ It is not difficult to take issue with this readiness to emend. For example, it may be urged in defense of the manuscript-reading γενέσθαι in Lys., XIII, 32 that the imperative ἀπόκριναι, a demand for a future action, shows that the time of the action of the verb γενέσθαι is future, and that this removes the need for emendation. Furthermore, in view of the fact that in four of the passages mentioned above the same word γενέσθαι was subjected to emendation, one would do well to ponder the remark of Gildersleeve in *A. J. P.*, XXIX, p. 393: γίγνομαι = ἔσομαι, or better, = μέλλω ἔσεσθαι.

²⁶ See Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §§ 245-6; *A. J. P.*, XXIII, p. 251.

tended by his defenders that in his text *οὐ* goes not with the infinitive but with *ἀξιῶς* understood.

XIII, 15: *οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι τὰτα γενέσθαι*, "they refused to allow this to happen." XIII, 47: *οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν εἰρήνην . . . ποιήσασθαι*, "they refused to allow the people to make peace." It is the element of will in *οὐ φημι*, when it means "refuse," that makes possible the use of the aorist infinitive after it. Scheibe is almost the only editor who retains the manuscript-reading in these two passages, the others follow Stephanus in § 15 and Dobree in § 47 in reading the future *ἐπιτρέψειν*. With notable inconsistency Rauchenstein adopts the future in § 15 and the aorist in § 47.

XIII, 53: *μέγα τι ᾗον παρ' αὐτῶν διαπράξασθαι*, "you expected to win (succeed in getting) some great reward from them." The future conditional clause *εἰ . . . εἴποις* shows that the action of the infinitive *διαπράξασθαι* lies in the future. Scheibe, Rauchenstein, Frohberger, and Shuckburgh follow the MSS, the other editors read the future.

The aorist infinitive so used goes back to the earliest period of the language. It is much like a verbal noun without time value, the aorist denoting a simple occurrence. The present infinitive in this construction made its appearance later. With the present, as with the aorist infinitive, it is the context that shows that the action takes place in future time. But another factor enters here: the present infinitive is durative and has as one of its durative meanings the notion of intended action, something akin to the force of *μέλλειν* and the infinitive. Consequently, there is at times a temptation to regard this durative meaning as the source of the future idea. An uncertainty of this nature arises sometimes in the case of *οἶμαι* when it is followed by the present infinitive where the future is expected, but, since the meaning is the same, it makes little difference whether the notion of futurity comes from the context (object infinitive construction) or is implied in the durative meaning of the present infinitive (indirect discourse construction).

Lysias, like Xenophon, uses the construction occasionally. Two passages, XV, 12 and XXX, 21, may properly be regarded as examples of the timeless object infinitive.

XXX, 21: *οἶεται πείθεω*, "by these things he expects to lead you on to believe that he is innocent." The act of persuasion

is dwelt upon, it is not regarded as a thing that can be accomplished instantly. Lamb joins Scheibe in retaining the present *πείθειν*, no doubt for the reason that he is able to translate it "he thinks to persuade." The other editors follow Cobet in reading the future.

XV, 12: *ὅτε ᾤεσθε πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους διακινδυνεύειν*, "as when you were expecting to undergo all the dangers of war, to risk your all on the field of battle." The present paints the hazards and dangers of the conflict. All the editors but Scheibe adopt Dobree's *διακινδυνεύουσιν*.

In VIII, 12 and XIX, 23, on the other hand, it is the notion of intended or attempted action in the durative present that is prominent.

VIII, 12: *ἀπήγγελεν ὡς τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μέλλοντας λέγειν ἀποτρέπειν φάσκοιτε, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἤδη κωλύσαιτε*, "he reported that you said that you were trying to hinder those who intended to speak on my behalf, and that you had already succeeded in hindering several." Thalheim alone of modern editors keeps the reading of the manuscripts, the others adopt Conti's conjecture *ἀποτρέψειν*.

For a discussion of *ὑπολείπεσθαι*, "apt to leave behind" in XIX, 23, see volume LIV of this *Journal* on page 53.

In another passage (VIII, 8), where all the editors read the future infinitive in opposition to the Palatine manuscript which has the present, the same explanation that the present expresses intended action justifies the reading of the Palatine; but it is even easier to give to the infinitive a distinctly present meaning. The passage is *καὶ ταῦτα δ' ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς τελευταίους ἐλέγετ' οὐκ ᾤεσθε ἀπαγγέλλειν ἡμῖν*, "when you were making these statements to one and another of our new members, you did not think that they were all the while passing on your words to us." The notion of repetition in the durative *ἀπαγγέλλειν* matches the same meaning in the durative imperfect *ἐλέγετε*. Similarly, in X, 30 *ἀκούω δ' αὐτόν . . . ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν λόγον τρέπεσθαι*, "I hear that he is veering (leaning) to this argument," *τρέπεσθαι* of the MSS may be regarded either as a present of intended action or, better perhaps, as an expression of present time. All the editors except Lamb adopt Markland's conjecture *τρέψουσθαι*.

The notes that follow deal with separate, unrelated passages in which the variant readings of editors and manuscripts are

due to a difference in the conception of the meaning of the tenses:

Weidner changed the imperfect ἐμοίχεν of the MSS to the aorist in I, 15 on the ground, no doubt, that the affair was now over; but even so, the translation "used to have an affair," "had carried on an affair," gives the idea of the imperfect. The context demands continued or repeated action at a time preceding the incident of which the speaker is telling.

In I, 40 Fuhr, followed by Hude, Gernet and Bizos, and Lamb, substituted the aorist infinitive μῆναι for μέναι, the reading of the Palatine after a correction by the first hand; but the durative meaning of the present infinitive is perfectly satisfactory: "stay on," "continue his stay," "extend his visit."

Hude stands alone in reading the present ἀμύνεσθαι with an inferior manuscript F in II, 29, whereas all the other editors and manuscripts have the aorist ἀμύνασθαι, the correct reading. Continued resistance was out of the question; those who yielded unwillingly were not capable of making a stand against the enemy in a single battle.

It is because of the durative meaning of the expression προσέχεν τὸν νοῦν that the present προσέχετε is to be preferred to the aorist πρόσσχετε in VI, 11. The Laurentian C and the first hand of the Vatican manuscript M have the present; the remaining manuscripts including the Palatine have πρόσσχετε, which is neither aorist nor present. This Baiter and Sauppe changed to πρόσσχετε, and all editors have adopted the aorist form. But Lysias²⁷ nowhere uses the aorist in the expression προσέχεν τὸν νοῦν, and the grammarian in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 298, 16 says τὸν νοῦν προσέχεν, καὶ τί τὸ προσσχεῖν; τὸ μὲν προσσχεῖν τὸ προσπελάσαι εἰς γῆν ἢ πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τὸ δὲ προσέχεν τὸν νοῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκριβῶς ἀκούειν, ἢ τὸ λογίσασθαι φρονίμως.²⁸

In VI, 18 the aorist of attainment ἀπαγαγόντι is demanded by the meaning of the passage, just as we have the aorist of attainment in ἀποκτείναντι which is connected with it by ἤ. The orator speaks of offering a talent of silver to whoever succeeds

²⁷ See I, 6, VI, 50, X, 10, 19, XIII, 20, XXVIII, 7, XXX, 23, XXXII, 19. Note, in particular, XIII, 20.

²⁸ See further Teuffel-Kaehler, *Die Volk. d. Aristoph.*, Krit. Anhang zu Vers 575, S. 197; Starkie on Ar., *Vesp.*, 1015; Zacher, *Aristophanes-studien*, S. 85 f.

in arresting or killing the fugitives; this reward would not have been paid for an imperfect, unattained act to one who merely tried to arrest or was bent on arresting (*ἀπάγοντι*) the fugitives. The aorist *ἀπαγαγόντι* is the reading of the Laurentian manuscript E, the other MSS have *ἀπάγοντι* by haplography. The editors are divided between the aorist (including Dobree's *ἀγαγόντι*) and the present.

The present participle *γινομένην*, representing *γίνεται* in direct discourse, is the correct reading in VI, 49 rather than the aorist. *γενομένην* would mean that Andocides knew that the city had been (*ἐγένετο*) in great peril in the past, but this would not be a sufficient reason for his giving help in the present. Yet Thalheim, Cobet-Hartman, Hude, Lamb, and Gernet and Bizos following manuscripts X and C read the aorist, and only Scheibe with the support of G K M reads *γινομένην*.

XII, 58: *ἐπειθεν αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι*, "he tried²⁰ to persuade them to undertake the expedition." Both verbs are conative. The present *στρατεύεσθαι* is the reading of the best MSS and most editors, but Fuhr in his *Anhang* defends the aorist *στρατεύσασθαι* which is found in MS C, and this reading is adopted by Cobet-Hartman and Hude. Whether *πείθω* is to be followed by the present or the aorist infinitive is determined by the kind of action that is the object of persuasion.

XIII, 11: *ἔμεινεν*. The Palatine has the imperfect, a poorer manuscript C has the aorist. Both fit the context. *ἔμεινεν* reports the simple act only, "he remained there a long time"; the imperfect calls attention to the extended nature of his visit and makes the reader see him waiting there, "he stayed on (he prolonged his stay) there for a long time." As both readings are satisfactory, preference should be given to the better manuscript tradition. Yet Rauchenstein, Frohberger-Gebauer, Weidner, Scheibe, Shuckburgh, Cobet-Hartman, and Hude follow the inferior MS. Similarly, in XVI, 17 both *καθιστάμην* of the manuscripts and Weidner's conjecture *κατασταλὴν* make a satisfactory text, but it is altogether unnecessary to change from the durative present to the ingressive aorist.

XIX, 37: *καὶ εἴ τις μὴ κτησάμενος ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παραλαβὼν τοῖς παισὶ διένειμεν, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα ἂν αὐτῷ ὑπέλιπε*, "even if

²⁰ οὐ δυνάμενος in § 59 shows that he failed.

one had distributed *inherited* wealth among his sons, he would have put aside far the larger part for himself"; much more is this true of the distribution of money that he had earned himself, as Conon and Nicophemus had done. Here we have another hypothetical case introduced by *τις*, as in § 34; it is a concessive clause put in the form of an unreal conditional. The editors³⁰ who adopt Stephanus' conjecture, the imperfect *διένεμεν*, explain the apodosis *ἂν ὑπέλιπε* as an expression of customary or repeated action, some of them changing *ὑπέλιπε* to *ὑπέλειπε*. Such changes make a distinctly poorer text than that of the MSS.

XX, 19: *ἔδοτε*. It weakens the force of the statement to change *ἔδοτε ἄν*, "you would have given," of the MSS to *εἰδότε ἄν*, "you would have been ready to give," "you would have been disposed to grant his request." This change was made by Frohberger, and afterwards adopted by Gernet and Bizos.

XXIV, 7: *γινόμενον*. There was no need to make the Cripple say that he had already become (*γενόμενον*) older and weaker, when all he said, according to the manuscripts, was that he was then growing (*γινόμενον*) older and weaker. Yet Weidner did this and so made a distinct change in the meaning. Cobet-Hartman followed him in reading the aorist here, but Vogel restored the present *γινόμενον* in his revision of Weidner.

The reading of the Palatine manuscript *χρησθαι* in XXV, 15 is satisfactory and does not need to be corrected. *εἰ πάντες τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔσχον*³¹ *ἐμοί, μηδένα ἂν ὑμῶν μηδεμιᾷ χρησθαι συμφορᾷ*,³² "if all had come to feel the same way as I did (had adopted the same view as I, had come to my opinion), no one of you would have passed through (undergone) the experience of a single misfortune." Here *ἂν χρησθαι* in the *ὥστε* clause represents *ἂν ἐχρήστο*, the durative imperfect in the apodosis of an unreal conditional sentence. Although it is true that when a past tense is combined with a negative, this tense is usually the aorist rather than the imperfect, yet the imperfect must be employed when the past act that is negated is represented as continued,

³⁰ Rauchenstein, Frohberger, Gebauer, Thalheim, Fuhr, and Gernet and Bizos.

³¹ *ἔσχον* is the ingressive aorist. There is no necessity to change to the imperfect with Hude.

³² Cf. *τοιαύτη τύχη χρησθαι* in Lys., X, 25, and *συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι* in Hdt., III, 41, VII, 134, 141, VIII, 20.

that is, when the mind of the speaker dwells upon the act and it is thought of as extended in time, as in this case *χρῆσθαι* = "passed through the experience." It is unnecessary then to change *χρῆσθαι* either to *χρήσασθαι* with Frohberger or to *κεχρῆσθαι* with Reiske. The editors with the exception of Hude and Lamb adopt one or the other of these conjectures.

XXVI, 16: *ἐξαμαρτανόντων*. Hirschig's conjecture *ἐξαμαρτόντων* is rightly rejected by the editors because the notion of repetition ("those who commit such crimes") is demanded by the context.

XXVII, 9: *ἀκροᾶσθε*. van Herwerden followed by Cobet-Hartman conjectured the aorist *ἀκροάσηθε* here, perhaps because *ἀκροασάμενοι* below is aorist. There is, however, a difference. Here a durative form is required to express a continued act "if you give them a hearing" (cf. XIX, 3), and there is no thought of attainment, whereas below the attainment is all-important, the act of listening is finished before the vote of condemnation is taken, "if you should condemn them only after you had heard them."

XXXI, 2: *ἀποφαίνειν*. After verbs of swearing one finds the present and aorist infinitive⁸⁸ (timeless object infinitive) as well as the future (indirect discourse). In the present passage the future *συμβουλεύσειν* (*βουλεύσειν*) depending upon *ὁμόςας* is followed in the next clause by the present *ἀποφαίνειν* depending upon the expression *ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ*, and it is no doubt this difference of tense in adjoining clauses that made all the editors except Scheibe and Fuhr adopt Cobet's conjecture *ἀποφανεῖν*. But the future and aorist infinitives occur together in the same sentence after *ὀμνυμι* in Hom., *Il.*, XXII, 119-120 and Theocr., XXI, 59; and, furthermore, in the passage of Lysias under discussion the present *ἀποφαίνειν* has two advantages: as a durative tense it expresses repetition, and as a timeless infinitive it is better suited to the phrase *ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ* than the future would be, because of the implied notion of will or command. The translation of Gernet and Bizon, *notre serment nous prescrit de dénoncer*, etc., seems to be a justification of the reading of the MSS, but in their text they have the future *ἀποφανεῖν*.

XXXI, 30: *γυγνομένους* — *οἵτινες γίγνονται*, cf. *ἀγαθοί* . . .

⁸⁸ See Hom., *Il.*, XXII, 119-120, *Od.*, II, 373, IV, 253-4; Thuc., VI, 52, 1; Dem., XXI, 188, XXIII, 170; Xen., *Hell.*, I, 3, 9, VII, 4, 11; Theocr., XXI, 59.

γίγνεσθαι, *infra*, "Recall why it is that you honor those who serve the State well," "those who are good in the service of the State." Lysias uses εἶναι in place of γίγνεσθαι in this expression in § 34 of this speech: *οποῖοί τινες ὄντες αὐτοὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐδοκιμάσθητε*, in XIII, 2: *ἀνδρας ὄντας ἀγαθοὺς περὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον*, and in XIII, 60: *οὕτω χρηστὸς ἦν καὶ περὶ τοὺς δεδεμένους καὶ περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων*. Since the present participle is entirely satisfactory, there is no excuse for the change to *γενομένων* made by Reiske and Cobet and adopted by Thalheim (1901), Hude, Gernet and Bizos, and Lamb. The aorist means "those who proved to be, etc." The Palatine has *γινομένων*. Hude further attributes *γινομένων* to C, and *γενομένων* to O.

XXXII, 2: *ὑπομένειν*, the durative present expressing repetition *versus* the complexive aorist *ὑπομεῖναι* summing up the dangers, *φεύγειν καὶ διώκειν*, previously mentioned. The aorist has the support of M and of the hand of the corrector in F; the present is a conjecture of Fuhr based (1) on *καθυπομένειν*, the form of the verb that appears in this passage as it is quoted by Syrianus in his commentary on Hermogenes' *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, and (2) on the assumption that *ὑπομένειν* was the original reading of F because *ε* and *αι* of the present reading are written over erasures. Scholars differ, some adopting the present, others the aorist. The choice must be left to the judgment of the individual. Diogeiton's wish, expressed somewhat grandiosely, was to undergo patiently the utmost dangers as they came upon him one after another.

XXXII, 16: *ἐκβαλεῖν*. MSS and editors are rather evenly divided between the aorist infinitive here and the present *ἐκβάλλειν*, but the infinitive that expresses a simple, attained act, "you thought fit to put them out of the house," is plainly better than the present infinitive, "you thought fit to take measures to put them out of the house."

XXXIV, 4: *ἔχοντας*. Nothing in the context warrants Cobet's change of *ἔχοντας*, "controlled," to the ingressive aorist *σχόντας*, "got control of." The other editors and all of the MSS have the present *ἔχοντας*.

C. W. PEPPLER.

THE EPICUREAN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE.

The Epicureans regarded language as nothing more than a medium for communication, arising from and referring to the common elements in human experience. Empirical observation, they believed, shows that the objects of experience exhibit a definite formal structure¹ and that words refer to divisions within that structure. Thus the meaning of words is empirically determined, for meaning is primarily extensional. The concepts which are associated with words are themselves based on the formal structure of experience and are merely functional, helping the mind to deal with the experiential manifold and to communicate with other minds.²

On this view, therefore, all language symbols refer ultimately to empirical facts.³ Whenever words are used without specific reference to objects, they are ambiguous and obscure and belong to the realm of opinion rather than to that of knowledge. All abstract rationalistic language is of this nature and is consequently of no philosophical value.⁴ Reasoning should begin

¹ This is the basic principle of Epicurean empirical methodology. Cf. Philodemus, *Περὶ Σημειώσεων*, cols. XVI-XVII, XXXIII-XXXV.

² Diogenes Laertius, X, 33: . . . παντὶ οὖν ὀνόματι τὸ πρῶτως ὑποτεταγμένον ἐναργὲς ἐστὶ· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐξηγήσαμεν τὸ ζητούμενον, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐγνώκαμεν αὐτό, . . . οὐδ' ἂν ὀνομάσαμεν τι μὴ πρότερον αὐτοῦ κατὰ πρόληψιν τὸν τύπον μάθοντες The Epicureans regarded *πρόληψις* as purely functional, constituting a kind of apperception, or psychological *a priori*. Cf. C. Bailey, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 247.

³ Diog. Laer., X, 37; Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, VIII, 13; Philod., *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, II (ed. A. Hausrath, "Philodemi *Περὶ Ποιημάτων* Libri Secundi quae Videntur Fragmenta," *Jahrbuch für Cl. Philologie*, Supplementband, 17, 1890), pp. 224, 247; Colotes, *Πρὸς τὸν Πλάτωνα Λύσις* (ed. W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrusurkunde, Vol. VI, Leipzig, Avenarius, 1906), p. 165.

⁴ E. g., Colotes attacks Socratic dialectic as mere talk (Crönert, *Kol. und Men.*, p. 172). The Epicureans oppose the Stoic view that meaning is intensional. In *Adv. Math.*, VIII, 264 Sextus gives the Stoic view: *Σημαίνουσι μὲν αἱ φωναί, σημαίνεται δὲ τὰ λεκτά, ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἀξιώματα*. The Sceptical view is closer to the Epicurean. In Sextus' terms, words are admonitive, not indicative, signs (*Adv. Math.*, VIII, 289-90).

with the particular, not the universal.⁵ Even mathematical reasoning is valid only in so far as it is empirically grounded.⁶

The Epicureans' analysis of language is thus entirely in harmony with their emphasis on the empirical aspect of thought and their continual insistence on the necessity of direct appeal to experience.⁷ Language has cognitive value only to the extent that it may be referred back to objects of experience by a process of empirical verification. Language of this kind is alone philosophical; for it alone provides an adequate medium for the communication of philosophical observation and inference. The correct use of language is inseparable from the investigation of truth, for language and truth rest on the same empirical standards. Terms refer to the similarities and differences in objects the study of which constitutes the primary purpose of philosophical method.⁸

Philosophical language, based on an empirical theory of meaning, excludes not only the intensional language of the rationalists but also the figurative and emotional language of rhetoricians and poets. Figurative language is objectionable, because it rests on a pseudo-scientific analysis of the similarities and differences of objects. According to the Epicureans, poets and rhetoricians compare and contrast objects not with a view to scientific accuracy but rather on the basis of the emotional or aesthetic value of such comparisons.⁹ The true empirical philosopher must

⁵ See Epicurus, *Περὶ Φύσεως*, XXVIII (ed. A. Vogliano, *Epicuri et Epicureorum Scripta in Herculaneis Papyris Servata*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1928), pp. 16-17.

⁶ The Epicurean attack on mathematics was part of their general attack on *a priori* methods of reasoning. Cf. Bailey, *Greek Atomists*, p. 234; Sext. Emp., *Adv. Math.*, I, 1; Proclus, *In Euclidem* (ed. G. Friedlein, Leipzig, Teubner, 1873), p. 199; Crönert, *Kol. und Men.*, p. 109; Cicero, *De Finibus*, I, 22; 63; 71. The Epicureans apparently put mathematics on an experimental basis. Cf. Philod., *Περὶ Σημειώσεων*, XV.

⁷ Cf. the statement of empiricism in Philod., *Περὶ Σημειώσεων*, XV.

⁸ On the Epicurean method and the relation of philosophical language to truth rather than to opinion see Epic., *Περὶ Φύσεως*, XXVIII (ed. Vogliano), p. 17; Philod., *Rhetoric* (ed. S. Sudhaus, Leipzig, Teubner, 1892-1896) I, pp. 159, 168; II, pp. 30-31, 41-43; Crönert, *Kol. und Men.*, p. 165; Sext. Emp., *Adv. Math.*, VII, 203; Cicero, *Lucullus*, 45.

⁹ Poets lack philosophical method: Philod., *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, II (ed. Hausrath), p. 254: *δοκῶ γὰρ οὐδ' οἱ ποιεῖται ταύτη διαπίπτουσιν, ὅτι οὐ βούλονται τὸ κάλλιστον αἰρεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι πού συνορᾶν τὸ καθόλου*

therefore be on his guard against the ideas of the poets. Those philosophers who attempt to construct a metaphysics on a non-empirical basis often resort to the devices of the poets, expressing themselves in allegories and metaphors and appealing to emotional and aesthetic effect rather than to empirical verifiability. But in so far as they fail to use a scientific method, their conclusions lack cognitive value, for there is no way of testing their truth or falsity.¹⁰ It is the duty of the philosopher to avoid such futile imaginings. The only proper medium of communication for strictly philosophical ideas is simple prose, free from poetical and rhetorical elements.¹¹ The philosopher must avoid appeals to the emotions, whether in the refutation of others or in the presentation of his own views.¹²

While denying the cognitive value of poetry, the Epicureans did not fail to recognize that this form of expression has a positive value of its own. Its value lies precisely in that aspect which makes it unsuitable for philosophy, its emotional appeal. This emotional appeal depends on the fact that the language symbols used in poetry not only refer to objects or concepts but also express the feelings of the person uttering them. Thus they have a double function, and they are well used when the feeling they express is appropriate to the object to which they refer.

Now the relation of words to objects, on the Epicurean analysis, is purely arbitrary and conventional, having been developed merely for the sake of utility and culminating in the ideal philosophical language. But the relation of words to

τοῦ γένους οὐ δύναται. Rhetoricians lack philosophical method: Epic., *Περὶ Φύσεως*, XXVIII (ed. Vogliano), pp. 11, 15-16, 51; Philod., *Rhet.* (ed. Sudhaus), I, pp. 63, 167-8, 170-3, 176-7, 248; *idem*, *Περὶ Ποικιλῶν*, V (ed. C. Jensen, Berlin, Weidmann, 1923), p. 5. There was some disagreement among later Epicureans on the value of rhetoric (Philod., *Rhet.*, I, pp. 64, 89). Philodemus assigns to one form of rhetoric a limited philosophical value (*Rhet.*, I, p. 123).

¹⁰ The Epicureans attack the poetic elements in Plato and the Stoics, who do not make a sharp distinction between poetry and philosophy. Philod., *Περὶ Μουσικῆς* (ed. J. Kemke, Leipzig, Teubner, 1884), p. 97 attacks the philosophical poetry of Cleanthes. Colotes wrote a work attacking Plato's myths. Cf. Crönert, *Kol. und Men.*, p. 12.

¹¹ Cf. Philod., *Rhet.* (Sudhaus), I, pp. 149-154.

¹² The Epicureans did not remain entirely faithful to their precepts. See below, pp. 90-92.

feelings is natural.¹² That is, certain sounds are themselves the natural expressions of certain moods. The emotional value of language is more primitive than the cognitive, for it is the essential element in the cries of animals and children.¹⁴ The cry itself is expressive apart from any conventional frame of reference. The assignment of cognitive values to words was a development from the primitive emotional level.¹⁵

All artistic expression utilizes the emotional value of its symbols. Such an art as music depends entirely on these emotional values.¹⁶ Poetry combines the natural and emotional values of words with their cognitive values, making a fusion in which the two elements combine to give a single effect.¹⁷ The excellence of poetry lies in the success with which it accomplishes this synthesis.¹⁸ In no case should poetry be judged

¹² Diog. Laer., X, 75-6; Lucretius, V, 1028 ff.; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I, 24 (ed. Koetschau), p. 74; Bailey, *Greek Atomists*, p. 267; A. Rostagni, "Risonanze dell' Estetica di Filodemo in Cicerone," *Atene e Roma*, III (1922), pp. 30, 37. Cf. the discussions of the natural values of letters: Philod., *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, II (ed. Hausrath), p. 239; R. Schächter, "Philodemi *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, I, II," *Eos*, XXIX (1926), p. 23. In a different context philosophical language is called natural in contrast with the artificiality of rhetoric.

¹⁴ Cf. Diog. Laer., X, 75-6; Lucretius, V, 1028 ff.; and in addition the discussion of the value of animal cries in Philod., *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, II (ed. Hausrath), p. 248.

¹⁶ Contrast the Stoic view that language imitates thought naturally: Origen, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Music has no moral or intellectual value: Philod., *Περὶ Μουσικῆς* (ed. Kemke), pp. 63-66, 92-100; Sext. Emp., *Adv. Math.*, VI, 27; H. Usener, *Epicurea* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1887), p. 337, fr. 599, note to 9. Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, "Philodemus and Poetry," *Greece and Rome*, II (1932/3), pp. 144-51, esp. p. 146. Song, of course, involves both poetry and music and cannot be analyzed in the same way as pure music.

¹⁷ Poetry combines emotional and intellectual values, i.e., form and content: Philod., *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, V (ed. Jensen), pp. 27-29. Cf. J. F. D'Alton, *Roman Literary Theory and Criticism* (London, New York, Toronto; Longmans, Green, 1931), pp. 425-6; A. Rostagni, "Filodemo Contro l'Estetica Classica," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, N. S. I (1923), pp. 414 ff.; "Filodemo Contro l'Estetica Classica II," *Riv. di Fil.*, II (1924), pp. 10 ff. In this connection Philodemus emphasizes the creative aspect of poetry: *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, II (ed. Hausrath), p. 269.

¹⁸ Rostagni compares the Epicurean view with that of Croce: "Filod. Contro . . .," I, p. 403; II, p. 15; "Risonanze . . .," *A. e R.*, III, pp. 37-8.

by any external standard, such as truth or morality.¹⁹ Equally objectionable is the view that pleasure is the sole end of poetry²⁰ or that poetry has the double purpose of giving pleasure and instruction.²¹ The meaningful expression of aesthetic symbols constitutes the value and end of poetry.

The Epicurean analysis of rhetoric differs from the analysis of poetry in that rhetoric makes illegitimate use of the devices suitable to poetry. True poetry is an expression complete in itself and not concerned with any end external to itself.²² Rhetoric, on the other hand, has a practical purpose, the persuasion of the auditor. It uses an emotional appeal to support what should be a purely cognitive problem. From the philosophical point of view it is objectionable because the emotional appeal interferes with the scientific consideration of the truth of the statements involved. Rhetoric is unnecessarily obscure.

Obscurity is of two kinds, intentional and unintentional. It is intentional when one has nothing to say, and conceals the poverty of his thought by obscure language that he may seem to say something useful. [Connected with this] is the use of many digressions, poetic images, recondite allusions and archaic language. Solecisms prevent the hearer from understanding many things. Only the true philosopher is free from these faults.²³

From the artistic point of view rhetoric is faulty because it tries

¹⁹ Philod., *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, V (ed. Jensen), pp. 7-11, 23-25, 33.

²⁰ Philod., *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, II (ed. Hausrath), pp. 229, 231-3, 247-8. Cf. Schächter, "Philodemi *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*," *Βος*, XXIX, p. 18; Rostagni, "Filod. Contro . . .," *Riv. di Fil.*, I, pp. 421-3.

²¹ Philod., *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, II (ed. Hausrath), p. 269. Cf. Rostagni, "Sulle Tracce di un' Estetica dell' Intuizione Presso gli Antichi," *Atene e Roma*, N. S. I (1920), pp. 49 ff.

²² The Epicureans deny that good poetry has anything to do with persuasion through emotional appeal (*ψυχαγωγία*). Cf. Philod., *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, II (ed. Hausrath), p. 265; Schächter, "Philodemus quid de Psychagogia Docuerit," *Βος*, XXX (1927), pp. 170-3.

²³ Philod., *Rhet.* (ed. Sudhaus), I, pp. 156-8, trans. by H. Hubbell, "The Rhetorica of Philodemus," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy*, XXIII (1920), p. 296. Cf. *Rhet.*, I, p. 163, and esp. I, p. 33 = II, p. 257: τοῖς μὲν λεγομένοις οὐ προσέχουσιν, πότῃ συμφέροντα ἢ οὐ συμφέροντα καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἀληθῆ ἢ οὐκ ἀληθῆ, ὅπῃ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔχον καὶ τῶν περιόδων καὶ τῶν παρίων καὶ ἀντιθέτων καὶ ὁμοιοτελεῦτων ψυχαγωγούμενοι ἤδη προσεδόκησαν, εἰ οὕτω λάλοι ἦσαν . . .

to correlate cognitive and emotional elements in an artificial unity.²⁴ The harmony between symbol and significance in poetry is attained by the utilization of natural relations between intellectual and emotional elements; and in the synthesis there is a fusion which renders the components indistinguishable. In rhetoric, however, this fusion is not achieved; for the ostensible aim of rhetoric is cognitive, and in considerations of truth and falsity the introduction of emotion can only be a disrupting factor. There can be no real correlation between emotions and the pursuit of truth.²⁵

To a considerable extent the writings of the Epicureans are in keeping with their theoretical precepts. They try as far as possible to determine empirically the meaning of their terms, avoiding the formal definitions of the rationalists.²⁶ Their language is made consistent with their empirical method and their emphasis on extension. In their technical treatises they avoid a rhetorical style,²⁷ and with the exception of Lucretius they avoid philosophical poetry.²⁸ Lucretius' poem may perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that, in spite of his great ad-

²⁴ Philod., *Rhet.* (ed. Sudhaus), I, pp. 149-53. Rostagni contrasts Cicero's view of rhetoric, "Risonanze . . .," *A. e R.*, III, pp. 28-44.

²⁵ It is to this incompatibility, I believe, that the Epicureans refer when they say that imitation is not possible in rhetoric but is fundamental to poetry. By imitation they mean the reflection of the intellectual material in the emotional. This is possible in poetry, where there is a harmony between the two; but it is impossible in rhetoric. Of course, if poetry were used as a means of persuasion, it would be liable to the same strictures as rhetoric; likewise purely epideictic rhetoric might be considered a true art form. On imitation see Philod., *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*, II (Hansrath), p. 251; *Rhet.* (ed. Sudhaus), I, pp. 149-150; Diog. Laer., VII, 60.

²⁶ This point is criticized by Cicero, e. g., *Acad. Post.*, I, 5.

²⁷ Cf. the style of Epicurus' *Περὶ Φύσεως* and Philodemus' *Περὶ Σημειώσεων*. Cicero comments on the lack of rhetoric in Epicurean writings, e. g., *Tusc. Disp.*, II, 7. Modern writers have had few kind words for the prose style of Philodemus. Cf. Hubbell, "Rhet. of Philod.," p. 260; Rostagni, "Filod. Contro . . .," *Riv. di Fil.*, I, p. 406; R. Philipsson, *De Philodemi Libro qui est Περὶ Σημείων καὶ Σημειώσεων et Epicureorum Doctrina Logica* (Berlin, 1881), p. 5.

²⁸ Philodemus' epigrams clearly reflect his belief in the non-philosophical nature of poetry. Yet he treats seriously certain ideas in Homer in his *Περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ὅμηρον Ἀγαθοῦ Βασιλέως*, and in *Rhet.* (ed. Sudhaus), I, p. 180, he speaks of a philosophic poet.

miration for Epicurus, Lucretius was outside of the living tradition of Epicureanism.²⁹ He was not fully familiar with all aspects of Epicurean doctrine,³⁰ and in the matter of philosophical poetry he let himself be unduly influenced by Empedocles.³¹

Somewhat more difficult to understand is the frequent occurrence of rhetoric in Epicurean writings. The letters of Epicurus reveal a careful elaboration of style, and various of his followers wrote in definite rhetorical patterns, e. g., the biographical works of Idomeneus of Lampsacus and Philodemus,³² the diatribes of Polystratus,³³ the *consolatio* of Philodemus and possibly that of Cicero's Epicurean friend Sauffeius.³⁴ Invective occurs frequently among the Epicureans,³⁵ in spite of the precept against it.³⁶ Finally, Epicureans occasionally use conventional similes and metaphors,³⁷ they take pains to avoid hiatus,³⁸ and they

²⁹ There is no evidence to connect Lucretius with any contemporary Epicurean school. Apparently he used only literary sources, and those not the best. See below, p. 92, note 43.

³⁰ For instance, he does not show any familiarity with Epicurean methodology. He lacks the empirical outlook generally found in Epicurean works on all subjects.

³¹ Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, ed. Merrill (New York, American Book Company, 1907), *Intro.*, p. 40.

³² These works contain the traditional rhetorical *τόποι*. For Idomeneus see D. R. Stuart, *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography* (University of California, 1928), pp. 148, 162, 172, 174. The anonymous *Life of Philonides* and the lost *Life of Epicurus* by Apollodorus are further examples of Epicurean biography. Cf. Crönert, *Kol. und Men.*, pp. 97, 127-8; Philod., *Rhet.* (ed. Sudhaus), I, pp. 213-20; *Epicuri et Epicureorum Scripta* (ed. Vogliano), pp. 23 ff.

³³ Cf. Crönert, *Kol. und Men.*, p. 35; *Epicuri et Epicureorum Scripta* (ed. Vogliano), pp. 131-2.

³⁴ Philod., *Περὶ Θανάτου*; Cicero, *Ad Att.*, I, 3; cf. Crönert, *Kol. und Men.*, p. 69.

³⁵ Cf. Lucretius, I, 830 ff.; Philod., *Περὶ Ὀργῆς* (ed. K. Wilke, Leipzig, Teubner, 1914), p. 65; Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, I *passim*; and especially the works of Colotes.

³⁶ Cf. Philod., *Βίος Ἐπικούρου* (ed. Vogliano, *Epic. Scripta*), p. 66; N. W. DeWitt, "Organization and Procedure in Epicurean Groups," *Class. Phil.*, XXXI (1936), pp. 205-211.

³⁷ E. g. envy is ophthalmia of the soul, Philod., *Περὶ Κακῶν*, X (ed. C. Jensen, Leipzig, Teubner, 1911), p. 21. Cf. *Rhet.* (ed. Sudhaus), II, p. 294. The Epicurean Zeno had a praiseworthy style: Cicero, *De Nat.*

employ such rhetorical devices as *χρεία*,³⁹ *γνώμη*,⁴⁰ and *κοινὸς τόπος*.⁴¹ To some extent the presence of rhetoric in Epicurean writings may be explained on an hypothesis of Usener,⁴² that Epicurean writings fall into two groups, one consisting of technical, non-rhetorical works, the other of popular, rhetorical works. Epicurus' *Περὶ Φύσεως* falls into the former group, while his letters and epitome of the *Περὶ Φύσεως* fall into the latter.⁴³ Such a view may perhaps be the true solution, but in our present state of knowledge we cannot explain everything adequately in terms of it; for there are works which appear quite technical, for example Polystratus' *Περὶ Ἀλόγου Καταφρονήσεως* and Philodemus' *Περὶ Κακιῶν*, which nevertheless contain definite rhetorical elements. Likewise some of the popular Epicurean works were apparently written in a wretched style. Perhaps in the last analysis the Epicurean ideal of a philosophical language set a standard too severe to be maintained consistently.

PHILLIP H. DE LACY.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

Deor., I, 59; Diog. Laer., VII, 35. Cf. Usener, *Epicurea*, pp. xxxvii ff.; D'Alton, *Roman Literary Theory*, p. 160; Hubbell, "Rhet. of Philod.," p. 279.

³⁹ Cf. G. Strathmann, *De Hiatus Fuga, quam Invenimus apud Philodemum Epicureum*, Viersen, 1892.

⁴⁰ E. g. Philod., *Περὶ Ὀργῆς* (ed. Wilke), p. 37.

⁴¹ E. g. *Περὶ Ὀργῆς*, p. 31.

⁴² E. g. Lucretius, II *init.*

⁴³ *Epicurea*, p. xlii; cf. Hubbell, "Rhet. of Philod.," p. 279.

⁴⁴ The theory that Lucretius used a popular work as a source would partly explain the existence of rhetorical elements in the *De Rerum Natura*.

NOTES ON PLATO'S *LAWS*.

Introductory note. The following notes are concerned with the part of Plato's *Laws* that in O is copied from A, roughly Books VI-XII. They are of varying range and importance. Where the text is concerned, I am building on my own research as published in *The Vatican Plato and its Relations*, Monograph IV of the American Philological Association, 1934, obtainable from Lancaster Press, Inc., Lancaster, Pa. My collation of O is published there in summary fashion. No doubt the expected Budé edition will contain a full statement of the readings of O. In a few cases I supply fuller information in these notes. Where passages are discussed in the editions of Stallbaum (Gothae et Erfordiae, 1859) and E. B. England (Manchester University Press, 1921) I have sometimes given my solution without more discussion. I have also been concerned to criticize errors found both in the translation of R. G. Bury (Loeb edition, 1926, now Harvard University Press) and in that of A. E. Taylor (London, Dent, 1934). I have studied the text of Bury and record here my admiration for the acumen with which he has effected what are clearly improvements in the text in a number of instances. I have also studied Taylor's translation and find it remarkably accurate and idiomatic. He has, perhaps wisely, neglected to reproduce the harshness, obscurity, and pretentiousness of Plato's later style. I refer occasionally to the translation of Benjamin Jowett (3rd edition, London and New York, Macmillan, 1892) and to the German translation of Otto Apelt (Leipzig, Meiner, 1916).

746d 3-5. Read *νῦν δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ προθυμητέον ἰδεῖν—μετὰ τὴν δόξαν τῆς τῶν δώδεκα μερῶν διανομῆς τό τινα τρόπον δηλὸν δὴ*. Translate: "So now we must strive to discover this very principle (of internal agreement), which is, since our adoption of the duodecimal division, if I may say so, plain to see." What follows is best treated as a new sentence, though there is no conjunction. The repetition of *τὰ δώδεκα μέρη* in a new case is a sufficient connective.

752b 9. Here Taylor following England translates: "of the light-hearted temerity with which we are legislating for the inexperienced in the hope that they will end by accepting our proposed enactments." I do not believe that *ὅπως* with the future indicative can be taken in this way, nor do the editors cite evidence for their interpretation. It should be taken either as an indirect question or as an object clause indicating the goal of action. Stallbaum makes it express purpose; but the acceptance of the laws has by no means been the goal of previous legislation. Hence I conclude that we have an indirect question;

and so Apelt takes it. Plato means, not 'our goal has been to secure acceptance of the laws,' but 'we have not put the question how the laws are to gain acceptance.' Since indirect questions are not unknown after verbs of fearing (*δίδουκα ὅτι ἀποκρινοῦμαι Theaet.* 195c), the specific justification for the indirect question lies in the adverb *ἀφόβως*. Note, however, that *ἀπείροις* means *ἀπείροις τούτων τῶν νόμων*, as the contrasted *γενσάμενοι τῶν νόμων* (e3) shows. It now becomes clear that *ἀπείροις ἀνδράσι* is proleptic and that we should supply its nominative as subject of *δέξονται*. Translate then: "I am thinking that the question how men who are strange to our laws can ever be brought to accept them has not troubled the calm and confidence of our lawgiving." It is for this difficulty that Plato now proceeds to provide a solution (d2).

753c 6. I should keep *αὐτῷ*, since it is the reading of A.

754b 2. Set off *πολλάκις ἔναι* by dashes: "there have been quarrels—frequent quarrels in some cases—"

760b 7. Bury following Dale (see England *ad locum*) brackets *τῶν πέντε* because of a misinterpretation which appears also in Stallbaum's note. *οἱ πέντε ἐκ τῶν νέων* (better *ἐκ νέων*?) means, as Plato explains, those between 25 and 30 years of age. The ephebes became *νεοὶ* at 20. At 25 the latter become *οἱ πέντε ἐκ νέων*. The Spartan expression *τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἡβης* (Xen. *Hist. Gr.* 2.4.32), designating men between 20 and 30 years of age is familiar, but Plato's meaning would be obscure without his explanation. That all Athenians were divided into age-groups we know from Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 53 end).

Tiresias is thinking of such age-groups when he says of Dionysus (Eur. *Bac.* 208 f.):

*ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀπάντων βούλεται τιμὰς ἔχειν
κοινάς, δι' ἀριθμῶν δ' οὐδὲν αὔξεσθαι θέλει.*

See the mistaken emendation of this passage in *Glass. Rev.* L (1936), pp. 116 f. Tiresias is contrasting unrestricted public worship with worship by limited groups numerically designated.

762e 6. It was not merely Taylor's "honourably distinguished seniors" who were to command the young, but all seniors who had not lost caste, for instance by failing to marry, as provided at *Laws* VI, 774b. Taylor has a similar mistranslation at 757a 2 where *τιμή* is not 'honor' but 'status,' 'franchise,' 'rights,' or the like.

763c 4. The *περί* that Burnet inserts before *ἦν* is obviously wrong. The scribe of A jumped from *δοτινόμοι* to *δοτινόμων* two lines below and had written the following *τρεῖς* before he noticed his mistake. The fact that *-μων* is corrected to *-μοι*, which I have observed, is proof of this. Erased readings have no significance in such cases.

766d 7. The English versions are all astray here. The subject of *εἰ δὲ δικάζειν* is *φάουλους* modified by *οὔτε πολλοὺς οὔτε ὀλίγους*. Average judges will not do, no matter how many you take of them. It is the function of *ὄντας* to make the predicate position of *πολλούς* clear. Compare Apelt: "gleichviel ob aus vielen oder aus wenigen."

769b 5. England's statement that *ἐπεὶ* here clearly means 'although' is quite mistaken. Cleinias admits hearsay knowledge of painting, for contact with the art he certainly has not had. The *γε* after *ἐντριβής* marks it as emphatic denial; and this is in character. To translate by 'although' is to imply that Cleinias would have liked to be expert in painting. Translate: "Even I am aware of the facts that you refer to—by hearsay, for of course I have had nothing to do with painting."

770e 1. Plato means, I believe, that in a situation like that of Athens in 480 B.C. his citizens will remove their city to another place rather than see it enslaved or desert it in flight. Probably a line is lost: *καὶ πόλεως < ἀνάστασιν ἐκὼν δέξεται, > ἂν ἀνάστατον ἀνάγκη* for example. Then read *ὑπομείνας ἂν ζυγόν* or, as H. Cherniss suggests, *ὑπομείνασαν ζυγόν*.

774c 5. Wilamowitz proposed to insert *ἄζυγας* before *γῆρας* *κειν*. He posited a rather longer lacuna. Compare Soph. *El.* 962 *ἄλεκτρα γῆραςκουσαν ἀνυμέναιά τε*. The variant *διδάσκειν* indicates, however, that the missing word is *ἄπαιδας*, which must have produced, by telescoping with *γῆρας* *κειν*, the confusion *ΑΠΑΙΔΑΣΚΕΙΝ*, easily misread as *διδάσκειν*. The corrector's *γῆρας-* was taken to be a variant instead of a supplement. For the rest I suggest *τὸ μήτε λαμβάνοντι μήτε ἐκδιδόντι δι' ἀπορίαν χρημάτων < ἀγαμίαν εἶναι ὥστε ἄπαιδας > γῆρας* *κειν* *τοὺς πένητας*. The vulgate reading *τῷ* is found as a correction in K (Ven. 188).

783b 2—c 4. We must adopt in line b5 the correction that is found in K: *ἵνα καὶ ἀφικόμενοι τὰς*. I should put a dash before *ἵνα* and another before *μᾶλλον* in c2, omitting the dashes

that appear in Burnet's text. The meaning of *ἵνα* is of course 'where.' The only change then needed is to emend the second *ἐπίπροσθεν* (c1) to *ἀπρόσθεν*, which has the opposite meaning. I translate the passage between my dashes as follows: "When we have arrived at the common meals, we shall perhaps as the result of close approach to them have a clearer view of the question whether such community activities should be extended to women or confined to men only. By reducing to order the subjects that now block our view, with regard to which there is as yet no legislation, we shall get them out of the way and, as I said just now, obtain a clearer view."

783d 2. The neatest emendation here would be to write γ' οὐ for πον.

788a—c 4. There should be a full stop after *πόλεσιν* (b4). Otherwise it will not be seen that the following clause has no connection with what immediately precedes but is parallel to the clause introduced by γάρ in a5. Thus *καί* in b4 means simply 'and'; it indicates the coordination of the two sentences introduced by γάρ. In the first sentence Plato makes two statements: 1. Education must be discussed. 2. In this field there can only be admonition, not legislation. Then we have successive evidence for the two statements: 1. "There are, be it noted (γάρ), slight and inconspicuous matters in personal or household life, in regard to which it is easy, when pains or pleasures or desires enter in, to do something else than what the lawgiver recommends." Taylor follows England in translating as if *πᾶσι* (a6) were *παισί*. "This sort of thing must ultimately produce citizens who vary in character in all sorts of ways, which is a bad thing for the state." *Q. E. D.* 2. "It should also be noted (*καί γάρ*) that these matters are so small and recurrent that to specify penalties in the law, apart from the pettiness and absurdity of it, actually (*καί*) undermines the written law because it accustoms people to small and recurrent breaches of the law." *Q. E. D.* The wisdom of this last statement has often been illustrated by the contrary practice of American reformers. Plato's next sentence recapitulates chiasmatically: "Consequently legislation is no way out, yet the subject cannot be ignored. But I must try to make my statements plain, like a merchant bringing samples into the light. At present they are like something in the dark." It is a mistake

to imply, as Bury and Taylor do, that Plato will present samples of his statements for examination. He neither says nor does this.

802c 4. Bekker made the necessary correction to the rough breathing: *κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν νοῦν*. As every schoolboy knows, *αὐτῶν* never appears in the attributive position, except possibly when it stands for a reflexive; see Kühner-Gerth II, 1, § 464, 3, note 1 and § 464, 4, note 2. The statements of Kühner must, however, be discarded or revised in the light of J. E. Powell's investigations; see his "Studies on the Greek Reflexive" in *Class. Quart.*, XXVII (1933), pp. 208-221 and XXVIII (1934), pp. 159-174. That later editors have disregarded his correction might be attributed to accident if they had not written irrelevant notes, and if they had not made the same mistake at 915c 8, where Burnet, however, has the only correct form.

802c 8. An omission must be supplied; read *σώφρονι μὲν μούσῃ καὶ τεταγμένῃ*, < *ἀκούων ταύτης φιλεῖ*, > *ἀκούων δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας μουσῇ κτλ.*

807b 4. Read *ἱκανῆς, ὡς καὶ νῦν* < *εἶναι, ἐξηγήκαμεν, πλέον δ'* > *εἰ ζητοῖμεν αὐτῷ, ἴσως οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο.*

816e 2. Better than Richards' *οὐκ αὐτῷ* for *οὐκ ἂν* or *οὐκ ἄ-* of the manuscripts would be *οὐ καί*. Thus we avoid close repetition of *αὐτῷ*.

816e 9. In place of *καινόν* we should expect a word with a meaning opposite to *ἐλευθέρων* just before. I propose *ταπεινόν*, which occurs as a synonym of *ἀνελεύθερος* at *Laws* 774c and 791d. After PA it was easy to miss TA. Then K was got from HE and an extra A from the following N.

820b 6. Both Bury and Taylor miss the small point that "the mere knowledge of the essentials is no special mark of culture." It would of course be *καλόν* to know the subject beyond the stage of *ἀναγκαῖα*.

822e 7. England is wrong in saying that *αὐτόν* is superfluous. It means 'merely.' Plato is referring to the citizen who obeys the law and 'nothing more.'

828d 8. I can make nothing of *χρόνου* unless it is a gloss on *σχολῆς* to show that it does not mean 'school.' The meaning of *ἐξουσίας* is not 'resources,' as translators have taken it, but 'opportunity.' It is not governed by *περί*, but follows *οἷαν* as a genitive of the field of operation (*πῶς ἔχεις δόξης*, *Rep.* 456d).

Translate: "Our city has an opportunity, as far as it depends on the provision of leisure and necessities, unexampled in other cities existing today, and is bound, like a person, to lead a good life."

831e 6. The paleographical argument for bracketing *ἑῶσα* should not be neglected. Let the ΩC of $IKAN\Omega C$ $ACK\epsilon IN$ be repeated by accident and $E\Omega CA$ would inevitably result.

833b 2-7. There are reasons for thinking that Plato is not responsible for the hoplite who is set to race sixty stades over a fairly smooth road to a temple of Ares. First, the distance is too great; secondly, Ares, the Thracian god of war, suggests peltasts. He is coupled with Athena as patron of soldiers in general at 920e. In the third place the other races that have been mentioned are for hoplites, so that this term has nothing distinctive about it. Fourthly, since Plato includes training for peltasts as well as bowmen in his gymnastic work (813d), he might be expected to give the peltast at least as good a chance to win a prize as the bowman. Fifthly, the *καὶ δὴ καὶ* of b1 indicates a break between the first three races and the last two. I believe that *καὶ πέμπτος δέ* is more or less parenthetic, and that the last two races are both *dolichoî*, long races for light-armed men running across country. The statement at 833d 1 f. to the effect that the girls are always to race on the prepared course implies that among the races specified for them was at least one, presumably the *dolichos*, that might except for this statement have been supposed to be run across country.

At b2 f. the words *πρῶτον ὀπλισμένον* cannot refer to the sixty-stade runner, for the *μέν* after *ἑξήκοντα* points the antithesis between him and the bowman, so that he must first be referred to in the preceding word. We must read *πρὸ τῶν ὀπλισμένων* and make Plato sensibly declare: "We shall start the long race before the heavy-armed," just as he provides that the assembly shall wait for the return of the cross-country runners before prizes are given out (c1). There would be ample time to hold the races on the course in the interval between start and finish of the long races. Finally *βαρύτερον, ὀπλίτην ἐπονομάζοντες* is strange because the man, not the armor, is called heavy, and because hoplite is not here a distinctive word, since three other races were for hoplites. Since the bowman's equipment is fully expressed, it is probable that a line is missing. I suggest as

one among many possibilities βαρύτερον ὄπλι < σμα τὸ πελταστικὸν ἔχοντα, πελτασ > τὴν ἐπονομάζοντες. The equipment would be heavier than a bowman's, though lighter than a hoplite's, just as the course, though smoother than a bowman's, would not be so smooth as the stadium where the hoplite raced.

834b 7. Read ὥστε τούτου μὲν < ἀγῶν' > ἀγωνισταῖς < οἷς > οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ἔσται, τιθέντας νοῦν μήτε ἔχειν κτλ.

836a 5. The patriarch's book had ταῦτ' οὖν. Burnet, being unaware of this, followed as he often does, the mistaken reading of A.

840d 4. The erasure which Burnet notes in A after θηρίων was of the sign for καί, erased also in O. Furthermore numbers above the words indicate that the following reading was intended by the scribe of some older manuscript: ὀρνίθων καὶ θηρίων ἄλλων καὶ πολλῶν. This is more emphatic than Burnet's reading, and is probably right.

853a 6. For λεγόμενον the correction γινόμενον is easy, with the meaning 'act.' The word is used in the same way at c2 below. In *Mnemotysne* XII, p. 44 Badham further proposed δῆθεν for ῥηθέν. No change is needed. At b1 put a full stop after τυγχάνειν and for αὐτά read ἄρα τά.

855e 2. In place of Jowett's and Apelt's excellent interpretation Bury and Taylor follow England, who somehow missed the point that witnesses were to be cross-examined by the judges. Of course ἀνακρίνειν must have its technical meaning here. Plato's concern is to get the cardinal facts established by questioning and independent witnesses, before a decision is made. For judges to spend two days in summing up merely, where there is no jury but themselves, would be a ridiculous travesty of Plato's important reform.

857b 9. Sauppe proposed to add ὄναρ after ὥσπερ. See *Jahresbericht* LXXXIII, p. 20. This is admirable, but the real reading was no doubt ὥσπερ φερόμενον < ὄναρ > ἀντικρούσας.

860c 6. Since a συμφωνία implies a harmony of two or more φωναί, Cleinias' question means: ποίας δὴ (φωνῆς) πρὸς ποίαν (φωνήν συμφωνία). Emendation is futile.

862d 3f. I should bracket ἥττον πολὺ as a gloss on διαφερόντως.

863b 8. England proposed οὐ βίᾱ for βιαίον; read rather βίᾱ δ' οὐ.

864b 3. It is clear, as Ritter emphatically asserted, that

λύπης is wrong, since λύπη belongs to the same part of the soul as ἡδονή, which is the next item. I propose to read λύττης, which as a general term covers all irrational phenomena. For ἐρωτικῇ λύττα see 839a 7. That anger may be classified as madness is proved by μανίαις ὀργῆς (869a 3). To write Π for ΤΤ is an easy error.

864b 7. For ἐφείσας read ἐφέσεως. The third cause of mistakes is ἐλπίδες καὶ δόξα τῆς ἀληθοῦς περὶ τὸ ἄριστον ἐφέσεως "expectations and belief that we are really launched in pursuit of the ideal." In other words ἀμαρτάνομεν δοκοῦντες ἀληθῶς ἐφέσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου. Bury's brilliant ἐφέσθαι τούτου for ἔσεσθαι τούτων at 864a 2 gives us a close parallel. That a false belief is meant here is clear from the context. The use of compendia explains the error.

864d 1. For καὶ τὰ read κατὰ (= καὶ εἴτα). This error is frequent; so is the sequence εἴτα, ἔτι in Plato for 'secondly,' 'thirdly.'

865a 7. Since there is a contrast between unarmed training and war games, I should read for ἀρχόντων rather ἀθληόντων as at 873e 2.

866b. The provision that a kinsman who does not prosecute the murderer of his next of kin may himself be prosecuted by anyone who volunteers is, *pace* England, taken from Attic law; witness Demosthenes 22.2.

869c 5. The note of O⁴ is wrongly reported in Burnet. Its intent was to begin a new sentence with ἐν νόμῳ κείθω δῆ. Considering ἔστω ἐν νόμῳ at e3 below, I conclude that this is what Plato wrote.

869e 6 f. It is probable that ἐπιβουλῆς here has reference to the distinction between αὐτοχειρία and ἐπιβούλευσις that is discussed in 872 a, b. I should mark τούτων πέρι καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς as a parenthesis and translate: "with reference also to the instigation of such acts by others than the doer." Probably τε has been lost before πέρι.

870a 7. The order is impossible. A line of 27 letters—ἡ τοῦ κακῶς ἐπαινεῖσθαι πλοῦτον must have been in the margin of the manuscript from which A was copied. It is wrongly inserted where it is, and should come after φήμη. Translate: "For this miseducation report is to blame—the report by which wealth is praised beyond its due by Greeks and by barbarians."

876a 7. Twice in 876a the patriarch's book gave to the Athenian the speeches that are assigned to Cleinias in Burnet's text. In the second case England rejects this arrangement because of the repetition of νομοθετητέον. If we remove the stop, however, and read καί for ΚΛ:, we get excellent sense: "He must also state in his legislation what sort of matters are to be included in legislation and what are to be assigned to the courts for decision."

878e 4. For αὐτοί read αὖ οὗτοι.

885c 2. The αὖ of A² suggests the reading ἂ ἄν τῷ; the potential would naturally occur as in c1 and c5.

887d 3. Perhaps ολον, as often, indicates a gloss: ολον ἐν ἐπιδαίς. For λεγομένων read διαλεγόμενων. At d5 for καὶ μετὰ θυσῶν ἐν εὐχαίς read κατὰ θυσῶν ἐν τύχαις. The μετὰ after καί has intruded from the line above. At d7 for ἐν read ἐτι; see my note on 864d. I should take θύόντων as partitive genitive with ἡδιστα; the young among participants most enjoy seeing and hearing spectacles performed.

899a 7. I suspect that some manuscript had in the text δῆ after ταύτην, but marked for expunction, while a marginal note indicated that αὖ should replace it: αὖ τοῦ δῆ ἄμεινον, which now appears by mistake in the text. Read ταύτην αὖ τὴν ψυχὴν κτλ.

899e 5—900a 5. Since ἀνοσίους is really attested by the conscientious corrector A²O³, as I have noted, it can hardly be rejected, certainly not without qualms. I should certainly expunge ἰδὼν αὐτός (a2, a3) as a gloss on αὐτόπτης, originally written in the margin so that the two words were taken to belong to successive lines. It was the aorist of ἰδὼν that led to the mistaken correction to the aorist of the original αἰσθανόμενος of AO. At a2 the manuscripts have τὰ νῦν. The ὅταν of O³, added here, may be a corruption of ὃ τᾶν. It is *notatum punctis*. In a4 the addition, made by O³ of ὁρᾶς after ταῦτα is unhelpful, since Ritter's ἀφικομένοις in a5 is obviously sound. The ων that appears *notatum punctis* in O above the last letters of προστυχῆς has no accent. Read then προστυχῶν, construing it as a predicate adjective referring to ἀσεβημάτων. This adjective governs a dative at *Polit.* 264c 1.

901c 5. Read θεός ἢ φαῦλος ὁστισὺν ἐλλιπὴς κτλ.

905a 1. Read οὔτε εἰς ἄλλος. Plato could not say οὔτε οὐδέις.

913b 6. The reading of O^s *in margine* was wrongly reported by Bekker. It is *ἐπιδοίην*. The aorist is obviously better.

914a 6. Here with the negative the present *μὴ μὴνύων* is normal Greek. Eusebius and the corrector of O are right as against AO and the editors.

915c 8. The marginal note of O^s is *γρ. ὅτουσὺν τινος*. The omission of *ῆ* does not help. Translate Burnet's text: "anything animate, no matter what (i. e. man or beast), or anything inanimate." Here again England and Taylor want to read ungrammatically *τῶν αὐτοῦ*.

916b 5. Note Van Groningen's almost certain emendation *τρωσί* for *τισι*. See *Mnemosyne* LVIII, p. 370. The number of judges should be specified here as at c6.

919b 2. The marginal *αἰσχρῶς* of O was also in the patriarch's book. No doubt *δρθῶς* is due to the *δρθόν* four or six lines below (4 x 27 or 6 x 18) and is a mistake.

919e 5. Jowett rightly ('in accordance with their feelings of right and wrong') as against Apelt, Bury, England, and Taylor ('for abhorrence of the base and devotion to the gentle') takes *τῷ ἐκείνων μῖσει καὶ ἀσπασμῷ* with *κρινέσθω*, not *εὐληφότων*. At *Laws* 670e 1 Plato has stated that the old are to act as moral guides of the young by the exercise of their good taste in music (*ἀσπασμῷ προσήκοντος* according to O before correction). The idea is the same here. By *ἐκείνων* Plato means those who have been recognized as preeminent in virtue. Their intuitive approval or disapproval is to determine gentlemanly conduct in cases not prescribed by law.

932a 3. For *νέοι* read *ἡλεφ*. "To the good, aged forebears are treasure-trove while alive, even to the last bourn of life; departing in kindly mood they are much to be desired; to the base they are a menace." The same mistake has been made at 671b 10, as appears from the reference to 649a 9 where *ἡλεων* is preserved.

934a 4. Read *ἐν φόβους* < δὲ > *δειλίας*, taking the last word as genitive with *δι' ἀκράτειαν*. Taylor's translation omits these words. Below read *δυσίαιτος γιγνόμενος*.

935b 9. Instead of rejecting *ἀνατί* I should assume that *ἄρχων* is a mistake for *ἀκούων* made by the scribe, whose eye caught *ἄρχων* at c3 below.

936c 3. I agree here with the new Liddell and Scott that

the prayers of the beggar are 'futile,' rather than 'endless,' as the editors translate ἀνηνύτοις. For Plato gifts to the poor are not treasure in heaven and their prayers do no good to the giver.

937a 6. Taylor and England are mistaken in thinking that συνηγορεῖν does not mean advocacy here. Plato has no law against advocacy of the right sort; it is only κακὴ συνδικία (938b 4) that he forbids.

937e 5. Read εἶναι δὲ αὐτῇ τοῦ τε δικάσασθαι καὶ συνδικεῖν ἄλλω νικᾶν δυναμένην < δύναμιν >, αὐτ' οὖν κτλ.

938b 2f. By τοιούτων Plato means δικαίων. As usual in his later work, he will not name the evil name. He means συκοφαντία when he says πολυδικία καὶ συνδικία παρὰ καιρὸν τῶν δικαίων. In 938a 1 he means by λόγων the speeches sold by the λογογράφοι, not eloquence in general.

942d 4. Here the patient lexicographer has his revenge for the frequent correction that he receives from editors. The only possible rendering of εὐκολίαν καὶ εὐχέριαν is 'cheerfulness and hardihood (amid toil and privation)' or the like; and so the new Liddell and Scott. Plato's citizens must learn by practice not to grumble or flinch generally, in order to cultivate military virtue. England, Apelt, Stallbaum, Bury, and Taylor think that easy and nimble movement are meant in spite of the inclusion of the terms used here among the characteristic Spartan virtues in the list of *Alc. I*, 122c.

943c 1. Here is a clear case of the middle (not passive) κρίνεσθαι, corresponding in meaning to the middle of δικάζω, 'to plead one's case,' 'to seek a decision.'

944b 1. In defense of χειμώνων ἐν τόποις note Isoc. *Busiris* 223e: τόπους τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ὀμβρῶν κατακλυζομένους.

944d 4. "The man who casts aside the fighting power of his weapons for the opposite." The opposite of manly fighting is womanly flight; by casting aside his shield the soldier gains power to flee. I assume that τοιαύτην means ἀμυντικὴν and that εἰς τοῦναντίον means ὥστε τοῦναντίον δύνασθαι δρᾶν, viz. φυγεῖν.

944e 4. Read ὃν κακὸς < καὶ κακῶ > δνείδει συνεχόμενος.

945b 6 f. The place for ἥ is before πράξῃ, where τὴν ἀρχὴν is an intruder, having first appeared no doubt as a mistaken variant of τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς.

953e 2. "Not excluding foreigners by killing and eating them, as children of the Nile now do." Cannibals have existed

in Africa at all times. The legendary Busiris comes readily to mind, of whom it is said (Isoc. *Busiris* 227d): τῶν ξένων τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους θύων κατήσθιν. The current view is that the Egyptians kept foreigners out by regulations with regard to meats and sacrifices. I know of no evidence to show that such methods were effective in excluding foreigners from the country or that any such regulations were adopted with that end in view.

954a 1-3. Read του and put a comma after it. Translate: "Furthermore the broker who sells anything for anyone is also a guarantor if the sale is illegal or quite unauthorized." Plato means that a broker must guarantee the legality of a sale and its proper authorization. The illegal seller might be a citizen, since legal sales by citizens are to be strictly regulated (849a). The unauthorized seller might be a slave or a child or a thief of any sort.

957a 7. For οὐκ read οὐδ'.

958e 1. In place of the impossible μνήμα, read λήμμα, which has in uncials almost identical strokes. The construction is absolute: "profit, much or little, non-existent."

960c 7—d 1. Here I recant, thanks to Bury's illuminating correction of πυρί to κύρει, and now propose τὸ Δάχεσιν μὲν τὴν πρώτην εἶναι, Κλωθὴ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν, τὴν Ἀτροπον < δὲ > δὴ τρίτην σώτειραν, τῶν ληχθέντων ἀπεικασμένα < τῇ νήσει > τῇ τῶν κλωσθέντων τῷ κύρει τὴν ἀμετάστροφον ἀπεργαζομένη δύναμιν. This is a reminiscence of the scene described in the *Republic* (x 620e), where each soul receives a lot and chooses a life. Lachesis sends with each a guardian of the destiny he has chosen who leads him beneath the circling spindle of Klotho, κυροῦντα ἣν λαχὼν εἴλετο μοῖραν· ταύτης δ' ἐφαψάμενον αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀτρόπου ἄγειν νῆσιν, ἀμετάστροφα τὰ ἐπικλωσθέντα ποιοῦντα. Translate: "The fact that they are called, first Lachesis, second Klotho, and third-savior Atropos, corresponding in their etymology to the twist which, added by Atropos to the lots confirmed by Lachesis, confers irreversibility upon the doom of Klotho's spinning." The connection with reasoned regularity as exhibited in the movements of the heavenly bodies is brought out in the *Epinomis* (982c): ὁντως τρεῖς Μοῖραι κατέχουσαι φυλάττουσι τέλος εἶναι τὸ βελτίστη βούλη βεβουλευμένον ἐκάστοις θεῶν.

Plato's habit of repeating his thoughts in many forms is well illustrated by these passages. The reminiscence of the *Republic*

that appears in the *Laws* is exactly the sort of evidence that is commonly urged to prove the *Epinomis* un-Platonic. Plato, like other great writers, is always the same and always different. For the etymological use of ἀπείκασμα note *Cratylus* 402d 1.

960d 7. The ἐστὶ μὴ of AO is no doubt a mistake induced by ἔστι μὴν two lines below. There is no reason for supposing that the καί which appears in AO as a correction is a mere guess. In the next line the vulgate reading κτήματι τὸ τοιοῦτον is the reading of O as corrected and should be adopted.

961a 6. For δόξαι read δαῖξαι.

961e 9. There is an erased reading in O, which might be read as στρατηγική or σατραπική. Whether there is any erasure in A at this point I cannot say. At any rate the sense of the passage demands στρατηγική. Generals and their helpers should be classed together as physicians and their helpers are in a2.

965a 5. For ὁμοίους read ὅμοια.

965e 5. I propose ὅπη δῆ, set off by commas, in place of Burnet's ὁρᾶν δῆ.

967c 8. For ἀπεικάζοντας read ἀπεικάζεν τε.

969c 3. I should emend to πρὸς ἀρετῆς σωτηρίαν, which, as Ast pointed out, must be the meaning.

L. A. Post.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE.

ΣΗΤΑΝΙΟΣ ET ΣΙΤΑΝΙΑΣ.

Liddell-Scott ubi vocabuli σητάνιος exempla, quantum video, omnia collegit (II, 1595), iudicium suspendit: "the exact meaning and spelling of σητάν(ε)ιος are uncertain." Qua in re eis assentiri non possum. Rectissime enim *Ety. Magn.*, s. σητάνειοι πυροί: εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ σῆτες· σῆτες δὲ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἴωνες τὸ ἐπ' ἔτος, Δωριεῖς δὲ σᾶτες . . . Φαβωρίνος δὲ περὶ παντοδαπῆς ιστορίας οὕτως· σητάνιος σίτος· δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ λέξις τὸν καθαρὸν, καὶ σητανίους πυρὸς τοὺς ἐπετελοῦς. Eandem etymologiam sequitur Galenus (XVIII, 1, 469), Hippocratem explanans, recteque eam amplexus est Boisacq. Sane ubi locus aliquis pluribus codicibus traditur, in uno aliove σιτάνιος extare solet (velut apud Poll., VI, 73 [cui σητάνιοι πυροί sunt τετράμηνοι], ubi Bethe nonnulla collegit).

Lexicographi autem ideo animos ad hoc verbum adtenderunt, quod apud Hippocratem compluribus locis extat; velut VI, 630 L.: *διατῆσθαι χρὴ αὐτὸν τῇ τε μάλῃ προφυρητῇ ῥαντῇ καὶ ἄρτρῳ σιτανίων πυρῶν*. Plerumque autem hoc epitheton tritico applicatur ad designandum id, quod hornum vereque satum est et tribus fere mensibus ad maturitatem pervenit (*tritici genus . . . trimenstre*, Colum., II, 6, 2; vel in Gesneri *Lexico rustico* plura huius usus exempla invenies). Theophrastus autem, etsi *πυρὸν τρίμηνον* saepius commemorat, *σητάνιον* eum non appellat, id quod casu factum esse putaverim. Neque enim evitat illud vocabulum: *σητάνια κρόμνα* habes *Hist. Plant.*, VII, 4, 7 et *μεσπύλην σατάνειον* III, 12, 5 (ubi forma dorica utroque loco huius capituli in libris extare videtur, eandemque testatur Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.*, 624, alioqui ineptias eloquens). Athenaeus autem medicus apud Oribas., I, 2, 2, *πυρὸς σητανίου* et *ἀλευρίτας* a *σεμδαλίταις* discernit et illos leviores et digestu faciliores dicit; similia profert Dioscor., II, 85, quo loco ter vocabulum *σητάνιος* adhibet, velut p. 169, 2, *μετὰ τούτους οἱ τριμηνιαῖοι, λεγόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τινων σητάνιοι*¹ Idem, I, 118 *μέσπυλον σητάνιον* commemorat in re paulum a Theophrasti loco quem modo attuli differens. Praeterea adfero Plutarchi locum *Tranqui. An.*, 3, p. 466d, ὁ γὰρ ἐχθὲς . . . *σητάνιον ἄρτον διαπτύων τήμερον αὐτόπυρον . . . σιτεῖται προσφιλῶς* (quem locum citans Stob., III, 249 *σίτινων* scribit, unde discis originem et vim huius verbi iam tum obscuratam fuisse). Mala autem *σητάνια* novit Diphilus apud Athen., III, 81 a.²

E Latinis Plinius compluribus locis vocabulo utitur, et *mespila* quidem *setania* (semper forma ionica) habet XV, 84, XXIII, 141; inter *genera bulborum* . . . *setanion*, XIX, 95 (ubi *αὐτοετές* Theophr., id quod indicio est hic ut saepe aliquem inter hos auctorem inserendum esse). Quod idem demonstratur loco XVIII, 70 (ubi de tritico agit): *Graeci setanion vocant*; nam Theophrastus de trimestri loquitur, ideoque olim *trimenon* edebant; Turnebus autem falsam scripturam *sitanion* inferre studebat.³

¹ *σητάνιον ἄλευρον* est apud Galen. in *Hipp. de victu* (*O. M. G.*, V, 9, 1) 366, 15. *σίτον λευκὸν σιτάνιον* (i. e. σητ-) appellant *Geop.*, III, 3, 11.

² Ita abusive dicta puto mala quae per hiemem non durant. De panibus variis cf. Blümner, *Technol.*, I², 52.

³ *Setanium* apud Plaut., *Truo.*, V, 16 extare in Lexicis inde a saec. XVI usque ad Klotzium affirmatur; quod verum non est. Et hoc

Haec dilucida sunt neque esset cur hanc quaestionem attingeremus, nisi alio Theophrasti loco dubitationes motae essent. Auctor igitur *Historiae plantarum* VIII, 2, 3 de radicibus et caulibus frumentorum et leguminum agens inter haec genera aliquid interesse dicit: τὰ σιτώδη πολύρριζα . . . τὰ μὲν γὰρ χεδροπὰ μονόρριζα ὄντα πολλὰς ἀνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν καυλῶν ἀποφύσεις ἔχει . . . τὰ δὲ σιτηρὰ πολύρριζα <expectas addi ὄντα> πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνίησι βλαστούς, ἀπαράβλαστοι δὲ οὗτοι, πλὴν εἴ τι γένος πυρῶν τοιοῦτον οὗς καλοῦσι σιτανίας καὶ κριθανίας.

K. Sprengel in versione Germanica anni 1822 ultima vocabula non vertit, sed graecas eorum formas conservavit; idem fecit in versione Anglica anni 1916 A. Hort, addens tamen ad krithanias "barley-wheat." Et hoc quidem recte se habere patet Theophrastumque tritici quoddam genus hordei simile dixisse: mirentur licet et rerum botanicarum periti et qui formationem vocabulorum graecorum curant: κριθίας enim expectamus * miramurque suffixum illum -αν-, quod alias quoque molestias nobis exhibet. At quid σιτανίας? H. Stephanus σιτανίους (i. e. σιτηνίους) reponere volebat; cui obloquitur Schneider Saxo ex loco *Caus. Plant.*, IV, 10, 3, recte concludens, σιτανίαν tamquam proprium genus fruticosum a σιτηνίῳ seu trimestri distinguendum esse (III, 649). Illo enim loco triticum aestivum prae hiberno ὀλιγόρριζος καὶ ὀλιγοκάλαμος dicitur; neque igitur πολλοὺς βλαστούς ἀνίηναι dici potest. Sane restat aliquid dubitationis: Triticum enim triticeum nihili est, cum hordaceum recte appelletur; nec botanici quicquam proferunt, quod ad rem faciat. Velut Sprengel in *Commentario*, p. 295, σιτανίαν eundem esse atque σιτηνίον edicit et genus tritici aestivi existimat, quod in oriente nascatur. Qua de re iudicent harum rerum periti; ego non mirarer, si σιτανίας corruptum esset, nec tamen ut talium ignarus emendationem proponere audeo.

W. KROLL.

comiter mihi scribit G. Dittmann et illud, vocabulo uti Dioscoridem latinum et Apic., 8, 358 (?).

* Proclive erat scribere κριθώδης et σιτώδης, et extat utrumque vocabulum.

REVIEWS.

HARALD PATZER. Das Problem der Geschichtsschreibung des Thukydides und die thukydideische Frage. (Neue Deutsche Forschungen, Abt. Klass. Phil.) Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag, 1937. Pp. 118.

The question when Thucydides composed different parts of his History, first propounded by F. W. Ullrich in 1845, has in recent years gained new significance in the writings of Ed. Schwartz, Max Pohlenz, and W. Schadewaldt. For although their conclusions differed, these men were at one in their purpose: namely, to distinguish early and late portions of the History for the purpose of demonstrating a change in Thucydides' attitude either towards the war or towards historiography. Briefly, their views were as follows: Schwartz (*Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides*, Bonn, 1919, 1929), arguing that the speeches of the Corinthians (I, 68-71) and of Archidamus (I, 80-85) were composed shortly after the Peace of Nicias, whereas those of the Athenians (I, 73-78) and of the ephor Sthenelaidas (I, 86) were written after 404, concluded that Thucydides originally thought Corinth the cause of the war and only later saw Sparta's fear of Athens as the *ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις* (I, 23, 6). This change of opinion, Schwartz argued, was inspired by the events attending the fall of Athens; as was the historian's whole defense of Pericles, whose policies seemed at that time to have ruined the city. Pohlenz ("Thukydidesstudien," *Göttingische Nachrichten*, 1919 and 1920), after showing that the four speeches at Sparta cannot be separated, based his own position on his reading of I, 22, 1. Taking the passage to mean that the historian intended to report actual speeches as closely as possible and observing, on the other hand, that many speeches in the History seem too broad in scope for any such description, he urged that I, 22, 1 expounds an early plan. He accordingly went on to distinguish early from late speeches by the criterion of whether or not they answered his interpretation of I, 22, 1. Schadewaldt (*Die Geschichtsschreibung des Thukydides*, Berlin, 1929) pursued the method further. Arguing that Bks. VI and VII were composed after 404 and exemplify the historian's latest and most profound grasp of historical process, he contrasted the breadth of understanding in those books with what he considered the far narrower plan envisaged in I, 22, 1 and embodied in the Archaeology. Thus he concluded that Thucydides developed from an "historisierender Sophist" (30), interested only in "genaueste Wirklichkeits-treue" (25), to a philosophic historian able to appraise the

deepest laws of political and social life. These men differed widely on which parts of the History were written after the Peace of Nicias and which after 404. Nevertheless, not only did they themselves look closely at the criteria for dating different passages but inspired younger scholars to do so. Hence within a few years the whole subject of the composition of the History has been reëxamined with painstaking thoroughness.

The peculiar merit of the present monograph is that it has utilized these recent findings to dispute the whole contention that the History bears traces of an earlier version underlying the later. And since, in fact, continued study has more and more narrowed the list of passages still urged as of early date, Patzer is in a better position even than his well known predecessors, Classen and Ed. Meyer, to show in detail on what slender evidence the assumption of an early version is based. His argument for this, the most significant part of his work, is therefore largely negative. He first treats II, 23, 3, ἣν νέμονται Ὀρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, a passage alleged to have been written before 412/1 when the Boeotians took Oropus (VIII, 60, 1), by showing other passages in which an historical present is likewise used, notably I, 56, 2 on the Potideans, οἱ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ τῆς Παλλήνης, whence they were driven in 430/29 (II, 70). His discussion of the ambiguous use of πόλεμος in the first four books and of the second introduction in V, 26 is perhaps less conclusive; but he makes two strong points. First, in the Πεντηκονταετία, demonstrably written after 404 (cf. I, 93, 5; 97, 2), πόλεμος must necessarily refer to the entire war (I, 97, 1; 118, 1; 118, 2). On the other hand, the Archidamian War is clearly distinguished when it is referred to in II, 1 (cf. V, 24, 2); IV, 48, 5; V, 20, 1. Second, several passages in the speeches of Bks. VI and VII assume that a state of war existed even in the years directly after the Peace of Nicias. Hence, unless Thucydides gravely falsifies men's opinions, it cannot be argued that the new introduction in V, 26 states an original and independent view of the historian. On the contrary, the word πόλεμος, unless specifically limited to the Archidamian War, would naturally imply the entire war even from the beginning of the History, and the new introduction would, as Meyer contended (*Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte*, Halle, 1899, II, pp. 273-275), merely reflect the historian's general habit of not treating events until he comes to them. Other proofs of early date found in Thucydides' omission of the eclipse of the moon (VII, 50, 4) from the list of παθήματα in I, 23, 2-3 and in his failure to repeat the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις (I, 23, 6) in his brief summary of the causes of the war at the end of the first book (I, 146) are in themselves so weak that it seems unnecessary to repeat Patzer's refutation, which in both cases

turns on the argument that those points were not demanded in those places.

With the work of Grosskinsky before him (*Das Programm des Thukydides*, Neue Deutsche Forschungen, 1936), Patzer has little difficulty in disproving the literalistic interpretation of I, 22, 1, on which Schadewaldt's and Pohlenz' theses squarely rested. Although he differs somewhat from Grosskinsky in his reading of the much disputed sentence on the speeches, still the detailed analyses of both men show with seeming certainty that Thucydides was not, as it were, apologizing for the absence of ἀκρίβεια in his speeches, nor was he saying that, except for the inevitable loss of exact phraseology, he would report what was actually said. On the contrary, as both insist, he made a virtue of a necessity by saying that he would cause his speakers to set forth what seemed to himself τὰ δέοντα in the various circumstances. Only then does he add, with limitations (cf. Patzer on ἐχομένῳ and ὅτι ἐγγύτατα, pp. 42-43), that he keeps to the ἐύμπερα γνώμη of what was actually said. Hence any such attempt as those of Schadewaldt and Pohlenz to distinguish an earlier accuracy from a later breadth in the speeches falls to the ground.

There remains then one considerable passage, namely, the Archaeology, which has been adduced as a survival of the earlier version and which, as Schadewaldt showed, is closely implicated with the thought of I, 21-23. The evidence for early composition is found in I, 10, 2, where, after saying how difficult it would be for some future historian to judge the relative strength of Sparta and of Athens by their ruins, the historian remarks that Sparta's power would be underrated (καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται, τῆς τε ἐνμπάσης ἡγούνται καὶ τῶν ἔξω ἐνυμμάχων πολλῶν), whereas the power of Athens διπλασίαν ἂν . . . εἰκάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς φανεράς ὅψεως τῆς πόλεως ἣ ἔστιν. These statements hardly describe the state of affairs immediately after 404, but, as Patzer points out with some acumen, they are equally inapplicable to the period just after the Peace of Nicias, when it has been assumed that Thucydides composed his first version. If such a version existed, it must then have been written after the battle of Mantinea, when, however, observing the policies of Alcibiades, the historian could hardly have sat down to describe the war on the assumption that it was over. Patzer therefore suggests that, since we do not know the date of Thucydides' death, he may have been writing some time before the Peace of Antalcidas, when Athens was regaining her empire. But the suggestion seems less probable than either one of two other hypotheses: that he wrote late in the Ionian War when the doom of Athens was already apparent, or that he followed his practice, observed above, of not anticipating later events. For that the Archaeology as a

whole is of late date, Patzer argues from its essential purpose, namely, to show the magnitude of the κλέηους (I, 1, 2), which is undoubtedly best illustrated by the entire war. More conclusive proof seems to exist in the historian's remarks on naval power, the secret of which Minos (I, 8) and Agamemnon (I, 9, 3) learned and which the Ionians and the Greeks of the mainland might later have developed, had they not been prevented respectively by the Persians and by the tyrants (I, 16-17). Now it was this secret which Themistocles (I, 93, 3-4) and Pericles (II, 65, 7 and 13) understood, and the failure to grasp it caused their opponents to be utterly deceived about the strength of Athens and the duration of the war (I, 81, 6; IV, 55, 3; 108, 4; V, 14, 3; VII, 28, 3). Thus, when in the Archaeology Thucydides represents naval power as the high-road to empire in Greece, he expounds a concept which is deeply imbedded in his whole History. And his narrative bears out other ideas of the Archaeology: for instance, the compulsion implied by empire (I, 9, 3; cf. III, 37, 3), the contrast between Athens and Sparta (I, 6, 3-6; 10, 2; 18, 1-2; 19; cf. I, 70; 118, 2; IV, 55, 3; VIII, 96, 5), the increasing experience of war gained through the half-century after Salamis (I, 18, 3; cf. on ἐμπειρία, I, 99, 3), and the nature of the Dorian federation (I, 19; cf. I, 144, 2; V, 82, 1). It would not be difficult to increase the list, but the similarities already adduced show that it is extremely hazardous to separate the Archaeology from the complex of thought embodied in the History as we have it.

It is undoubtedly Patzer's chief contribution to have shown in detail how weak the evidence is for an earlier version of the History. In this respect his work should be eagerly welcomed as bringing a new and much needed sanity to the study of Thucydides. His long and careful analysis of I, 22, 1, although not free from over-subtlety, is also of value in its attempt to fix exactly the connotation of the well known words in which the historian describes his speeches. Unfortunately, he neglects to consider the rhetorical principles which may well have been in Thucydides' mind. In the *Phaedrus*, for instance, Socrates in describing the formal oratory which it is the purpose of the dialogue to attack speaks of it as expounding τὰ δέοντα (234e 6; cf. Gorgias, *Helena*, 2), and some such rhetorical associations may well cling to the words in Thucydides. His last section in which he describes the basic principles of the History as "Gesetzwissenschaft" (p. 93) is valuable, if also surrounded by a certain unreality since the author treats Thucydides as a unique phenomenon unrelated to the thought of his time. But these are faults inhering largely in Patzer's method of study, the virtue of which is to have brought an unsparing criticism to bear on the facile assumptions of those who have sought to show a development in the historian's thought.

HERBERT OPPEL. *Κανόν*. Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes und seiner lateinischen Entsprechungen (*regula*—*norma*). (*Philologus*, Suppl. XXX, 4.) Leipzig, Dieterich, 1937. Pp. xiv + 108.

The present trend towards the composition of histories of the meanings of important words is very much to be welcomed, for investigations of this kind contribute greatly to a deeper understanding of ancient philosophy and are very helpful in any attempt to write a history of ideas, whether philosophical, scientific, economic, political, or otherwise.

The present study is an excellent specimen of the kind. It starts with an analysis of the etymology and the original meaning of the word and then goes on to give a survey of the passages in which a new meaning of the term appears for the first time, showing the background and the surroundings in which it originates and discussing its relations to earlier meanings.

The origin of the word is found in the semitic root *gan* (Hebr.: *qaneh*; Aram.: *qanja*) which means an especially straight-growing and useful kind of reed. Greek derivations from this root are *καννά* = reed, *κάναθρον* = a car or wagon, partly made from woven reeds, *κανοῦν* = basket, *κάνναβος*, and, finally, *κανόν*. Though the meanings of these words are very different their common origin from a word meaning "reed" is still very conspicuous in most of the cases.

As to *κανόν*, however, the author tries to show that the origin of this word had already been forgotten at the time when Greek literature began. For in all the cases in which it designates something concrete it means a straight thing and not a reed or anything made of reed; for instance: a curtain rod, the beam in a loom, the shaft of a lance, rods arranged diagonally in a shield in order to support the rim, all kinds of rods in machinery, and, most important of all, a foot rule used in architecture; that is, an instrument which could be used for rough measurements as well as for making things even or straight, or, in other words, which could be used both as a yardstick and as a rule. Since many of these instruments are frequently mentioned as made of iron, lead, wood, or the like, but have the common quality of being straight one may safely assume that in the one case in which the context does not give a clear indication as to what is meant, that is in the case of a *κανόν* in scales, the beam of the scales must be meant and not the pointer, as had been suggested by others because the pointer might perhaps have been made of reed. It seems to me, however, that the author might have made a still stronger case for his general contention if he had considered the possibility or probability that by the addition of the ending *-ών* the word was

from the outset specialised to mean something *as straight as a reed*, just as by adding the ending *-εον* a word was created that meant a certain thing *made of reed*. In this case we cannot and need not answer the question whether and at what time the origin of the word from a word meaning "reed" was forgotten.

The metaphorical uses made of the word are very many. Starting from the use of *κανών* as an instrument of measuring in architecture it acquires the meaning of "the right measure" and, consequently, of "the right proportion" in different arts. This seems to be the meaning of the word in the title of Polykleitos' famous book. In music the *κανονικοί* are those theorists of music who want to base their theory on strictly mathematical laws, in contrast to Aristoxenos and his fifth century predecessors who started from empirical observations and the human ear. It should, perhaps, be mentioned that what the author imputes to Archytas on p. 18 goes far beyond anything which is attributed to him by Theon, whom the author quotes as his authority, and is historically quite impossible.

In the case of Polykleitos as well as in that of the musical theorists the use of the word *κανών* is an expression of the tendency of the age towards technical *ἀκρίβεια*. This is also very conspicuous in its application to rhetoric as taught by the sophists where periods begin to be measured "by the yardstick" and to be shaped by means of an intellectual "*τόπος*." But the author might perhaps have added that, as far as the evidence goes, these metaphors were not used by the sophists themselves but by their critics, such as Aristophanes and Plato, who ridiculed their artificial style.

Most important, however, is the use made of the word in ethics. Here it appears for the first time in Euripides' *Electra* 43 where the *πονηροὶ κανόνες* of the multitude are contrasted with the right *κανών* in the soul of the righteous man. It is found again in Plato's *Philebos* where a comparison is made between the *ἀκρίβεια* in the conduct of the philosopher and the use of accurate instruments like the *κανών*, the *τόπος*, the *διαβήτης*, and the *σταθμὴ* in architecture. It becomes very frequent in Aristotle's dialogues and in his *πραγματεῖαι*. But here new problems come in as Aristotle turns away from the doctrine of the ideas and turns his attention more to things, actions, and events in space and time.

There is an interesting passage in the *Eth. Nic.* in which Aristotle objects to the rigidity of laws and advocates the use in human affairs of a *μολίβδινος κανών*, an instrument used by the Lesbians which is not straight but adapted to the shape of the stone (1137b, 27 ff.). At the same time he says that the *σπουδαῖος*, the righteous man, can be taken as a *κανών* of human

conduct. This is very interesting in several respects. It marks a step in the creation of the notion of "ideal" which can perhaps be considered as a special kind of *incorporation* of an *idéa* as distinguished from the *idéa* itself. This notion can already be clearly discerned in Plato's *Politikos* though Plato has as yet no word for it, for in this dialogue Plato does not speak of the idea of the state, much less of the idea of the politician, but gives a very vivid description of the "ideal" politician, a problem which has been most recently discussed in an interesting paper of E. Kapp (*Mnemos.*, 1938, pp. 191 ff.). But this new use of the word *κανών* has also exercised an enormous influence on later epochs. *Κανών* now becomes closely related to *παράδειγμα*; the ideal becomes a model. So in a second century epigram a man is called a "*κανὼν σωφροσύνης*." Philo Judaeus calls Abraham a "*κανὼν εὐγενείας*," etc. But this use of the word does not remain restricted to ethics. The Atticists, for instance, consider Lysias as the *κανὼν* of the right Attic style, though, as the author points out, the expression most frequently used in this connection, the "canon of the ten orators," is not found in ancient authors. At the same time or not much later the doryphoros of Polykleitos begins to be looked upon as the *κανὼν* of all "classic" sculpture. In all these cases the frequent use of the word is an expression of the tendency of the age towards the imitation of ancient models.

Another use of the word which also goes back to the fifth century B. C. is that in the theory of knowledge. Demokritos who was the first to apply it in this field gives it the meaning of *κριτήριον* as is obvious from the context and from the fact that he uses it together with *κρίνειν* and *προκρίνειν*. Epicurus and his followers call the theory of knowledge *κανονική* but use more frequently the word *κριτήριον* when dealing with special problems.

Ethics and the theory of knowledge come together in the use of the word *κανών* in connection with *ὅρος*. In the theory of knowledge the *κριτήριον* is both *κανών* and *ὅρος*. In ethics the *νόμος* is the *κανών* which directs our actions but also the boundary or limit, that is: the *ὅρος*, which we must not transgress if we want to act rightly. In Stoic philosophy this *κανών* or *ὅρος* is, of course, identical with the *νόμος ὁ κατὰ φύσιν*. It is, however, interesting to notice how Philo, the Stoic and Jew, comes to identify this *κανών* and *νόμος* with the Mosaic law and the decalogue. Finally, when Christianity revolts against the rigidity of the Mosaic law St. Paul, the apostle who brought the gospel to the gentiles but who had also been the most fervent defender of the Jewish law before his conversion, creates not only the notion of the *νόμος πίστεως* but calls it also *κανών*.

During the succeeding centuries the word *κανών* becomes more

and more frequent and is applied to any kind of rule or law, grammatical, mathematical, astronomical, or whatever else it may be. This use is especially frequent in the Church where the rules given by the bishops for religious practice, especially the practice of penance, are called *κανόνες*. Later on the use of the word is extended to all the decisions of the synods and eventually to the decrees or decretalia of the pope. Here lies also the ultimate origin of the "ius canonicum."

Another late extension of the meaning of the word originates in the theory of grammar. Since the grammatical rules are *κανόνες*, the *παράδειγμα* which illustrate these rules are called by the same name. Eventually the term is applied to all kinds of tablets and lists, astronomical, chronological, etc.; and the author tries to show that the expression *ὁ κανὼν* in application to the New Testament does not refer to the Scripture as to a model or as giving a law of conduct or religious practice, but means simply the *list* of the books which were acknowledged as documents of divine revelation.

The last part of the paper in review deals with the Latin equivalents of *κανὼν*: *norma* and *regula*, discussing the Latin translations of Greek philosophical works in which the term was used and, further on, the independent development of the meaning of *regula* and *norma* in Roman philosophy, jurisprudence, and rhetoric. Perhaps it would have been worth while, in this connection, to go a little deeper into the relations between *κανὼν* and the Latin term *formula* as used in Roman jurisdiction.

I have restricted myself to a very few criticisms and suggestions since it seemed more important to give as full an account as possible of a work which, as a whole, is so excellent and contains such an unusual amount of interesting material.

K. VON FRITZ.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

FERDINAND NOACK (begonnen von), KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN (fortgeführt und veröffentlicht von). Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji. (Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, Denkmäler Antiker Architektur, II). Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1936. Pp. xiii + 244, 47 text illustrations, 56 pls., 1 plan.

The course of Pompeian studies continues true to form: subjected to more exact methods of observation on the part of successive generations of investigators, the old familiar ruins, which

when first seen were accepted as parts of a homogeneous city, resolve themselves into their constituent elements, and the several phases of structure and decoration, technique and style, house- and town-planning, stand forth with ever greater distinctness and fit into a chronological sequence, until not only specialists but the larger public as well think of the city that was eventually buried in the catastrophe of A. D. 79 as a once living organism, a development, the reflection of a whole cycle of human culture.

The volume under consideration presents the results of more than twenty years of intermittent activity, the conclusion of which Professor Noack did not live to see. Its final publication bears eloquent testimony to the *pietas* and the competence of its second author. It is devoted to a small portion of Pompeii, *Regio VIII, Insula 2*, which was excavated long ago, and which possesses a special significance. This elongated city block comprises a stretch of the southern slope of the town hill, with the houses which at first stood on the high ground within the line of defence; when the great wall had been dismantled, after the close of the Second Punic War, these dwellings were gradually extended, in a series of terraces, down over the line of this wall itself and into the space at its foot. Thus the traditional elements of the habitation—centripetal, focussed upon the atrium—lie next the street-front on the north and extend southwards towards the line of the wall: the subsequent expansion down-hill afforded opportunity for the introduction of new features—porticoes, and commodious rooms opening out towards light and air—testifying to a fundamental change in the habits and requirements of the people. A similar shift of interest away from the atrium in the direction of fresh air, sunlight and sea breezes is evident in the *Villa dei Misteri* near Pompeii and in the spacious residences which have come to light at the seaward end of Herculaneum.

But the incidence of these studies is wider than the title suggests. For the problems of this one *Insula* are essentially those of the city as a whole. As a preliminary to their task, the authors determine the natural contours of the volcanic hill, which in all periods, in greater or less degree, must have conditioned the town-plan. The irregularities in the lines of streets in the southwest part of the city had already implied that Pompeii as we know it, a creation of the fifth century B. C., was preceded by a small walled settlement in this corner of the area. This *Altstadt* (the name is suggested by the analogy with Mediaeval Germany) is to be assigned to the sixth century B. C., and it may in its turn, before 700 B. C., have been preceded by a primitive hut village. This latter would have accorded with what is known at other sites, but as yet it cannot be demon-

strated for Pompeii. The *Altstadt* itself, however, no longer lies entirely in the realm of hypothesis: for not only have Professor Lehmann-Hartleben's investigations revealed several hitherto unrecognized fragments of both the outer and the inner facing of the wall of the enlarged city, but the presence of a different technique, in large blocks of irregularly cut local lava, at a lower level at one point in the line of this wall (p. 8), has suggested to him (pp. 12, 13) that this fragment actually belonged to the city wall of the more ancient period, the *Altstadt*; moreover, in the remarkable structure of large lava blocks at the northeast corner of *Reg. IV, Ins. 14*, he proposes to recognize part of one of its gates (pp. 12, 13, pl. 30, fig. 3). The considerations which he adduces appear sound, and his sketch (p. 11) of the conjectured line of the *Altstadtmauer* is well reasoned and intelligible, apart from some confusion between the outer and inner facing. However, the publication of this volume fell at a time when Commendatore Maiuri's investigations in the subsoil of Pompeii were approaching their full development; and it is to be expected that their results, when accessible, will provide material evidence for the solution of many a hitherto intractable problem. His still more recent extension of the excavation of the *Insula* in question to include the southern extremities of a series of its houses should also provide a welcome complement to the present work. The main part of the volume is concerned with the investigation and interpretation of the residences which occupy the southern slope. Here illustrations are inseparable from text; and the care and skill that have entered into the preparation of the plates contribute to make this publication a scientific instrument of a high degree of precision: in fact it is less a book to be read than an apparatus to be used.

The investigation of structural remains is a special field of archaeology in which the workers are few: it can be prosecuted to advantage only in specific places and in certain conditions. But in favorable circumstances its results may prove of general interest. In the present instance it has been possible to bring the Pompeian evidence into a wider setting in the Roman world and in social and economic history. Successive periods can be distinguished with clarity, and each of these had its own tendencies and characteristics. At least as early as the third century B. C. there existed simply atria with their appurtenances. But eventually the space that had been occupied by the city wall became available for the extension of the already existing houses and for the planning of new ones along more generous lines. Thus the second century B. C. witnessed a great transformation, with aristocratic edifices of Nocera tufa in the Hellenistic manner, which reached its culmination in the decades preceding the

Social Wars. The age of Sulla and Julius Caesar was marked by ever-increasing prosperity; that extending from Augustus to the earthquake of A.D. 63, by the emergence of the middle and lower classes; and finally, the housing crisis induced by the earthquake ushered in a time of feverish speculative building and, we are obliged to add, of increasing vulgarization, which was only terminated by the great catastrophe.

Each of these ages was faced with the problem of designing its houses within the given limits of space; and for the last two centuries at least this involved the use of terracing. In each age the problem assumed a new form and was accorded a fresh solution. The results, which are attractively presented on pls. 21-26, deserve attention both as a chapter in ancient history and as a series of suggestions to practitioners of the present day.

A. W. VAN BUREN.

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME.

STEPHAN LÖSCH. *Diatagma Kaisaros. Die Inschrift von Nazareth und das Neue Testament. Eine Untersuchung zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte.* Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder Co., 1936. Pp. xiii + 100; 1 plate.

HIERONYMUS MARKOWSKI. *Diatagma Kaisaros. De Caesare Manium iurum vindice.* Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk Prace Komisji Filologicznej, Tom VIII, Zeszyt 2. Poznań, 1937. Pp. iii + 119; 5 plates.

These two monographs are both devoted to the now famous inscription published by Cumont (*Rev. hist.*, CLXIII [1930], pp. 241 ff.) and discussed in this journal by F. E. Brown (LII [1931], pp. 1 ff.). Introduced as *δίαγραμμα Καίσαρος*, it contains severe prohibitions on any malicious disturbing of the dead and their tombs, and provides the penalty of death for any removal of bodies. The notebook of Froehner, who bequeathed it to the Cabinet de Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, describes it as "Dalle de marbre envoyée de Nazareth en 1878."

These twenty-two lines of Greek raise many problems. Most scholars who have discussed them agree that the text is a rescript, not an edict¹—i. e. an answer to a provincial governor's enquiry and a statement of what was to be done within his command,

¹ Markowski, pp. 23 f. defends the view that it is an edict; L. Wenger, *Zeit. Sav. Stift., roman. Abt.*, LI (1931), pp. 378 f. regarded this as possible.

not a general enactment. In any case, it seems clear that no such drastic penalty was enforced for any long time or over any wide area.²

Who was "Caesar"? By common consent, the inscription must be dated between the latter part of the first century B. C. and the middle of the first A. D. A. Rehm³ prefers the principate of Augustus, and Markowski adduces parallels which in his opinion suggest a date earlier than 15-10 B. C. Further, Markowski urges strongly that *Kaïσαρ* means Octavian before he had acquired the title Augustus, that the enactment belongs to that reorganization of the East which followed Actium, and that it may perhaps have been cancelled by the edict of 28 B. C. which revoked irregular measures of the preceding troubled years. So rapid a volte-face is hard to imagine in a ruler deeply concerned with religious policy and, as Cumont showed, *Kaïσαρ* remained in use throughout the life of Augustus, is applied to Nero in an official inscription, and seems to have been the current name of the *princeps* in Palestine. The application to Nero—in Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*, 814—suggests a possibility. There we have first an ordinance of Nero, called simply *Ἀποκράτωρ Καίσαρ*, second his speech, third a proclamation by the high priest of the Imperial cult, giving Nero's titulature and repeating the substance of what Nero had said about the liberation of Achaëa—as the reason for a demonstration of gratitude. Did the provincial governor who received this *diatagma* publish it, with an accompanying text, at his headquarters in Caesarea, and cause copies of the short sharp rescript to be set up in various other places as a warning to offenders? Yet we must perhaps revert to Wenger's view that the text is an excerpt from Caesar's ordinance, made and set up in order to protect a family grave. Lösch has argued strongly against this (pp. 13 ff.), urging the exceptional character of what is supposed: yet the official publication of an Imperial ordinance in curt form would be no less exceptional.

In any case, grave objection has been raised by G. de Sanctis against the idea that the *diatagma* was set up under Augustus at Nazareth, for Galilee was not then under direct Roman rule. If it was set up at Nazareth, the only dates possible are (1) in the brief interval between the deposition of Antipas by Caligula in the autumn of 39 A. D. and Herod Agrippa's entry into power in 41 (Lösch, p. 61), or (2) after Herod Agrippa's

² Markowski, p. 25 suggests a possible reflex in the funerary monument of Gaius Erycius at Pergamon, which he dates, ca. 50 A. D. (p. 12); but the opening phrase *Καίσαρος εἰρήνης τὸ μνημα τοῦτο ἔχω* and the conclusion *αἰώνιος γὰρ ἐστὶν οἰκία εἰ(1) καὶ θέλωσι οἱ τυμβοκλέπται* are not such as a man would have used if he could have referred to a legal enactment of the death penalty.

³ *Ap. Wenger, l. c.*, pp. 370 f.

death in 44. At all other times which have to be considered Galilee was ruled by a member of the house of Herod: and, although that house showed the greatest deference to Rome's wishes, it could hardly have compromised its dignity to the extent of promulgating a rule of criminal law as an Imperial enactment.⁴ On the other hand, as Carcopino remarked, Froehner described the text as "envoyée de N.," not as "trouvée à N.," and Nazareth is so placed as to be a centre of trade in antiquities. The *diatagma* may well have come from Samaria or some other city which was directly under Roman rule from 6 to 41 A. D., and after 44 A. D.: or from the Greek cities on the East of Lake Gennesaret at any time after 4 B. C., when they were added to the province of Syria:⁵ or from the domain ruled by Philip the tetrarch, between his death in 33/4 and Agrippa's rule. Personally I incline to place it in the Greek cities East of Gennesaret, which had resented Herod's rule and may have demonstrated their independence with respect to Jewish cemeteries.

What was the occasion which provoked it? Carcopino suggested that we must seek it in the Samaritan defilement of the Temple at Jerusalem, between 6 and 8 A. D., with human bones, but Lösch has well replied that the Romans would have regarded the fact of such profanation as more important than the mode, and I agree in regarding the suggestion as untenable. Lösch himself develops a suggestion which Cumont made with the most careful reserve—that we must think of the story, ascribed

⁴ Markowski, pp. 18 ff. argues that Octavian could have so ordered in 30 B. C. His arguments rest on (1) Virg., *Georg.*, 4, 560-2—but *dat iura* is general—"gives judgment," i. e. "rules," as Nettleship says—and refers to the reordering of the East; (2) Herod's submissiveness to the wishes of Rome; that is proved, and we cannot doubt that he would have followed any desires which Octavian expressed on such a point—but would he have consented to their being published as mandatory *because* they came from Caesar?

Markowski further argues that diversities of religious opinion were involved. But his reference to Sadducee disbelief in the future life is irrelevant: such disbelief, and the opposite belief, stand in no necessary relation—often in no relation whatsoever—to negligence or care in performing funerary rites and in the upkeep of places in which the remains of the dead have been laid. So again, the quotation about the Samaritans which he makes (p. 18) after W. Seaton, *Rev. St anc.*, XXXV (1933), p. 209, n. 2, from Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 9, 4, 1, *πεκρὸν . . . εὐθὺς βδελύσσονται* refers to a horror of defilement by corpses. Some Samaritan carelessness in noting places of interment is indeed asserted by one Rabbinic source quoted by Strack-Billerbeck, *Komm. z. N. T. aus Talmud u. Midrasch*, 1, p. 540, but it is denied by another Rabbinic source (*ibid.*). A. Cowley, *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, X, p. 673 speaks of Samaritans as praised for their care in observance of rules relating to contact with the dead and purification. The incident quoted by Carcopino (see text *infra*) is a matter of hatred of the Jews rather than of divergent belief.

⁵ As F. de Zulueta suggests *J. R. S.*, XXII (1932), p. 187.

to the Jews, that the Disciples had stolen the body of Jesus. Lösch makes the argument harder at this point for himself by his view that the author of the enactment was Caligula,⁶ for he has to assume a delay in Rome's action of at least four years, on the latest possible date for the Crucifixion, and his further suggestion (pp. 91 ff.) that Herod Agrippa may have had something to say about the formulation of the *diatagma* and may have used it when he put to death James the son of Zebedee is extremely improbable. After the embitterment of temper caused by Stephen's activity, a king who wished to conciliate Jewish feelings did not need the stimulus of a Roman enactment—which, if it came from Caligula, was no longer valid even in Rome's territory.

What of the original suggestion? Pilate had discretionary power to allow the burial of a condemned criminal, Jewish custom required it, and 1 Cor., 15.4 asserts that Jesus was buried. But, if the story in Matt., 28.12-14 is true, and, if Pilate treated the Jewish accusation seriously, his first act would naturally have been to execute the soldiers guarding the tomb—a fact which the Christians would not have scrupled to record (cf. Acts, 12.19). Had he reported the incident to Rome, he would have been instructed both to do this and to discover who had stolen the body: and presumably he would have found scapegoats. He was no doubt capable of accepting a sufficient bribe from the Jews: but, if that was the fact, he would have made no report. The only way in which, so far as I can see, we could conceivably connect the *diatagma* with this Jewish charge would be to suppose that on this occasion Pilate asked the *princeps* for instructions on tomb-violations in general, speaking, as Pliny does (10, 31, 72), of *quidam* (cf. 96 of *Christiani*). In any event, this Jewish charge, which is represented by Matthew as a deliberate fiction, is omitted by Luke, and it is difficult to believe that, after the Crucifixion, the High Priest or the Sanhedrim had for the moment any further anxiety about the matter.

On the whole, I am inclined to date the decree under Augustus. But, whether this be right or wrong, our present answer as to its occasion must be a *non liquet*. Palestine was in a restless, lawless condition, and any one of a number of incidents in its Roman part, or in the Greek cities East of Galilee, might have caused a governor to write to the *princeps* and to receive these instructions.

In any case, we have every reason to thank Lösch and Markowski for a pair of monographs which contain much that is

⁶This would account for the failure of the enactment to produce lasting juristic effects: but Lösch's argument from parallels in Caligula's *lex agraria* has been answered by Markowski, p. 22.

suggestive: in particular, Markowski's work includes valuable remarks on the language of the inscription and on the general history of funerary rights.⁷

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK.

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON. *A Glossary of Greek Birds.* A new edition (St. Andrews University Publications, No. xxxix). Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. viii + 342.

The first edition of this book, published in 1895, though useful for its collection of material, had several basic defects. In this new edition these have been eliminated. During the long intervening period the author has extended his knowledge of bird-names in Italian and in Modern Greek, gained an acquaintance at first hand with the birds of the Mediterranean, and freed himself from that preoccupation with astronomical and mystical symbolism which formerly had amounted almost to an obsession. Moreover, with a few exceptions mentioned in the preface, full use has been made of the literature of the subject which has appeared since 1895, and as this in general is superior to that of the nineteenth and earlier centuries the identifications and descriptions are more trustworthy than those presented some forty years ago.

In its revised form then the *Glossary of Greek Birds* is practically a new book. There are more quotations, especially from Latin authors. More names are included than before and a larger proportion identified. The etymological discussions are longer and better. Symbolism has yielded to zoology. The bibliographical material is richer, the typography more pleasing, and the attractiveness of the book enhanced by the addition of numerous well-chosen illustrations. Unfortunately, however, there are many misprints.

A detailed discussion of a book of this type would be futile, the more so as the average classical scholar possesses slight knowledge of the birds even of his own neighborhood. It is sufficient to note that the treatise is the product of more than fifty years of devoted study and is a rich storehouse of information about the birds mentioned in ancient Greek literature. It is not a handbook for ornithologists. Indeed most ornithologists, in America at least, could not read it. But to every student of the Classics, Latin as well as Greek, it should be of immense and enduring value, a veritable *κτῆμα ἐς αἶα*.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

JAMES T. ALLEN.

⁷ On Markowski's work cf. the review by W. Kroll in *D. L. Z.*, 1938, cols. 191 f.: on Lösch that by M. Dibelius, *ibid.*, cols. 258 ff.

GEORG ROHDE. *Die Kultsatzungen der Römischen Pontifices.* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, XXV Band.) Berlin, Topelmann, 1936. Pp. viii + 179.

A generation ago Wissowa remarked that it would always remain the last task of research in Roman religion to make one's way beyond the antiquarian and juristic encyclopedias used by the late compilers to their original source, the priestly writings, and attempt their reconstruction. Rohde's work is the most important attempt of this sort to be made since the time of Wissowa's writing.

It is pointed out that the pontifical archives included not only cult regulations, but also the calendar, annals, and *legis actiones*. As occasion arose, the pontiffs issued *decreta* and *responsa* on ritual questions. Religious matters were also discussed in literary works, of which pontiffs were sometimes the authors. The extant references to all this literature are made in such a way that the classification of the fragments is extremely difficult. To reconstruct the *Kultsatzungen* (for which there seems to have been no special name) Rohde collects all such statements as he thinks must be ultimately derived from them, and then suggests an arrangement which may represent their original form.

The surest texts, Rohde believes, are the quotations of Festus (found in Verrius Flaccus) from the *commentarii sacrorum*. Each *commentarius* is supposed to deal with a single rite. It is uncertain whether any book was itself used in the ceremonies of early times, as it was in Oriental cults, and in the Arval ritual of the third century A. D. Parallels to the *commentarii sacrorum* are to be found in the inscriptions which describe the *ludi saeculares*, and in the protocols of the Arval brothers. The calendar was undoubtedly based on the pontifical books; hence if one could fill in its list of festivals with the statement of the offerings to be made, and similar statements for the movable feasts and extraordinary ceremonies, we might have the essential content of the *commentarii sacrorum pontificalium*. It is unlikely, however, that the arrangement was based on the calendar; each priesthood probably had the prescriptions for its own cult, as is known in the case of the *Salii*. To illustrate this arrangement Rohde collects the fragments relating to the cult of the Vestals (pp. 107-110), the Flamen Dialis (pp. 112-113), and the pontifex maximus (pp. 113-115).

Occasion for writing books of ritual would be found when old cults were changed, or restored, or new cults introduced. The books might be enlarged from time to time to preserve traditions threatened with extinction, or to facilitate understanding of the rites. General observations about cult rules,

and deductions therefrom, characterize the *decreta* and *responsa* of the pontiffs, and also the extensive literature on the *ius divinum*. But these writings did not have the force of law, though it is now often difficult to distinguish between cult regulations and literary observations. Many of the rules were intended to preserve ancient practices against innovations in profane life (e.g., the use of spelt in ritual when wheat had displaced it elsewhere), but on some occasions it seems that the pontiffs aimed at a rational reconstruction of traditions, especially under Etruscan and Greek influence. While Greek cults were regularly under the supervision of the keepers of the Sibylline books rather than that of the pontiffs, the rule was not strictly observed, and in the revision of the pontifical books Greek deities and rites were included.

A very large part of Rohde's work is admittedly conjectural, and one may sometimes harbor doubts on points which he regards as settled. The distinctions between the singular and plural of *commentarius* and *sacrum* (pp. 54 f.) seem labored. Where evidence is so scanty, an *argumentum ex silentio* (p. 53) is hazardous. One notices the readiness with which Altheim's views are accepted (pp. 95, 97, 103, 139). Though these have little to do with the question Rohde is considering, they are of much the same conjectural nature as his own views.

In spite of the uncertainties which remain, this book brings together the known facts, and offers perhaps as plausible an account of them as possible.

WILLIAM M. GREEN.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

ULF TÄCKHOLM. Studien über den Bergbau der römischen Kaiserzeit. Uppsala, Appelberg, 1937. Pp. xiii + 187.

The materials for a complete exposition of Roman mining are being published in monographs by specialists in different phases of the subject. Täckholm's study has two definite contributions to the final synthesis. His clear discussion of one technical problem, namely, the processes of reducing crude ore to usable metals and alloys, answers a recent "plea for better cooperation between archaeologists and mining technologists" (*A. J. A.*, XXXVIII [1934], p. 389). Admirable, too, is the sane combination of archaeological and literary evidence. Corrections of, or additions to, the conclusions of preceding writers are but incidental to these two methodological improvements.

Since the chief weakness of authors both classical and contemporary has been their ignorance of the technique of mining, Täckholm's section on Metallurgy (pp. 18-88) is largely corrective. Iron, for example, receives greater attention than any

more precious metal because errors are more numerous in modern treatments. This technical phase, however, is considered as subordinate to a major theme; it serves only as an aid to the elucidation of the Roman system of administration of the mines.

A brief account of the republican cycle from state to private ownership and back to state ownership is explained on purely Roman grounds: economic, humanitarian and political. Egyptian and Greek experience had apparently no influence upon Roman administrators. The development under the emperors to direct state administration and to ownership of mines by Caesar was painfully slow. Again and again this slowness is emphasized. *Conductores* slowly replaced *publicani*; *coloni* slowly replaced slaves; private ownership of some mines was never completely abolished.

Conclusions of value are to be found in the pages concerned with the definition of terms used by classical authors, the dating of oven types, the Roman habit of accepting without change local mining techniques, and the treatment of work in mines as a punishment. In the last, Christian literature is extensively used.

Among the errors noted are medical for chemical (p. 14), Reid for Read (p. 78), *sripisi* for *scripsi* (p. 113), and 1,030,000 for 1,300,000 (p. 166).

A thorough treatment of the lead workings near Ralja (Serbia) is appended as an excursus (pp. 160-177) to this excellent monograph.

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

ARMAND MINARD. Deux relatifs homériques. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1937. Pp. 96.

This monograph deals with the Homeric use of the relative pronouns *ὅστις* and *ὅσπερ*. The separate treatment of the two pronouns, which occupies most of the work, is followed by a comparison of their uses. The material is classified and illustrated by numerous examples, mostly from Homer, though with some later passages designed largely to show the extension of the uses of *ὅστις*, and the examples are carefully arranged with regard to the transition from one type to another. The essential characteristic of *ὅστις* is its indifference to the individual identity of its antecedent, whence its function is similar to that of *whoever*, French *quiconque*. The uses of *ὅσπερ* are divided by Minard into two groups: those involving *liaison contingente*, where the relative clause usually serves to identify its antecedent or to explain the statement made about it, and those

involving *liaison stable*, where some permanent habit of the antecedent is mentioned. Pp. 65 ff. show some passages in which *δοτις* has assumed the functions of *δοτε*, but these passages are from post-Homeric authors; the Homeric usage distinguishes the two relatives so carefully that Minard is led (pp. 83 f.) to propose emendation of K 146, reading *ὄν τιν' ἔοικεν* for *ὄν τ' ἐπέοικε*, and justifying his neglect of the *ε* by reference to Γ 285 and 458. In ξ 221 also (pp. 88 f.), finding *δ τέ* at variance with Homeric usage, he suggests the simple *ὅς*.

The book is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Homeric syntax, and no criticisms of a general nature need be made against it. In regard to classification, one passage appears to me to be misplaced: K 305 ff. (p. 28), which I should prefer to include just below under *Décision humaine*. Typographical errors are unfortunately rather numerous, though few are serious: p. 12 read Thuc. VI. 30: 1 for Thuc. VI. 30: 2; p. 17 in O 745 read *μακρῶ* for *μαχρῶ*; p. 25 in Φ 611 read *σάωσαι* for *σάωσαι*; p. 30 in τ 347 read *ἦ τις δὴ* for *ἦ τις*; p. 31 in K 19 *σὺν* for *σὺν* and K 44 *σάωσει* for *σάωσει*; p. 43 in K 208 *μητιώωσι* for *μετιώωσι*; p. 50 (and in the index p. 94) Esch. Sept. 65 for Esch. Suppl. 65; p. 51 in ξ 53 *ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι* for *ἀθάνατοι ἄλλοι*; p. 62 in Σ 55 *κρατερόν* for *κράτερόν*; p. 75 in α 349 *ἀλφησιῶσιν* for *ἀλφηγησιν*; p. 78, line 23 I 15 for ι 15; p. 83 in B 229 *ἐπιδεύει* for *ἐπιδεύει*; p. 87 (top) Ψ 581 for Ψ 59 and ι 268 for ι 266.

CARTHAGE COLLEGE.

JAMES WILSON POULTNEY.

AUGUST C. MAHR. *The Origin of the Greek Tragic Form: a study of the early theater in Attica.* New York, Prentice-Hall, 1938. \$3.00.

Starting with the thought that each civilized nation has a structural pattern which reappears in every expression of its life, Professor Mahr attempts to trace this pattern in Greek thought, and then to point out how it appears in Athenian drama, simultaneously manifesting itself in the setting and in the text of the plays. He regards the dithyramb as the direct ancestor of tragedy; with this choral performance belonged the closed horizontal plane of the circular orchestra. With the actor, a vertical element appears—and with two actors, a vertical background plane, and hence a back-scene, was necessary. The history of the stage-building (at Athens) is carried down to Roman times, with a demonstration of the relationship of its architecture to the successive trends in other art. There follows a discussion of Aeschylus' plays, as illustrating the "epi-

sodion pattern," which Professor Mahr believes derived necessarily from the closed orchestra space, and which consisted of "the approach of an individual to a group with the intention of overcoming resistance."

The reviewer is unequipped to criticize the aesthetic theory and the observations on the fine arts which are the background for the book. He suspects, however, that the aesthetic theory is overrigid, and too monopolistic. The observations on art, in particular the chapters tracing a connection between stage-architecture and other art, in and after the fourth century, appear to be the best part of the book. The worst element is the discussion of extant tragedy, which has a curious air of being based on the observations of other scholars rather than on the author's own. (The list of books and articles used is good, but far from inclusive.) The discussion is based on a misconception—that the typical tragic hero is resigned to suffering, even when he is not at all at fault—until Euripides introduced action on the hero's part, only "traces" of which are to be found in Aeschylus and Sophocles! Professor Mahr, like certain other scholars, develops a theory as to the early days of tragedy, and then insists that the plays of Aeschylus fit his theory; but these plays actually offer more exceptions to his rule than illustrations of it. No allowance is made for the influence of factors other than the mystic compulsion of the area of performance. The analysis of Aeschylus' plays is incorrect; the following misconceptions particularly strike the reviewer: that Aeschylus acquired scene-painting, the dialogue-prologue of the *Seven*, and the dramatic compactness of the *Choephoroe* from the youthful Sophocles (who was actually under the spell of Aeschylus, cf. the *Life* of Sophocles, 2); that the Danaids are wholly and unquestionably right; that Zeus in the *Prometheus* is a "tyrannous upstart"; and that the *Oresteia* is the first product of Aeschylus in which the tragic conflict arises from the conscious guilt of the hero (this seems to refer to Orestes only, whose guilt is debatable). Part of the book may be of interest to the student of Greek art; for the student of Greek tragedy, its only value lies in testing his resistance to error.

ALFRED CARY SCHLESINGER.

OBERLIN COLLEGE.

LOUIS FURMAN SAS. *The Noun Declension System in Mero-vingian Latin*. Paris, Impressions Pierre André, 1937. Pp. xvii + 529.

This modest and painstaking study presents in conveniently tabulated form the data furnished by written documents and

inscriptions of the "Merovingian" period in Gaul. Dr. Sas inclines to the belief that authors of this time still wrote in a language somewhat more formal than ordinary uncultivated speech. My own feeling is that half-educated scribes are responsible for much of the MS material currently used as evidence of "Merovingian" Latin. For years I have been urging a careful study of the rhetorical *cursus* in Gregory of Tours and other late writers; it seems incredible that a bishop who uses this refinement could be guilty of the linguistic inaccuracies which abound in the MSS; I would assign these to the scribes. This would strengthen Dr. Sas' view. He concludes that the scribes' "oral language must have had a declension system quite similar to that in use among the people, even if its pattern was more ordered and more learned than any plebeian system of that 'illiterate' period could be." Incidentally, his researches support Vielliard and others against Meyer-Lübke; he finds that the ablative had at least as great vitality as the accusative. There is an excellent bibliography. By such thorough investigations as this, we shall eventually arrive at a sure comprehension of the development of Latin into Romance; it is needless to point out that syntax offers a specially fruitful field, along lines laid out by Löfstedt and his pupils.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

SISTER MARGARET CLARE HERRON. A Study of the Clausulae in the Writings of St. Jerome. (The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies, Vol. LI.) Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, 1937. Pp. xiv + 132. \$2.00.

This volume admirably sustains the reputation of the series; it makes perfectly clear how Jerome manipulated prose rhythm. Special interest is lent this theme because Jerome, although a follower of Cicero in preferring the quantitative *cursus*, could not avoid the influence of the new accentual rhythm, exclusively used by his contemporary Ammianus; the cretic tribrach and the double cretic, which close nearly one-fifth of Jerome's clausulae—*esse concordia*, *manere non poterat*—are accentually examples of the *cursus tardus*. Very likely Jerome avoided the favorite Ciceronian tag, *esse videatur*, because it transgresses the accentual *cursus*. In any case, about two-thirds of his sentence endings meet accentual as well as quantitative requirements. Sister Margaret Clare tabulates with great care the various types of these metrical forms; she investigates also their

typology—structure as regards word division and syllabic composition—and finds that Jerome avoids elision and that hiatus is very rare. Among interesting minor points in this dissertation are discussions of the rôle of secondary accent, of rhythm within the sentence or clause, and of the preferences of various writers for different rhythmical forms; in Jerome and Ambrose, e. g., the cretic dichoree accounts for only 4.7% of the sentence endings, but Cyprian closes 19.7% of his sentences with it. One cannot help wishing that the author had included Petronius in her studies of the accentual clausula; no one seems yet to have followed up A. C. Clark's and my brief studies. But she has done a most creditable and unusually accurate piece of work which has much suggestive value in various fields and is indispensable to all students of prose rhythm.

CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

ANGELO BRELICH. *Aspetti della morte nelle iscrizioni sepolcrali dell'impero Romano* (Dissertationes Pannonicae, Ser. I, Fasc. 7). Budapest, Inst. di num. e di arch., 1937. Pp. 88.

This latest attempt to probe the Roman attitude towards death as revealed in the Latin sepulchral inscriptions, though hardly original in methods used or results attained, is marked by a good sense and independent judgment throughout. Brelich knows the literature of the subject up to date, as his numerous citations show, but in his criticisms he frequently refuses to follow the beaten path of interpretation. In Chapter I he deals with what he calls the "mythical vision" (*l'intuito mitico*) of death, the unreflecting view which tends to give real form to negative things like death (the absence of life) and the *infern*i (the world of darkness and non-existence). Death is looked upon as something evil, full of cold, darkness, and silence, while life is thought of as good, full of warmth, light, and sound; and many epitaphs are quoted in support. It is, Brelich believes, the imagination rather than the reflecting reason which fancies the dead still living in the grave, inspires the wish so often expressed "*sit tibi terra levis*," looks on death often as a *raptus*, and pictures an underworld filled with *manes*. His discussion of the *manes* is one of the best I have seen, though here, as elsewhere, one misses any feeling that it was probably newcomers in Rome (easterners, mostly of servile extraction) who brought in some of these great changes in religious ideas. Hartke has shown that this was true of the words "*sit tibi terra levis*," while a study (made by the reviewer) of the inscriptions in

which *manes* means the *individual* dead makes it highly probable that it was easterners too who made this idea popular in the Roman world.

In Chapter II, the study of the epitaphs with Terra Mater is valuable for shedding light on many a puzzling inscription. These inscriptions that express a wish to return to Mother Earth stress, the author feels, not so much the sentimental idea of earth's maternity, but her fecundity. With the aid of sepulchral imagery, he shows the Bacchic inspiration behind many inscriptions otherwise obscure in their implications. Some epitaphs that seem openly hedonistic in character he interprets as Bacchic in origin, derived from the desire after a fuller, more intense life here on earth and after death. But, if I read him rightly, his good sense would keep him from seeing Bacchic influence in every inscription, however coarse in expression, and reading mystic hopes in every invitation to "eat, drink and be merry."

Chapter III is a study of philosophic influences detected in the inscriptions, echoes of cynic, stoic, and epicurean ideas. Here again his good judgment is evident when he says (p. 58): "it is an exaggeration to judge all the inscriptions that proclaim non-existence as epicurean, but on the other hand we have no sure criterion to tell us where such inscriptions really belong." One has only to read Dill, Friedländer, and others to see how sensible this remark is. He goes on to show that what really attracted many to death was the vision they had of rest and quiet in the grave. Here too a study of the persons who express such sentiments would have been revealing, as it is mostly slaves and freedmen who appear on such epitaphs. For them life was often a treadmill and death a happy release.

In Chapter IV, Brelich deals with the cult of the dead and the spirit behind the cult. It was, he thinks, rather *pietas* than fear that inspired such tendance of the dead. It is a real religious act, a genuine cult to those who have entered on a higher life and become, in some way, divine. In a fair number of inscriptions cited the dead are looked on as divine, transformed sometimes after death into definite deities, as Schwarzlose had already shown in his work on the inscriptions. Brelich recalls traces of this feeling in Cicero and draws attention to the sepulchral portraiture where such ideas are prominent. But neither he nor Schwarzlose ask themselves *who* brought this conception into prominence. Almost every inscription that speaks of the dead as divine or assimilated to a particular deity bears eastern or servile cognomina, while the few non-easterners expressing themselves in the same fashion were, no doubt, influenced by Greek ideas just as Cicero was after the death of Tullia. It seems clear that these ideas, not entirely strange to Romans, but

still vaguely felt by them, found strong root in Italy because of the masses of easterners there in the early Empire.

The purpose of Chapter V is to discover the religious basis of the idea of immortality held by the ancients. Prayers are addressed to the dead as divine and powerful protectors of the living. Sometimes a "Si" introduces the prayer, but, as Brelich observes, the apparent doubt generally reinforces the thought and may be due to magical influence. The "mythical vision" of death mingles now with a faith, dictated by piety, in a separate place for the good where merits are rewarded, and the idea emerges of an immortality *above* the earth. This short chapter leans heavily on Cumont's studies and seems to add little or nothing to what the latter has discovered and explained so lucidly.

The dissertation might well have concluded with a synthetic exposé of the author's views, as it seems to stop too abruptly. Some distinctions he draws seem over-subtle, and throughout one misses any regard for relative dates and localities or for the persons appearing on the epitaphs. Religious ideas were shifting and developing because the population of the empire was changing. New peoples from the north and south and especially the east brought new ideas and hopes to Rome, and it is generally these "Romans" that one meets in the inscriptions. None the less, the dissertation manages to touch most of the problems in a deep and original fashion, and it is easily one of the best that have appeared on the Latin sepulchral inscriptions.

FRANCIS A. SULLIVAN.

ST. ANDREW-ON-HUDSON.

STANISLAW SKIMINA. *État actuel des études sur le rythme de la prose grecque I.* Cracovie, Imprimerie de l'Université, 1937. Pp. iv + 213.

The publication of this study carries forward the interesting and valuable effort to take stock of present knowledge of ancient prose rhythm which has already resulted in the publication of F. Novotný, *État actuel des études sur le rythme de la prose latine*,¹ and Skimina's other volume.² This volume is arranged by periods, Ionian, Attic, and Hellenistic. For each period an introduction summarizes the general stylistic character of the authors treated. There is an analysis and criticism of the scholarly work on some fifty Greek prose writers from

¹ *Eus Supplementa* 5, Lwów (1929), pp. 95 ff.

² *État actuel des études sur le rythme de la prose grecque II*, *Eus Supplementa* 11, Lwów (1930), pp. 96 ff.

Herodotus to John Chrysostom. In each case both scattered comments and the results of special studies are discussed.

It is impossible to consider separately the conclusions reached for each author, but the individual summaries will prove most useful since the work throughout is based on a reasonable consideration of the work of many scholars. The conclusions as to what may be accepted are equalled in importance by the indications of what needs to be done in the case of many important authors. Of special note is the attempt to determine whether the present evidence is of value as an aid to the dating or authenticity of disputed works, or whether the style of any particular author might lend itself to such work in the future.

The varied modes of treatment and standards of judgment to be found in most works on ancient prose rhythm lead to a very important proposal which is included in the section on Hyperides (pp. 94-106). Skimina here restates his previous proposal^{*} for a standardized handling of the analysis of syllables and clausulae of various types. Although individual scholars might differ in regard to certain particulars, acceptance of Skimina's scheme would seem to provide the only "language" for dealing with the subject which offers any hope of progress toward such values of scholarship as the topic provides. At least a full discussion of Skimina's proposals should precede further studies in the rhythm of individual authors and lead to a basis of treatment less haphazard than the present individualized presentation. This is perhaps the most original part of the work but it would be a mistake to consider the bulk of the book a mere collection of the work of other scholars for Skimina has shown great skill and insight in the use of the available material.

Since this work provides a comprehensive statement of the present knowledge in regard to the prose rhythms of most Greek authors and lays down a sound program for further pursuit of the subject it should prove invaluable to specialists in the field and to students of individual authors who wish a critical summary of the work that has been done along these lines. The arrangement of the book, the index, and the bibliography are calculated to increase its usefulness.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

F. R. B. GODOLPHIN.

^{*} "Comment étudier les clausules dans la prose métrique grecque," *Eos*, XXXV (1934), pp. 1-28.

EARNEST CARY. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The Roman Antiquities, with an English Translation. First volume of VII. (L. C. L.)* Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, 1937. Pp. xli + 553.

This is a satisfactory volume. The Introduction offers all that the reader will need to know of the life, opinions, and writings of Dionysius, not to overlook MSS, editions, and translations. The critical apparatus is ample, though based on no new collations. The substitution of Φαιστόλος for Φαιστύλος and Δαύρετον for Δωρετόν is a sensible change. The historical notes, which include references to parallel passages of Livy, display sound judgment and competent scholarship. The version is based upon that of Edward Spelman, 1758, but has been thoroughly rewritten. If the reader tires of sentences beginning with "And," the fault is in the original. However much Dionysius knew about style, he certainly did little to diversify his transitions. Mr. Cary here and there interpolates an "indeed," "moreover," or "nevertheless," and once goes so far as to write "Nay, on the contrary" for ἀλλά (119), but such licenses are infrequent. In general the translation keeps in step with the pedestrian gait of the text.

If a reviewer is bound to discover mistakes, the derivation of *Feretrius* from *ferire* (411) should not be laid to modern scholars; certainly it finds no favor with Walde or Ernout and Meillet. Again, the rendering "built a town on a suitable hill" (109) will not bear scrutiny, nor can "on the Aventine" be accepted for περὶ τὸ Αἰεντίνον (271). Dionysius, like Virgil (*Aen.*, ix, 244), consistently thought of the early settlements as being in the valleys (101, 103, 143, 273, 315); the fortified hilltops were for refuge only (417-19). This error persists in all modern accounts of the development of the city and ought to be rectified. Such slips, however, impair but slightly the general excellence of the volume. It deserves to be recommended as an apt version of a dull, moralizing historian whose patterns of thought would drive Arnold Joseph Toynbee to madness.

VICTORIA COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

NORMAN W. DEWITT.

KENNETH W. CLARK. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. xxviii + 417; 72 plates. \$5.00.

This stately volume contains the descriptions of the 163 manuscripts and 93 fragments of the New Testament owned

in America. These numbers, far in excess of anyone's expectation, indicate the importance of the work for New Testament scholars. It is also a representative collection. There are manuscripts or fragments from every century from the third to the seventeenth and all the known types of text are found. As was to be expected, the largest number of manuscripts falls within the first five centuries after the year 1000 and the text is most often of a Constantinople type, but the same remarks apply to all the great European collections of New Testament manuscripts.

The form of description used for the individual manuscripts is regular and most complete. First comes the number of the manuscript in its collection, followed by the Gregory, Scrivener, and von Soden numbers. There follow the designation of the manuscript, the date, type of writing, size of leaf, numbers of columns, lines, and leaves, material, and binding. Smaller fragments have a statement of the text content at some point in this section.

The second section covers all marginal notes, especially Ammonian sections, Eusebian canon, and lection marks. The three following sections take up respectively: character of text, history of the manuscript, with colophons, if any, and an index of contents, followed by a list of miniatures, wherever found.

At the end there is a bibliography in chronological order of the different works, with citation by page, which have mentioned the manuscript. There are nine indices, which cover well the varied contents of the descriptions and make consultation of the book easy. The preface, which sketches the steps in Professor Clark's studies of these manuscripts, reads like a novel, and there is a worthy introductory note by Professor Goodspeed.

Every New Testament student will need to consult this book. The huge "Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts" by De Ricci and Wilson mentions all the same manuscripts, but the treatment is most meager in comparison with the work of Clark.

Naturally in so extensive a work there is bound to be a certain unevenness in quality, but, if I may judge from the Michigan manuscripts, the largest single collection described, Clark is best where his help will be needed most, in the survey including marginal notes and datings of the later manuscripts.

I add a few misprints and slight errors, which I noted in reading:

p. 61, 9 read *leather* for *leat er*.

19 read $\overline{\eta}$ for $\overline{\eta}$.

22 read \overline{a} for \overline{a} .

p. 87, 13 read *manoscritto* for *manoscritti*.

p. 107, 8 "295 folios (260 parchment, 35 paper)." From index on p. 108 it seems necessary to count the 3

extra fly leaves in order to secure 35 paper leaves.

If so, there are 263 parchment leaves.

p. 112, 13 read *ca.* 1820 for *ca.* 1802.

p. 131, 13 read *recto* for *rect.*

p. 166, 11 read *originally* for *origin lly.*

p. 196, 13 read \bar{a} (4 fols) for \bar{a} (4 fols).

p. 201, 16 "qu. θ supplied by 8th century hand." This strange quire in the Freer Gospels has been variously dated from the fourth to the seventh century. This is the first time that the eighth century has been guessed. As the decorated wooden covers were dated early seventh by Morey in *University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series, XII, it seems certain that there was a major rebinding of the manuscript at that time. That seems to fix the *terminus ante quem* for dating all parts of the manuscript. No close parallels to the handwriting have been found, but some private letters of the fourth and fifth centuries, though crude, seem nearest.

p. 227, 32 "numberd."

p. 282, 26 "subscriptions to Pauline Epistles"; only I Cor., Eph., Phil., I Thess., II Tim., Tit., and Hebr. have subscriptions. " $\sigma\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ for Hebrews"; add also I Cor. and Phil.

p. 283, 20 in Index read 280^v-287 for 281-287.

p. 285, 35 "Collated by Jacob Geerlings": read "collated by W. M. Read."

p. 320, 16 "dated 1287 (Greg. 14th)"; this was a dating published with the assignment of number by von Dobschütz, ZNTW, 23, 260. Neither Gregory nor von Dobschütz ever saw the manuscript, so it is misleading to assign the dating to either, but especially to Gregory, who was killed several years before this manuscript came to light. Similar doubtful assignments of datings are found pp. 322, 28; 326, 10; 325, 26.

p. 328, 13 and elsewhere "Frank W. Kelsey" appears as the purchaser of manuscripts for Michigan. The name should be Francis W. Kelsey.

p. 340, 18 read *upper half* for *lower half*.

p. 355, 12 "on the fly leaf of the number" should be corrected by deleting "of."

p. 363, 3 It was Papadopoulos Kerameus who dated this 14th century manuscript in "10th-11th" century, not Gregory, who is correctly reported in line 4 as dating 12th-13th.

HENRY A. SANDERS.

CAMPBELL BONNER. *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek.* (Studies and Documents, ed. Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, VIII.) London, Christophers, 1937. Pp. ix + 106; II plates.

This book, like Professor Sander's edition of Pauline texts, is a result of the happy cooperation of the University of Michigan and the British Museum in the purchase and publication of papyri. The leaves containing Enoch were acquired in part by Michigan, in part by Mr. Chester Beatty, and have been studied both by Professor Bonner and his Michigan colleagues and by Sir Frederic Kenyon. The result is all that Bonner's edition of the *Hermas* fragments would lead one to expect.

The codex is a good example of a medium-priced theological book of the fourth century. Bonner estimates its original size to have been about 27 cm. high and half as wide. It was written in columns 23 cm. high and 11 cm. broad with forty-one to forty-six lines to a page on good but not fine papyrus. The scribe was far from being the best representative of his craft. He was a bad speller and often inattentive to his text. Bonner thinks he copied carelessly from a somewhat corrupt original of the third century and added to its vagaries a number of transcriptional and orthographic mistakes and some phonetic and syntactic vulgarisms, e. g. *γυναϊκᾶν, ἀπεθάνοσαν, εἶδοσαν, ἀναφελεί, συλλαβήσεται*. An indication of the scribe's tendency to think in Coptic is the miscopying of *τι* for *ψ* in *ρίψουσιν*, for the Coptic *ti* looks like a Greek *psi*; and a curious sign of stereotyped workmanship is found in his tendency to space irrationally before *χαίρειν*, following a convention to space the greetings.

Bonner's remarks on "Syntax, Style and Vocabulary" add useful materials to Rademacher's study of the earlier chapters of Enoch in the Gizeh fragment and in *Lyucellus*. The phenomena observed are, for the most part, familiar to students of the Koine in general and of Hellenistic Jewish literature in particular, but there are some interesting peculiarities: *λαργεῖν*, "to work in stone" or "make of stone"; *ἀναφαιρεῖν* for *ἀφαιρεῖν*; *προέχειν*, in the sense "to offer" (a petition); *κόριον*, "pupil of an eye," for *κόρη*.

The text of Enoch now published covers 97.6-104, 106-107 of the Ethiopic version and contains the greater part of one of the documents of which Enoch is a rambling combination and possibly some fragments of another. The larger work, as reconstructed by Charles, is found in the Ethiopic in the following order: 92, 91.1-10, 93.1-10, 91.12-19, 94-104. Chapters 106-107 are attributed to another source. Unfortunately the Greek does not extend to the earlier portions of the text where dislocations appear to be most numerous but the absence of 105

confirms Charles' contention that this passage stands apart and suggests that it was a later addition than he had supposed. There is, however, no break between 104 and 106 and since 108 is missing, the subscript Ἐπιστολὴ Ἐνώχ at the close of 107 appears to be the title of the section 92 ff. and not of the whole work, which raises the question whether 106-107 should be assigned to another source than the preceding chapters. There is a reference to "this letter," in 100.6 καὶ κατανοήσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους τούτους τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης, and this appears to underlie the Ethiopic both in this passage and in 92.1. Furthermore the speaker in this section is Enoch and there is no indication of a sharp break, as at the beginning of 108 in the Ethiopic.

Concerning the textual character of the Enoch Bonner observes, "the reader may observe again a phenomenon which has now become familiar to workers in Enoch literary papyri, namely, that an early text is seldom if ever found to ally itself consistently with any individual or family among the later manuscripts or versions of the work in question." This fact, though commonplace enough, may have a special importance in this connection. There is no evidence that the collection contained in this papyrus codex is one of extracts rather than of whole works. The pieces contained in it may have been short ones, like the Homily of Melito, but not necessarily fragmentary. In fact, so far as I am aware, catenae of patristic selections first appear at a much later date, though it will be remembered that a problem similar to this one in Enoch arose in Bonner's papyrus text of Hermas. It has never been proved, though often argued, that the collection of writings which form the Ethiopic text was compiled from Semitic originals. For some portions the arguments for Hebrew or Aramaic sources are strong but even allowing for some translation on the part of the editor of the piece, it is possible that he drew from Hellenistic Jewish literature as well as contributed to it and I suggest that the Ἐπιστολὴ Ἐνώχ may well have circulated in Greek form independently of its inclusion in the collection represented by the Ethiopic. It is not necessary to deny the existence of a Semitic original behind even this portion of the text, though the evidence seems to me less strong than, for example, in 37 ff. The absence of clearcut textual affinities between Bonner's Enoch and the groups of Ethiopic MSS may be due to the fact that its textual history has from the start been independent of the Greek original of the Ethiopic version.

It is obvious that Professor Bonner's book furnishes material of great value for the study of Enoch and much of its importance has been made clear in detail by the copious critical notes which accompany the text. Final judgment will be possible

only after a minute comparison with the Ethiopic has been made and a thorough study of the Greek fragments as a whole has been completed. The solution of the many problems presented by a Greek compilation of apocalyptic fragments, some or all of which are based on Semitic originals, preserved as a whole only in Ethiopic, should do much to clarify the history and transmission of Hellenistic Jewish literature.

ROBERT P. CASEY.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Handbuch der Archäologie (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, VI, Erste Lieferung*). In Verbindung mit namhaften Gelehrten des In- und Auslandes herausgegeben von WALTER OTTO. Munich, Beck, 1937. Pp. viii + 20* + 238; 36 plates. Rm. 18 (Germany), 13.50 (foreign).

The first fascicle of the *Handbuch der Archäologie* contains a series of essays by several authors. Ernst Buschor begins the volume with a pleasant ten pages on the province and method of archaeological studies. Province receives the obvious definition. Method is said to be multifarious, its ideal foundation objectivity, its formal detail varied from class to class of the material and from investigator to investigator.

More extensive is the second essay, "Geschichte der Archäologie," by Friedrich Koepp (Greece and Italy), Oswald Menghin (Prehistory), and Alexander Scharff (Egypt and the Near East). Koepp surveys briefly the principal early students in France, Holland, and (more extensively) Germany, then sketches the progress of archaeological studies (by travel and excavation and by the description, interpretation, and dating of monuments), and ends with a short account of the development of our knowledge of sculpture, painting, and architecture. The remainder of his essay is devoted to an account of the position of archaeology in the German universities, the foundation of the German Archaeological Institute, and a characterization of the influence of recent German archaeologists. It is no criticism of the value of German scholarship to say that, if Koepp's essay had been less national in scope, it would have been more useful. Not so liable to criticism in this respect are the very brief accounts of Menghin (prehistoric archaeology) and of Scharff (the archaeology of Egypt and the Near East).

In the third essay (with illustrations on six plates) Theodor Wiegand reviews the factors responsible for the destruction of monuments of antiquity, then turns to a detailed account of the manner in which the remains are recovered, reconstructed,

and preserved. Perhaps the most satisfactory part of the section is the systematic (though by no means complete) list of excavations (pp. 88-96, with extensive bibliography of the sources for former as well as current excavations). And perhaps the least satisfactory part of Wiegand's essay are the pages on the methods of scientific excavation. This is difficult matter to put in writing, yet it is regrettable that the author did not make a more serious attempt to establish invariable fundamentals for a general system of recording any site. The section closes with a good synopsis of the laws concerning antiquities enforced in various countries (the Mediterranean district, the Balkans, eastern and western Europe, India) and brief remarks on museums and forgeries. As a supplement to Wiegand's essay Kurt Regling gives an excellent account of the kind of evidence which coins offer for the solution of problems in sculpture and architecture (eight plates of illustrations of coins in Berlin, Paris, London, etc., which will also serve to illustrate an article by Regling on coins as works of art, to appear in a later fascicle).

The final section of the book is devoted to writing. The first essay, by Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bissing, deals with Egypt, the Near East, Crete, and Cyprus—a characterization and short historical sketch of writing in each geographical division. There are good facsimile reproductions for the Minoan and Cyprian signs and for the letters of the Semitic alphabets. The second essay, by Albert Rehm, reviews the development of writing in Greece and Italy. Again there are good facsimile reproductions of letter forms (Semitic, archaic Greek, Latin, Etruscan). Welcome, too, in Rehm's essay are his reviews of two problems—the identification as Greek of the inscriptions on Late Helladic vases and the antiquity of the Greek alphabet. Illustrations for both essays occupy twenty-two plates.

Each of the essays in this volume has a useful bibliography on the subject with which it deals, and by no means the least valuable part of the fascicle are the twenty pages of general bibliography which pose as a "Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen" at the beginning of the book.

PAUL CLEMENT.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY.

ENGELBERT DRERUP. Der Homerische Apollonhymnos: eine methodologische Studie (*Mnemosyne*, Ser. 3, V, pp. 81-134). Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1937. Pp. 54.

Professor Drerup, one of the staunchest defenders of Homeric unity, has joined the ranks of the separatists who believe that

the Homeric Hymn to Apollo is composed of two poems, one a hymn to Delian Apollo, the other to Pythian Apollo. With his usual painstaking thoroughness Drerup surveys the history of the problem from the time of Ruhnken, who in 1782 first separated the poem into two parts. The question of the unity of the Hymn has since that time attracted the attention of many scholars, particularly in the past few years, and Drerup's discussion of the recent scholarship contains much sane and constructive criticism, e. g. when he discusses the danger of subjective judgments and laments the tendency to place too much dependence upon the individual lines without viewing the poem as a whole (pp. 109 f.). There are numerous references to matters of Homeric criticism, as one should expect from Drerup, and Homeric scholars will find much of interest and value in his remarks upon unity and poetic technique.

Drerup rejects (pp. 100 ff.) the external evidence from Thucydides, III, 104 which has in the past been a chief support of the separatist position,¹ and bases his theory of the Hymn entirely upon an analysis of its structure and poetic merit. He comes to a surprising conclusion: there are here two independent poems, but the first (i. e. the Delian Hymn) ends, not at line 178 as the separatists from Ruhnken on have believed, but at line 206; 179-206 are necessary to bring the theme of Apollo's birth to its natural conclusion with his reception on Olympus (pp. 118 ff.). The Delian Hymn is an artistic unity, wrought with great symmetry and balance; it falls into four parts, 1-29, 30-90, 91-139, 140-206, the first and fourth parts having three subdivisions, the others four. This symmetrical arrangement differs decidedly from that of the Pythian Hymn, which has three major divisions, 216-299, 300-387, 388-546, each divided into three sections, the majority of which are again subdivided into three parts. The result of this analysis convinces Drerup that the two parts of the Hymn are the work of different poets; it would be unlikely that the same poet in two parts of the same poem would use two entirely different types of symmetrical structure (p. 130). The tripartite structure of the Pythian Hymn is similar to that found in Homer,² and presents a striking contrast to the four-fold arrangement of the Delian Hymn. Likewise the

¹ Cf. p. 102: "das Ende des *ἔκρωτος* auf den delischen Frauenchor, das Thukydides zitiert, mit dem Ende des gesamten Prooimions an sich nichts zu tun hat." See also T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1936), pp. 186 f. This edition had evidently not yet appeared when Drerup's article went to press.

² For a discussion of Drerup's 'Prinzip der dreiteiligen Gliederung,' cf. his *Das fünfte Buch der Ilias* (Paderborn, 1913), pp. 360 ff.; *Das Homerproblem in der Gegenwart* (Würzburg, 1921), pp. 438 ff. See also F. Stürmer, *Die Rhapsodien der Odyssee* (Würzburg, 1921), pp. 569 ff.

Pythian Hymn lacks the unity and the poetic merit of the Delian part (pp. 129 f.).³

Drerup's analysis is extremely subjective and hardly justifies the conclusions which he draws. Are we to accept this symmetrical structure as an artificial arrangement into which the poet was obliged to force his material? It is much more probable that such a structure would grow out of and be conditioned by the subject matter which the poet wished to treat. In any case it is unwise to use the symmetrical balance to defend the authenticity of disputed lines, e. g. 136-138 (p. 117). But aside from the fact that arguments based upon supposed symmetry of structure are by their very nature somewhat inconclusive, Drerup's arrangement seems arbitrary, and a reexamination of the structure of the poem does not bear out his conclusions. The subdivisions of the Pythian Hymn, for example, do not so readily submit to a tripartite arrangement; instead of his division of 300-387 into three parts: 300-330 (300-309, introduction), 331-355, 356-387, i. e. 31 ($9\frac{1}{2} + 21\frac{1}{2}$) + 25 + 32, "also streng dreigliedrig" (p. 127), it appears equally possible to make the subdivisions as follows: 300-306 (introduction), 307-339 (anger of Hera), 340-355 (birth of Typhaon), 356-374 (death of the serpent), 375-387 (punishment of Telphusa), i. e. 7 + 33 + 16 + 19 + 13. I do not insist upon this division as an alternate arrangement, but offer it merely to show how subjective all such analysis is. Likewise the first part of the Pythian Hymn has four subdivisions if we add 207-215. Drerup however considers this as an introduction and does not include it in his symmetrical analysis which he begins with 216. In this he is inconsistent, for he does so include 1-29, and it is the presence of this introduction in his scheme for the Delian Hymn which is responsible for the apparent four-fold structure. In reality there are three main parts to the Delian Hymn, (1) Leto's wanderings, (2) the birth of Apollo, and (3) Apollo honored as a god. The tripartite structure is thus present in both parts of the Hymn and Drerup's major argument falls.

The suggestion that the Delian Hymn ends at 206, not at 178, weakens not only the arguments of the earlier separatists, but also Drerup's own position. If the dividing line between the two hymns cannot be determined, if there is no longer a consensus of opinion concerning the proper ending of the Delian Hymn, we are justified in doubting the soundness of the attack upon the unity of the poem. Moreover, the fact that 207 repeats 19 raises an interesting point. Both lines follow scenes

³ Drerup criticizes (p. 124) 216-243 for its lack of poetic value, but a catalogue would by its very nature be open to this criticism. Cf. in this respect 30-45; in both passages there is real music in the lists of proper names.

upon Olympus and in each case the theme to follow has been previously announced (16 and 183). Lines 207 ff. cannot therefore be separated from what has gone before, and Drerup in considering 178-206 as the conclusion of the Delian Hymn in reality presents a strong argument in favor of unity. It is interesting to note that in their second edition of the Homeric Hymns, Allen and Halliday now favor unity of authorship (p. 191). This view will doubtless continue to gain adherents unless more compelling arguments are advanced against it than those which Drerup presents. Drerup himself admits that the two parts of the poem show in many respects a striking similarity, e. g. in language, meter, and the use of epithets (pp. 132 f.).

GEORGE E. DUCKWORTH.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

CAROLINA LANZANI. Lucio Cornelio Silla Dittatore: Storia di Roma negli anni 82-78 A. C. Milan, Tip. "Popolo d'Italia," 1936. Pp. xx + 382; 89 illustrations.

The preface begins as follows: La Dittatura di Silla è qui trattata nello svolgersi degli avvenimenti, nelle necessità storiche che agirono come cause determinanti, piuttosto che in un rigido schematismo manualistico di leggi. These good and comfortable words are justified by the book; it is a clear, full, and interesting account of Sulla's dictatorship. The author is animated by enthusiastic patriotism, and compares Sulla with sincere admiration to the "grande Costruttore dell' Italia nuova." Those who read only Italian will find it pleasant and profitable; to those who read English there are already available treatments of the subject which take causes and effects into account. The original contributions made in the book will hardly repay the time spent in reading 373 pages, though they make very agreeable reading.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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WHOLE No. 238

THE *ANTHUS* OF AGATHON.

In some tragedies there are one or two of the familiar names while the others are invented; and in some indeed not one, as for example in Agathon's *Anthus*. In this play, in fact, the things done and the characters alike are made up, and they are not a whit less pleasing.

—Aristotle, *Poetics*, IX, 7, 1451b 21.¹

It has often been remarked that the Greeks distrusted mere fiction. Regularly their imaginative literature claims authority in accepted legend or history. The tragic dramatist might, indeed, deviate from established narrative in creating minor characters and appropriate episodes. Like Aeschylus, in the *Persians*, he might place historical figures in fictitious situations. For the most part, however, the extant plays present familiar personages and familiar plots. A particular interest necessarily attaches to Aristotle's statement that the plot and the characters of the lost *Anthus* of Agathon were the true invention of its author. And, if Aristotle allows us to believe that Agathon's originality was neither unique² nor generally to be recommended, he expressly states that it was successful.

The play was not celebrated in antiquity. We meet no men-

¹ Throughout this paper the translations are new.

² But cf. Alfred Gudeman, *Aristoteles, Poetik* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), p. 211: "Von antiken Tragödien dieser Art, in denen *τά τε πράγματα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πεποίηται* ist mir kein zweites, voraristotelisches Beispiel bekannt, es sei denn das *Métya Δράμα* des Ion von Chios, aus dem Pollux *Onom.* 10, 177 einige Worte zitiert. Man erwartete, wie es scheint, auch gar nicht eine derartige Originalität. Denn, falls auf Arist. *Ran.* 1043 ff. Verlass ist, verwahrte sich sein Euripides geradezu gegen den Vorwurf die Sujets seiner als unmoralisch von Aischylos gezeisselten Dramen, wie des Hippolytos und Bellerophon, nicht der geschichtlichen Überlieferung entnommen zu haben. . . ."

tion of it outside the *Poetics*. We have not even been sure of its title. The texts, with one exception, give ANΘEI, which can be the dative of the rather familiar proper name 'Ανθεός or of the common noun τὸ ἄνθος, the flower. The Arabian version, however, seems to indicate an original ANΘΗ, and Alfred Gudeman has argued for 'Ανθη as the play's correct designation.³ It has, in fact, long been maintained that the traditionally accepted ANΘEI may be corrupt since we know in various accounts several not dissimilar proper names which suggest other possible dative forms: 'Ανθος, 'Ανθης, 'Ανθας.⁴ If the early manuscripts read ANΘΩI, ANΘΗI, or ANΘΑI, late scribes, uncertain of the word, may have attempted clarification in preferring ANΘEI, which, nevertheless, modern editors, with the exception of Gudeman, have been unwilling to relinquish. Opinion has been divided as to whether 'Ανθεός should be regarded as a more probable nominative than 'Ανθος, *The Flower*;⁵ the latter title would be of a form unprecedented in Greek drama.

³ Gudeman, *loc. cit.*, points out that the MSS of the *Poetics* frequently confuse η and ε. We know an Anthe to have been one of the daughters of the giant Alcyoneus; upon the death of her father at the hands of Hercules she and her seven sisters cast themselves into the sea and were metamorphosed into petrels. There is no clear suggestion of material for drama in the accounts, and Gudeman supposes Agathon to have placed his protagonist, a rather unfamiliar though legendary figure, in a newly constructed plot; see below, p. 160, note 56. The reading ANΘΗI might also suggest a nominative 'Ανθης; concerning that name and allied forms see below, p. 162, note 62.

⁴ Cf. Welcker, *Die Griechische Tragödien* (Bonn, 1839), p. 995. And see below, p. 162, note 62.

⁵ Twining, *Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry* (London, 1789), p. 82, translates "Agatho's tragedy called The Flower." Susemihl, *Aristoteles über die Dichtkunst* (Leipzig, 1865), p. 74 and note 92, p. 177, reads 'Ανθεi with hesitation. S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (London, 1907), p. 37, and Ingram Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry* (Oxford, 1909), p. 28 and note pp. 191-2, agree in reading 'Ανθεi. J. Hardy, *Aristote, Poétique* (Paris, 1932), p. 42, also reads 'Ανθεi. Rostagni, *La Poetica di Aristotele* (Torino, 1928), p. 37, returns to 'Ανθεi, with this comment: "Del dramma ora citato non sappiamo nulla; è persino incerto se debba proprio leggersi, coi codd., 'Ανθεi e intendere il *Fiore*, titolo simbolico; ovvero 'Ανθεi da 'Ανθεός; ma anche in tal caso non dovremmo pensare ad alcuno dei personaggi leggendari con questo nome." According to I. Sykoutres; ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΣ (Athens, 1937), p. 83, note 3: "Πάντως ἀπὸ τὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ἔργον 'Ανθος."

It is surprising, all in all, that no extended investigation of the extant narratives dealing with *Ἀνθ*-characters has been made. Scholars have generally assumed that all of these stories are typical folk products, but at least two of them, though in late writers, are sufficiently elaborate to constitute possible summaries of the play's action. As criterion we have Aristotle's statement concerning the plot and characters, and many other tests immediately suggest themselves.

Most obvious for analysis is the *Περὶ Ἀνθέως*, a romantic tale to be found in the *Ἐρωτικά Παθήματα*, XIV of Parthenius (first century B. C.).⁶ H. J. Rose has, as a matter of fact, stated the opinion that this story comprises the plot Agathon used.⁷ Rose recognizes, however, that it is a variant of the familiar material of "Joseph and Potiphar's Wife," which suggests, of course, that the narrative was ultimately of folk origin. Parthenius knew several versions, and he provides at some length two rather different accounts.

The substance of the first is as follows: Antheus, a youth of the royal stock of Halicarnassus,⁸ goes to serve as a hostage in the house of Phobius, grandson of Neleus,⁹ ruler of Miletus. Cleoboea, wife of Phobius, "whom some have called Philaichme,"¹⁰ falls in love with Antheus and tries to seduce his

⁶ The best edition is that of P. Sakolowski in *Mythographi Graeci*, II, 1 (Leipzig, 1896). Cf. also *The Love Romances of Parthenius*, edited with translations by S. Gaselee for the Loeb Classical Library (1916).

⁷ Cf. *A Handbook of Greek Literature* (London, 1934), p. 208: "We know . . . what the plot of the *Antheus* was; a romantic tale of the same type as that of Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, ending in the death of the young man, Antheus, by the woman's contrivance." See below, p. 149, note 16.

⁸ Some critics have related the Antheus of this account to a primitive Anthus-Anthes-Anthas figure discussed below; see below p. 162, note 62. An Anthes is reported to have been the founder of Halicarnassus. The point is of some relevance to the opinion that Anthus is a folk character.

⁹ Phobius, king of Miletus, was son of Hippocles, son of Neleus, the traditional founder; on Neleus, cf. Herodotus, IX, 97; Pausanias, VII, 2, 1; Suidas, s. v. "Ἰωνία."

¹⁰ Κλεόβοια, ἣν τινες Φιλαιχμην ἐκάλεσαν. The phrase substantiates the statement that several versions of the story were known to Parthenius. Cf. also a later passage: "Ἐφασαν δὲ τινες οὐ πέρδικα, σκεῦος δὲ χρυσοῦν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ βεβλήσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Αἰτωλὸς μέμνηται ἐν τοίοις ἐν Ἀπόλλωνι."

virtue. The youth refuses her advances. After a time she pretends to have dismissed her affection and to have forgiven his coldness, but, scheming her revenge, she asks Antheus to descend into a deep cistern to bring up a domestic partridge which she has frightened into the pit. Unsuspectingly Antheus climbs down and Cleoboea shakes loose a heavy stone upon him. Antheus is thus slain, but Cleoboea hangs herself in a fit of remorse. Phobius, under pollution, abdicates to Phrygius.

The second version, for which Parthenius avows his debt to the *Apollo* of Alexander Aetolus (early third century B. C.), is in the form of prophetic verse. It is more effective as character study, emphasizing the boyish innocence of Antheus (here a descendant of the king of Assesus¹¹) and the tricky guile of Phobius' wife (here unnamed). The lady "will send" Antheus in quest of a golden jug which has fallen into the cistern—"and I hear from everybody that the way down through this opening is easy." "With both hands" she will let fall a millstone; then she will join Antheus in Hades by suicide.

Further versions are suggested by the marginal annotation preserved with Parthenius' text indicating parallel accounts (or possibly sources) to be found in "Aristotle and those who relate τὰ Μιλησιακά."¹² This last phrase doubtless includes the notorious collection of *Milesian Tales* by Aristides (second century B. C.), who assembled materials which it is reasonable to suppose were traditional in Miletus.¹³ Aristotle may have presented the narrative in connection with an account of Miletus in his *Πολιτεία*, but the passage is lost to us.¹⁴ The *Περὶ Ἀνθέως* may easily have been a local legend.

¹¹ Gaselee's note, *op. cit.*, p. 302: "Assesus was a city in the territory of Miletus. The word may be here either the name of the city or its eponymous founder."

¹² "Ἰστορεῖ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ οἱ τὰ Μιλησιακά." E. Martini, in *Mythographi Graeci*, II, 1 (Leipzig, 1896), p. lxiv, argues that such marginal ascriptions indicate parallel accounts (not sources), but scholarship has not settled the matter.

¹³ On the *Milesian Tales* cf. Elizabeth H. Haight, *Essays on Ancient Fiction* (New York, 1936), pp. 7-9, 37.

¹⁴ Parthenius' account constitutes Fragment 515 in the Berlin edition of *Aristotle's Complete Works*, p. 1562a; cf. Fragment 516. Cf. also Gaselee's note, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

Though we have scarcely sufficient evidence to postulate the structure of an *Antheus*-play, it perhaps cannot be proved that these two accounts in Parthenios could not represent the substance of Agathon's work; Aristotle's statement in the *Poetics* is susceptible of various interpretations.¹⁵ The genealogy of Phobius is, however, substantiated in other documents, and we may be confident that he, at any rate, was not invented for the tale. The chief episode is patterned to a popular formula. It is the inference of the facts at our disposal that the story was known in several versions differing in details. And it seems probable that it was a part of the mythical heritage of Miletus. We are almost compelled to the opinion that the narrative is essentially a folk creation. In so far, Rose's view is not well founded.¹⁶

A more convincing case may be made, I believe, for the story of Ἄνθος in the *Μεταμορφώσεων Συναγωγή* of Antoninus Liberalis, inconspicuous mythographer of the second century A. D.¹⁷ This narrative, the seventh in the *Collection*, runs as follows:

¹⁵ See below, p. 160.

¹⁶ Professor Rose has written me in support of his opinion as follows: "The story in Parthenios, 14 is a romantic tale of a sort to appeal to a younger contemporary of Euripides. We may take Parthenios' word for it that he did not get the tale direct from Agathon; I wish we knew what passage in Aristotle he went to and who his authors of τὰ Μιλησιακά were (writers of the local history of Miletos? writers like that Aristeides whom Sisenna translated? the story does not give much room for the indecencies for which A. was celebrated). But there is no reason to suppose that either Aristotle or the 'Milesians' would not draw upon a tragedy or that the latter would not re-write a tragic story (see for parallels my notes on the *Fabulae* of Hyginus, in my edition of him)." It will be seen that such an argument rests upon probable possibility; whereas, I flatter myself, my own below has the advantage of a not impossible probability. It perhaps should be mentioned in conclusion that the *Antheus*-story gives no hint of a chorus. The cistern, if shown on the stage, would have taxed the ingenuity of the σκηνopoίος.

¹⁷ The *Μεταμορφώσεων Συναγωγή* has appeared in several editions, the most recent being *Mythographi Graeci*, II, 1 (Leipzig, 1896), E. Martini, editor. We have no information about Antoninus Liberalis apart from inferences of vocabulary and style; cf. Martini, p. lxxvii, and Wentzel, in *R.-E.*, I, s. v. "Antoninus Liberalis." The Heidelberg MS (Palat. 396) has many lacunae, and the entire text of the *Anthus*-story has been destroyed since the reading of Xylander, the first editor of the *Collection* in 1568.

ANTHUS

(Boeus tells the origins of birds, Book I)¹⁸

1) To Autonous (He-who-knows-his-own-mind), son of Melaneus, and Hippodamia (She-who-tames-horses) were born as sons Erodios, Anthus, Schoeneus, Acanthus, and as daughter Acanthyllis, to whom the gods gave the fairest form.

2) Now this Autonous came into possession of a great many herds of mares, and them Hippodamia, his wife, and their children pastured.

3) But when, although he had a great deal of land, no harvest was forthcoming to Autonous on account of his neglect of work, and his land bore him rushes (σχοῖνοι) and thistles (ἀκανθαι), from these he named the children Acanthus and Schoeneus and Acanthyllis; and the eldest [he named] Erodios because his land went back on him (ἡρώησεν).¹⁹

4) Now this Erodios loved the herds of mares very much indeed and cared for them in the pasture. But when Anthus (son of Autonous) drove the mares out of the pasture, they, kept from their feed, were beside themselves, and coming upon Anthus, they devoured him as he cried loudly upon the gods to protect him.

5) Now the father, for his part, stricken with distress, could make no move to drive away the mares, and the servant of the boy also [did nothing]; but the mother fought it out with the mares. Yet on account of her weakness of body she was not able to defend him against death.²⁰

6) These people then wept and wailed for Anthus thus dead, but Zeus and Apollo, taking pity on them all, made them birds: Autonous a bittern (ὄκνος) because he made no move (ὄκνησεν) to drive away the mares; the mother a crested lark (κορυδός)

¹⁸ See below, p. 153, note 26.

¹⁹ The text has frequently been called into question at this point. Martini reads *ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἡρώησεν ὁ χῶρος*, but conceives *αὐτὸν* to be corrupt, "quod de conj. sua dedit Xyl." Most of the variants which have been offered (cf. Martini's edition) do not substantially alter the sense, but Tümpel, in *R.-M.*, VI, s. v. "Erodios," has this interpretation to offer: "Erodios, der älteste Sohn, war von seinem Vater so benannt, weil ihn sein Gebiet zu sehr in der Bewegungsfreiheit beschränkte (*αὐτὸν ἡρώησεν*)."

²⁰ See below, p. 158, note 50.

because she raised her crest (*ἐκορύσσετο*) against the mares fighting for her son.

7) But Anthus himself and Erodias and Schoeneus and Acanthyllis, having become birds,²¹ they caused to be called by the same names they had been named before their metamorphosis. Anthus' attendant, in the same way as the boy's brother (Erodias), they made a heron; but not exactly like him, for this kind of heron (*ὁ λευκερωδιός*) is rather smaller than the black one (*ὁ ἐρωδιός πέλλος*), and the black one does not associate with the anthus-bird.²² Just so the anthus-bird has nothing to do with the horse because Anthus suffered very great evils from horses.

8) And even now whenever the birds hears a horse neighing, it takes flight, at the same time mimicking the sound.

The suitability of such a story for dramatization will not perhaps be immediately apparent, and there are certain important preliminary questions to be considered. It may be asked,

²¹ Anthus becomes the *ἄνθος*, perhaps the Old World yellow-wagtail; Erodias becomes the *ἐρωδιός πέλλος*, the black or common ash-colored heron (*ardea cinerea*); Schoeneus becomes the *σχαινίον* (*σχαινίος* or *σχολινκίος*), an unknown bird; Acanthyllis becomes the *ἀκανθυλλίς*, diminutive of *ἀκανθίς* the gold finch. Although Acanthus is not mentioned in the text at this point his transmutation into the *ἀκανθίς* is to be taken for granted.

²² The *Anthus*-story contains, in short, the saga of the three types of heron recognized by Pseudo-Aristotle and Pliny; cf. *History of Animals*, IX, 609b 21 f. and 616b 33 f., and *Natural History*, X, 164. Antonous becomes the bittern or "starry" heron (*ὁ ὄρνις δαστεπίας*); Erodias the common black or ash-colored heron (*ὁ ἐρωδιός πέλλος*); the servant the white heron or egret (*ὁ λευκερωδιός*). For further information on the herons cf. Dioysius, *de Avibus*, II, 8. It is a curious fact that the words *πέλλος* and *δαστεπίας* occur together as proper names in Apollonius Rhodius, I, 76.

Aristotle himself says of the *λευκερωδιός* in comparison with the *πέλλος*: *ἐστὶ δ' οὗτος τὸ μέγεθος ἐκείνου ἐλλάττω*. Cf. *History of Animals*, VIII, 3, 539b 3. The phraseology recalls Antoninus Liberalis: *ἦσσων γὰρ ἐστὶν ἱκανῶς τοῦ πελλοῦ*, but we cannot conclude on such slight evidence that the author of the *Anthus*-story saw this passage in Aristotle since both the authentic and unauthentic portions of the *History* contain legendary material and such a simple comparison could easily have been passed on from generation to generation. See below, p. 153, and notes 28, 29.

for example, whether the ANΘEI of Aristotle's text permits us to associate the *Ἄνθος*-story with Agathon's play; inasmuch as Anthus' name clearly anticipates his transformation into the anthus-bird (ὁ ἄνθος), we might conceivably expect the dative reading ANΘΩΙ. As I have suggested, it is not impossible that the manuscripts originally gave ANΘΩΙ and that late scribes, to whom the rare bird-name was unknown, substituted a more familiar word for what seemed to them a solecism. But no modification of the received reading is necessary or even to be recommended. One notes that Autonous named his children Acanthus, Acanthyllis, and Schoeneus after the thistles and rushes of his uncultivated fields, and each of these names also anticipates the metamorphosis into birds. What more likely than that the name of Anthus, in the original version, should have betokened not only, by anticipation, the character's consummation as the anthus-bird but also, by derivation, the wild flowers which must have grown with the thistles and rushes in the meadows? The mares' dislike for the boy would thus have more marked significance, for common knowledge tells us that horses, in fact, object to many flowers (daisies, buttercups, etc.). And we shall presently have occasion to mention relevant ancient accounts of horses sent mad by noxious plants.²³ It is thus rather more than likely that Anthus' name had double meaning; who can say whether it was originally inflected under the influence of τὸ ἄνθος or ὁ ἄνθος? ²⁴ Perhaps Aristotle was himself uncertain! The linguistic play involved would have delighted a paradoxical Agathon.²⁵

There is no doubt that the material of the *Anthus*-story was current long before the time of Antoninus Liberalis. We know almost certainly that it was to be found in the *Ὀρνιθογώνια* of

²³ See below, pp. 167, 168.

²⁴ At the time of my correspondence with H. J. Rose (see above, p. 149, note 16), I held that an emendation of the received textual reading ANΘEI to ANΘΩΙ would be necessary. Professor Rose found himself unable to sanction the "emendation of a text which will make perfect sense as it stands." As stated, I do not now feel that an emendation is to be recommended. Professor Rose seems to have had no other serious difficulty with my argument; he saw "no objection to supposing that the story was put on the stage sometime and by someone."

²⁵ For Agathon's character see below, pp. 159, 160.

Pseudo-Boeus, a lost work probably of the late fourth century.²⁶ Pseudo-Boeus might easily have derived the tale from Agathon (447-400 B. C.).²⁷ And we shall notice a considerable agreement between certain items of Antoninus Liberalis' account and the bird lore of Book IX of Pseudo-Aristotle's *History of Animals*.²⁸ There is no explicit allusion to the *Anthus*-story in that work, but, since its natural science is often quite uncritical,²⁹ details of its information concerning hostilities and friendships in bird life may have been derived from the 'Ὀρνιθογορία or, if my thesis be correct, from Agathon's play; more likely, Pseudo-Aristotle and Agathon were both indebted to a common source containing traditional ornithological materials. In any event,

²⁶ The marginal annotation ('Ἰστροπεὶ Βοῖος Ὀρνιθογορίας α'), reported by Xylander, is undoubtedly ancient, though of uncertain authorship; cf. Knaack in *R.-B.*, III, s. v. "Boio." Ten of Antoninus Liberalis' stories are similarly annotated, and Martini argues with apparent success for the validity of the references to Boeus (i. e., to the 'Ὀρνιθογορία), pointing out that fragments of poetry seem to be preserved in Antoninus Liberalis' prose; cf. his edition of the latter, pp. xlviii-lv.

The historian and biographer Philochorus (late fourth century B. C.) apparently knew the 'Ὀρνιθογορία, although he may have ascribed it to a Boeo rather than to Boeus. A Boeo had been an early priestess at Delphi, and, in Knaack's opinion, the 'Ὀρνιθογορία was probably attributed to her in early Alexandrian times "behufs grösserer Beglaubigung." Later writers may have invented Boeus out of the highly improbable Boeo. "Boeo *sive* Boeus (Epicus)" is assigned with hesitation to the second century B. C. in the list of "Authors and Works" accompanying the first part (1925) of the new Liddell and Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*. Boeus was imitated by Ovid's friend Aemilius Macer who wrote a Latin *Ornithogonia* in two books. This was a source for Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*. Pliny used Boeus; cf. *Natural History*, X, 7.

²⁷ For Agathon's dates cf. Ritachl, "De Agathonis Tragici Aetate" in *Opuscula Philologica* (Leipzig, 1866), I, pp. 411-435.

²⁸ In the opinion of Dittmeyer, *Aristotelis, de Animalibus Historia* (Leipzig, 1907), p. vii, this portion of the work, from which virtually all our references are taken, is not genuinely Aristotelian; he accepts the view of Joachim (and many other scholars) that it was composed by a peripatetic philosopher of the early third century B. C., and that it derived in part from Theophrastus' *Περὶ Ζῴων Ἰστορίας καὶ Ἠθῶν* (late fourth century B. C.).

²⁹ Cf. Ross, *Aristotle* (London, 1930), pp. 112-113: Aristotle's "references are of very unequal value. Many of them are mere allusions without any detail; many are mere repetitions (often with an expressed reserve) of travellers' tales or of legendary lore."

there is no evidence to place the *Anthus*-story as such before Agathon's time; it must have been known in the following century in Pseudo-Boeus, when its dramatic form may still have been extant.

These difficulties aside, we may proceed to a consideration of the question whether the *Anthus*-story appears to be capable of dramatization in accordance with the theatrical conventions of Agathon's contemporaries. Welcker was certainly right in declaring that Aristotle's remarks concerning the lost play do not entitle us to suppose that Agathon approached the *drame bourgeois* in his innovation;⁸⁰ nevertheless, the abandonment of traditional material would profoundly affect the significance of tragedy.

A dramatization of the *Anthus*-story would, it seems, require a chorus of horses, for which we have precedent in comedy and in satyr-plays. Obviously Agathon's *Anthus* was not a comedy. But it may have been a sort of satyr-play. Although the choreutae of the *Cyclops* of Euripides and the fragmentary *Ichneutae* of Sophocles in some respects suggest goat figures (satyrs) rather than horse-men (*sileni*),⁸¹ Pratinas, the inventor of the Athenian satyr-play, used equine, not caprine, costumes for his choruses; and from the evidence of vase paintings we know that the equine costumes, though modified, ultimately prevailed.⁸² Furthermore, we have definite knowledge that Agathon wrote satyr-plays.⁸³ Since by his time audiences were apparently quite familiar with equine costumes in such plays and since there is convincing evidence that some of them had little to do with Silenus and his band,⁸⁴ the horse-chorus of the *Anthus* would very probably

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 996: "Dass der *Anthos* von der Erhabenheit der Tragödie zum bürgerlichen Schauspiele den Uebergang nehme, wollte Aristoteles gewiss nicht sagen."

⁸¹ J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* (3d series, Oxford, 1933), p. 94, and R. C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama* (Chicago, 1936), pp. 30-31.

⁸² Cf. Flickinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-34, 38, 42, for a complete exposition of the matter. The revellers of the early *kōmoi* were sometimes dressed as horses, and such costumes were apparently often used in comedy.

⁸³ Cf. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriaeuzae*, 157. This is also the implication of Plato, *Symposium*, 222d.

⁸⁴ Cf. Diomedes, 490, 20: "Latina Atellana a Graeca satyrica differt, quod in satyrica fere satyrorum personae inducuntur aut si quae sunt ridiculae similes satyris, Autolycus, Busiris."

not have seemed an outrage to the conventions of the theater or to the satyric tradition.

We need not assume that the chorus spoke in this play. Aristotle, indeed, states that Agathon sometimes used instead of the usual choral passages intercalary numbers (*ἐμβόλιμα*) which had nothing to do with the dramatic theme.³⁵ Possibly the intervals in the action of the *Anthus* were filled by musical entertainment from a group of singers unassociated with the plot.

But if the lost drama was of the satyric type, why does Aristotle specifically designate it as *tragedy*? Apart from the fact that the *Anthus*-story allows no real satyrs in the business, it is apparent that in general usage satyr-plays were very frequently called tragedies.³⁶ Elsewhere in the *Poetics* Aristotle fails to distinguish from tragedies plays which were probably satyric;³⁷ though he mentions the "satyric stage" in the development of tragedy,³⁸ he does not discuss the satyr-play as a distinct type. There is no occasion for astonishment if the play he calls a tragedy should turn out to have possessed certain of the characteristics of satyr-plays.

The material of the *Anthus*-story does not resemble that of the *Cyclops*, but it may have been, after the manner of the *Ichneutae*, "less boisterous, less frequently punctuated with indecencies, more like tragedy in the language of its principal speakers."³⁹ There is, moreover, about the *Anthus*-story a humor mingled with pathos which is not so very far from the tone of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, known to have taken the place of a satyr-play as the fourth member of a tetralogy.⁴⁰ Two characteristics appear to have been invariable in satyr-plays:

³⁵ *Poetics*, XVIII, 7, 1456a 30. Cf. Flickinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 f., 144-149 and "XOPOT in Terence's *Heauton* and Agathon's *EMBOAIMA*" in *Classical Philology*, VII (1912), pp. 24 f.

³⁶ R. J. Walker, *The Ichneutae of Sophocles* (London, 1919), chap. XII, "Notes on the Nature of Satyric Drama," pp. 348-352.

³⁷ Cf. Aristotle's allusions to the *Φορκίδες* (XVIII, 2, 1456a 2), the *Ὀδυσσεὺς ψευδάγγελος* (XVI, 7, 1455a 14) and the *Σίσυφος* (XVIII, 6, 1456a 22). On the matter cf. Gudeman, *op. cit.*, p. 318, s. v. "*Φορκίδες*."

³⁸ *Poetics*, IV, 1449a 20.

³⁹ J. U. Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁴⁰ Cf. Flickinger, *op. cit.*, p. 199. The *Alcestis* may be taken to indicate the development of the satyr-play into a kind of tragicomedy, preserving something of the rough humor of the original form but devoid of satyric elements.

comic personages and a "rustic flavor."⁴¹ The *Anthus* would conform to type in fulfilling both requirements. The rustic flavor of the piece is self-evident. And the characterization of Autonus and Hippodamia shows an ironically humorous intention. "He-who-knows-his-own-mind" is unable to make any effective decision in the moment of crisis! "She-who-tames-horses" cannot save her son from destruction! The significant name is common in Greek myth; e. g., Hippolytus, who like Anthus was destroyed by frenzied horses, Oedipus, Medea, etc. But if Homer has his Irus and Eupheithes,⁴² the irony in the names of Autonus and Hippodamia suggests a tradition particularly characteristic of comedy.⁴³ Further, irony of this sort suggests that the *Anthus*-story can hardly be mere folk-lore, as has hitherto been maintained;⁴⁴ the evidence of deliberate artistry seems clear.

We cannot, of course, be confident of the sequence of episodes in a dramatic version of the narrative. Tümpel, elaborating the *Anthus*-legend, assumed a standing enmity between two factions of the family, headed by the elder Erodios, the hippophile who scorned farming, and the younger Anthus, a lover of meadows and cultivated fields; Erodios had attempted to pasture his mares in Anthus' meadows and the beasts were enraged at the latter for driving them away.⁴⁵ Such a feud between Anthus

⁴¹ Cf. R. J. Walker, *loc. cit.* We learn from Vitruvius, V, 8: "Satyri-cae vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus, reliquisque agrestibus rebus."

⁴² *Odyssey*, XVIII, 73; XXIV, 465-6.

⁴³ J. C. Austin, *The Significant Name in Terence* (Univ. of Illinois, 1921), pp. 89, 114, 122, tracing the comic tradition from Aristophanes, comments on the use of ironic names *κατ' ἀντιφάσειν*. Cf. Donatus' commentary on Terence, *Andria*, 26: "Nomina personarum in comoediis dumtaxat, habere rationem et etymologiam, etenim absurdum est comicum cum apte argumenta confingat, uel nomen personae incongruum dare, uel officium quod sit a nomine diuersum." C. J. Mendelsohn, *Studies in the Word-Play in Plautus* (Univ. of Penna., 1907), pp. 49, 52, 63, remarks *inter alia* that, "An added tinge of humor is found in the name if it describes not what the bearer is, but what he is not." Examples from Aristophanes are Pheidippides (*Clouds*) and Dercetes (*Acharnians*, 1028).

⁴⁴ Cf., for example, Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 996, and Stoll in Roscher's *Lexicon*, s. v. "Anthos."

⁴⁵ *R.-E.*, VI, s. v. "Erodios." Pseudo-Aristotle, *History of Animals*, IX, 1 reports enmities and friendships among the birds of our account.

and Erodias would provide good dramatic conflict, but the narrative in Antoninus Liberalis gives us, I think, a different impression. There is no clear evidence that Anthus was a lover of agriculture; he was more likely a sort of flower-symbol.⁴⁶ He was but a lad, at any rate, and his *παιδαγωγός* was apparently negligent in leaving him to his own devices. Perhaps his driving the mares out of their pasture was but a childish prank. There is, in fact, no mention of antagonism between Anthus and Erodias until after Anthus' misadventure: Erodias, transformed to a heron, held a grudge against the metamorphosed Anthus; the anthus-bird quite understandably maintained a permanent apprehension of horses.

We may suppose the scene of the play to have been before the farmhouse of Autonos, with the orchestra representing, for the nonce, the meadows. By way of prologue Autonos and Hippodamia probably discussed their poor estate. For *πάροδος* Erodias may then have brought on his mares, the delight of his heart and the preoccupation of the whole family. Probably Autonos, with characteristic indeterminateness, complained that the fields were more and more going to waste. Perhaps Erodias delivered a warning to any whom it concerned not to interfere with his darlings. Anthus, though a boy, may have decided that the mares were the family's undoing;⁴⁷ unnoticed by his

We learn that the *ἄνθος* and the *ἀκάνθις* are at odds (610a 6); also the *ἑρπιδίς* and the *κορυδός* (609b 27). The *σχοινίων* and the *κορυδός* are said to be friendly (610a 9). Aelian, *History of Animals*, IV, 5, reports the enmity of the *κορυδός* and the *ἀκανθουλός*. From these miscellaneous details it is possible to infer a family quarrel of the sort postulated by Tümpel, but there is no evidence of it in the *Anthus*-story as it stands.

⁴⁶ See pp. 152, 163. Lane Cooper, *Plato* (Oxford, 1938), p. 213, suggests that the *Symposium* celebrates Agathon's victory (416 B. C.) with the play with which we are concerned. He notes that Agathon "in some way linked him (his protagonist) to a flower or to flowers; and that an allusion to the play is found in the repeated reference to the stem of the Greek word for flower, noun, verb, and adjective." The passage contains some interesting speculation on the whole subject.

⁴⁷ Palaephatus rationalizes the common myth of man-devouring horses with the explanation that horses were first thought of as anthropophagous when man-sustaining crops had to be sacrificed to their nurture; cf. *de Incredibilibus*, VII (iv); *Περὶ τῶν Διομήδους ἵππων*. The *Anthus*-story apparently presents the notion that one must choose between crops and horse-raising. (Man-devouring asses appear in another story which Antoninus Liberalis derived from Boeus; cf. XX, *Κλαίρις*.)

servant and his relatives, he drove them out of their pasturage, probably imitating their neighing.⁴⁸ A chaotic scene in which the mares attacked the boy⁴⁹ must have been the occasion of the return to the stage of Autonous, Hippodamia, and the servant. Autonous, out of his wits in the emergency, and the *παιδαγωγός*, probably senile, were of no assistance to Hippodamia who struggled with the animals in vain. As Agathon puts it in a surviving fragment, possibly from the lost *Anthus*,

γυνή τοι σώματος δι' ἀργίαν
ψυχῆς φρόνησιν ἐντὸς οὐκ ἀργὸν φορεῖ.

—Agathon, in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIII, 548a.⁵⁰

[In compensation for her weakness of body woman
ever has within wisdom of soul by no means weak.]

After the destruction of Anthus the whole family gathered to lament his fate. *Dei ex machina*, Zeus and Apollo, appeared to work the metamorphoses.

μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερίσκεται
ἀγέννητα ποιεῖν ἄσος' ἂν ἢ πεπραγμένα.

—Agathon, in Aristotle, *Nic. Ethics*, VI, 2, 6, 1139b.

[Of one thing only is even God deprived, to make
undone what has been done.]

Surely the evidence as to the costuming of the early *κῶμοι* and of the comic choruses which developed from them, indicates that the transformation could easily have been handled on the Greek stage.⁵¹ The horse-figures, I have remarked, were familiar in satyr-plays and in comedy.⁵²

⁴⁸ This may be inferred from Pseudo-Aristotle's account of the behavior of the anthus-bird in the presence of the horse. See below, p. 162.

⁴⁹ Aristotle, *Poetics*, XI, 6, 1452b 12, recognizes *θάνατοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ* as a characteristic device of dramatic *πάθος*. Perhaps Anthus was lost from sight in the struggle with the mares long enough to alter his costume and reappear as one of them; he would thus to all appearance have been devoured.

⁵⁰ There is a rather striking similarity between Antoninus Liberalis' phrase, *διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν*, to account for Hippodamia's futile efforts and the *σώματος δι' ἀργίαν* of the fragment of Agathon quoted above.

⁵¹ Cf. Flickinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39, 42-43, 54, etc.

⁵² See above, p. 154 and notes 32, 34.

Such a play would no doubt have been something of a *tour de force*; its peculiar virtuosity being implicit in its irony, its symbolism, its realistic psychology. The *Anthus* can hardly have reached the high import of Athenian drama at its best, but it must have allowed scope for the poetic imagination. Granting the identification of Antoninus Liberalis' account with Agathon's play, the extravagance of the fable was perhaps not to the taste of an audience which did not like to think itself deceived with fantasy. But we have evidence that Aristotle was not the cold and literal-minded logician he is sometimes thought to have been in his statement that the invented characters and episodes were none the less pleasing.⁵³

As a matter of fact, the dramatization of a story of this kind is what we should have anticipated in Agathon; although only a few fragments of his actual work remain, we know a good deal about the man, the rhetorician, and dramatist. The evidence, taken as a whole,⁵⁴ suggests that he was a poet of rare imagination, who delighted to mingle the serious and the playful (*τὰ μὲν παιδιᾶς, τὰ δὲ σπουδῆς μετρίως, καθ' ὅσον ἐγὼ δύναμαι μετέχων*).⁵⁵

⁵³ Cf. *Poetics*, IX, 7, 1451b 23. Although Aristotle elsewhere chides Agathon for having on occasion violated unity of content by including too much within the scope of a single play, it is perhaps the implication of the passage (*Poetics*, XVIII, 5, 1456a 18) that such violations were Agathon's only serious weakness (*ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀγάθων ἐξέπεσεν ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ*). His esteem for Agathon's artistry is clear. According to the usual interpretation of *Poetics*, XV, 8, 1454b 14, Aristotle cites Agathon's character drawing as having achieved ideality in reality, but Gudeman's reading of the passage (cf. his note, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-5) removes the allusion to Agathon. Aristotle does not wholly approve his use of *εὐβόλιμα* (see above, p. 155) or his departure from traditional subjects (*Poetics*, IX, 7, 1451b 21). He frequently quotes neat maxims from Agathon's verse; cf. *Eudemian Ethics*, III, 1, 27, 1230a 3, and see in this study pp. 158, 160.

⁵⁴ Welcker excellently sums up our information about Agathon; cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 995-1006. We have brilliant personations of the dramatist by Plato in the *Symposium* (cf. 174a, 212e, 213c, etc.) and by Aristophanes in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, 29-265, Plato testifying to his witty charm and Aristophanes satirizing his celebrated effeminacy. One should note also Plato's *Protagoras*, 315d-e and his verses on Agathon in J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology* (London, 1911), p. 227. There are important allusions to Agathon in *Progs*, 83-85 and in Xenophon, *Symposium*, VIII, 32. Aelian tells several amusing stories of Agathon and his circle; cf. *Variae Historiae*, II, 21; XIII, 4; XIV, 13.

⁵⁵ Plato, *Symposium*, 197e.

The pathetic fate of the boy Anthus, the valiant efforts of Hippodamia, the stupid incompetence of Antonous and the servant, would have been material to appeal to him. We know that Agathon possessed originality of mind and delicacy of sentiment; if there was also something eccentric and even bizarre about him, the *Anthus*-story does not gainsay it. The fragments of Agathon's poetry, for the most part aphoristic couplets, display a sovereign irony, characteristic of the man-of-the-world in a highly cultivated and rather self-consciously superior society. For examples:

εἰ μὲν φράσω τ' ἀληθές, οὐχὶ σ' εὐφρανῶ·
εἰ δ' εὐφρανῶ τί σ', οὐχὶ τ' ἀληθὲς φράσω.

—Agathon, in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, V, 463e.

[If I speak the truth, I shan't please you, but if
I please you at all, it's not the truth I'll be
speaking.]

τάχ' ἄν τις εἰκὸς τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγει
βροτοῖσι πολλὰ τυγχάνειν οὐκ εἰκότα.

—Agathon, in Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II, 24, 10, 1402a.

[Perhaps one might say that this is the very thing
that is probable, that to men many things happen
that are not probable.]

Such notions befit the author of the *Anthus*.

Finally, and as what seems to me the most important step in our argument, we must consider whether the *Anthus*-story, in agreement with Aristotle's statement concerning Agathon's play, presents personages (ὀνόματα) and events (πράγματα) which can be shown to have been invented for the occasion. Aristotle's remarks have, to be sure, left us in some doubt whether the ὀνόματα in question were new characters or new names, or both. Gudeman's suggestion that a new story was associated with a familiar name seems to me unacceptable.⁵⁶ And it is implausible

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 211: "A. will natürlich nicht sagen, 'Ἀνθη sei eine von Agathon neugebildete Personenbezeichnung, denn sie ist auch für uns noch ebenso nachweisbar (Suid. s. v. 'Ἀλκυονίδες ἡμέραι,' Eustath. ad II. 9, 550 ff., Apostol. 2, 20) wie 'Ἀνθεύς,' 'Ἀνθης (vgl. F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, 797 ff. im Kommentar) und 'Ἀνθος (Kirchner, *Prosopogr.* s. v.), sondern nur dass der Name in einer vom Dichter selbst erfundenen Fabel angewandt wurde." It is the clear meaning of Aristotle's text that the ὀνόματα of the *Anthus* were invented for the occasion.

that new names were given to traditional figures. There are sources and parallels for the ideas of every literary craftsman; what we should probably expect in Agathon's play, I think, is a new synthesis of plot materials, with personages not delineated elsewhere. And that is precisely what we do find in the *Anthus*-story. Its personalities cannot be identified with any others in myth or history; and their names have special and deliberate significance.

The name Autonous appears in Homer and Herodotus.⁵⁷ Hippodamias are very frequently found in myth.⁵⁸ Thus these names in the *Anthus*-story have been protected from suspicion of special invention for the matter in hand. But, as I have pointed out, the irony unquestionably intended in their usage implies the inventive ingenuity of an individual author; there is no conceivable connection between these characters and any other cognominal figures. It is true that the *δκνος* (the bittern or "starry" heron into which Autonous is transformed) does appear in story elsewhere with a similar play upon the word (*δκνέω*).⁵⁹ But Autonous is a unique creation. And similarly with Hippodamia. Pseudo-Aristotle gives us additional "facts" about the *κορυδός* (the crested lark of Hippodamia's metamorphosis): it keeps up a continual feud with the *ἐρωδιός*, but is friendly with the *σχοτιών*.⁶⁰ Whether the *Anthus*-drama made use of these notions we cannot discern, but they would have been quite appropriate to its content. The existence of such supplementary details does not alter the fact that Hippodamia owes her name only to its ironic significance. As a personality she is without human parallel or source.

Anthus himself has a name which is not unfamiliar in the myths of the heroic age. This is not the place to argue whether

⁵⁷ It occurs twice in the *Iliad*: IX, 301 and XVI, 694; also in Herodotus, VIII, 38-39.

⁵⁸ Zwicker, in *R.-E.*, VIII, s. v. "Hippodameia," identifies ten characters of this name.

⁵⁹ For example, Pseudo-Aristotle, *History of Animals*, IX, 18, 616b 33, reports a standing myth to the effect that the bird was a transmutation from human slaves and adds that, in keeping with the name, the *δκνος* is the slowest of the herons. A mythical character by the name of Ocnus appears in Pausanias, X, 29, 1, 2, and Diodorus Siculus, I, 97, p. 109.

⁶⁰ *History of Animals*, IX, 1, 609b 27 and 610a 9.

the primitive figure was a "Blumenkind" personifying vegetation and whether he had such a saga as was associated with Hylas, Hyacinthus, and Abderus.⁶¹ The protagonist of the early accounts, known variously as *Ἀνθος*, *Ἀνθας*, and *Ἀνθης*⁶² can, in fact, have no association with Agathon's play, for there is no evident suggestion of material for drama in the myths. And the Anthus of Antoninus Liberalis is not a folk character. The ostensibly double significance of his name argues the peculiar ingenuity of his creation. Like Autonous and Hippodamia he belongs to this particular story, and not to any other.

There is no doubt that the author of the *Anthus*-story began with the tradition concerning hostility between the anthus-bird and the horse, reported in Pseudo-Aristotle as follows:

The anthus is hostile to the horse because the horse drives it out of its pasture. The anthus feeds upon grass. It has a white speck of film on its eye and is not sharp of sight. It imitates the neighing of the horse and terrifies the horse by flying at it. The horse drives it away and, when it catches it, kills it. The anthus lives by river and marsh; it has a light color and is skillful in finding food.

—*History of Animals*, IX, 1, 609b 14.⁶³

⁶¹ Cf. Crusius' criticism of Stoll's view in this connection, *R.-H.*, I, s. v. "Anthes."

⁶² Welcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 995-996, and Stoll, in Roscher's *Lexicon*, I, s. v. "Anthos," affirm the opinion that the several extant forms are variants of a single name. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, IX, 22, 5-7, reports the tradition that an Anthas was the founder of Anthedon in Boeotia. According to Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. "*Ἀνθηδών*," it was Anthes' (Anthus'?) grandson Anthedon. Anthas was the eponymous hero of Anthela, Anthes of Anthana; cf. Pausanias, II, 30, 8-9 and Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. "*Ἀνθάνα*." Strabo, VIII, 374; XIV, 656, and Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. "*Ἀλικαρνασσός*," indicate that Halicarnassos was founded by Anthes; see above, p. 147, note 8. Plutarch tells a story (taken, he says, from Aristotle—and his testimony is in part substantiated by Athenaeus) of the youth of Anthes (Anthus?); cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, XIX; Athenaeus, I, 31c; and Aristotle, *Fragments*, 554-5, s. v. "*Τροίηνων*." Plutarch, *de Musica*, 3, 4, also quotes Heraclides Ponticus to the effect that Anthes of Anthedon was a minstrel like Linus. Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII, 81, discusses a case of lykanthropy "ex gente Anthi." Although historical figures by the name of Anthus are known, all of them postdate Agathon's play; cf. Kirchner, in *R.-H.*, I, s. v. "Anthos" and *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin, 1901), p. 71.

⁶³ Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, X, 116: "Equorum hinnitus *anthus*

In adapting such material to his purpose, the author invented his human characters and added a metamorphosis. In the original narrative, as I have indicated, Autonous, following the precedent set in selecting names for his other children, may have chosen the name Anthus to suggest the flowers of his uncultivated fields. Perhaps, too, there was something flower-like about his boyish character. In any event, he was odious to the mares. There may well have been a connection between Anthus' name and his nature and his fate!

Anthus' brothers (Erodus, Schoeneus and Acanthus) and his sister (Acanthyllis) clearly have names of double significance. Erodus was so denominated because "the ground went back" (*ἡρώησεν*) on Autonous. He was to become the ash-colored heron (*ὁ ἐρωδιὸς πέλλος*); and it is a curious fact that the details of the life of the bird, recorded in Pseudo-Aristotle,⁶⁴ are as disagreeable as the temper of Erodus in Antoninus Liberalis. No mention is made in Pseudo-Aristotle of the enmity of the *ἐρωδιὸς* and the *ἄνθος*, but, as we have noted,⁶⁵ the *ἐρωδιὸς* and the *κορυδὸς* are declared to be at odds. Of the white heron (*ὁ λευκερωδιὸς*), on the other hand,—the metamorphosed servant of Anthus—Pseudo-Aristotle has more pleasant things to say.⁶⁶ Acanthus and Acanthyllis took their names from the thistles (*ἀκανθαι*) of their father's fields; the accounts of the *ἀκανθίς* and the *ἀκανθυλλίς* do not seem significant for us, except perhaps for Pseudo-Aristotle's report of enmity between the *ἄνθος* and the *ἀκανθίς* and Aelian's remark that the *κορυδὸς* and the *ἀκανθυλλίς* are at odds.⁶⁷

nomine herbae pabulo adventu eorum pulsa imitatur ad hunc modum se ulciscens." And Aelian, *History of Animals*, V, 48: [πάλαι ἴσμεν] κορώην τε ἐρωδιῶ, φίλα νοεῖν . . . [ἔχθιστα ἦν] ὁ δὲ αἰγίθος τῷ δυνῶ . . . μισεῖ δὲ ἀλώπηξ κίρκον καὶ ταῦρος κόρακα, καὶ ὁ ἄνθος τὸν ἵππον. *Ibid.*, VI, 19: Ἰδιῶται δὲ ταῖς μιμήσεσι τῶν τοιούτων ὁ τε ἄνθος καλούμενος καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ καὶ ἡ ἴνυξ καὶ ὁ κόραξ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄνθος ἀποκρίνεται χρεμέτισμα ἵππου.

⁶⁴ *History of Animals*, IX, 1, 609b 21 f. and 18, 616b 33 f. Cf. also Pliny, *Natural History*, X, 164.

⁶⁵ See above, p. 156, note 45, and p. 161.

⁶⁶ *History of Animals*, IX, 18, 616b 33 f. Was the *παῖδαγωγός* a white-beard in anticipation of his metamorphosis into the *λευκερωδιός*?

⁶⁷ Cf. Pseudo-Aristotle, *History of Animals*, IX, 1, 609b 27 and Aelian, *History of Animals*, IV, 5. On the habits of the *ἀκανθίς* and the *ἀκανθυλλίς* cf. Pseudo-Aristotle, *History of Animals*, IX, 1, 610b 3 f.; 13, 616a 5; 17, 616b 31. Cf. also Pliny, *Natural History*, X, 96. The proper name Acanthus is found in Thucydides, V, 19, 2; V, 24, 1 and

Gruppe has unconvincingly argued that the name of Schoeneus, Anthus' third brother, proves Boeotia to be the locale of the narrative, where there was a town called Schoenus.⁶⁸ It sufficiently explains the intention of the author of the *Anthus*-story to indicate the obvious double significance of Schoeneus' name: 1) the rushes (σχοῖνοι) which had grown up on his father's untended land, and 2) the σχοινίον (σχοινίλος or σχοινύκλος?), an unidentifiable bird mentioned in Pseudo-Aristotle, into which Schoeneus was appropriately metamorphosed.⁶⁹

It is, in fact, a matter of importance to our argument that no attempt was made by Antoninus Liberalis to associate this tale with a specific city or region; in this respect the *Anthus*-story is not only different from the vast majority of myths and folk-narratives found elsewhere, it is unique among the forty-one items in the *Συναγωγή*.

Of the *ὀνόματα* mentioned by Antoninus Liberalis there remains only Melaneus, the grandparent of Anthus. This figure does not appear in the action of the tale. Accordingly we cannot ascertain whether, like the other names, his had a special significance. It is rather common⁷⁰ and in fact appears, though without demonstrable implication for our argument, in the fourth metamorphosis (Κραγαλεύς) of Antoninus Liberalis. Since it was the custom of story-tellers to provide a genealogy by way of an ostensibly substantiating tradition for the protagonist, it is my notion that Melaneus was Antoninus Liberalis' independent contribution to the material. In any event, he cannot be associated with the mythological personages of the name.

We may say, with confidence, that all the characters who participate in the action of the story were invented for the occasion. As human beings, they have no direct source or parallel in traditional myth and no association with historically

Pausanias, V, 8, 6. On the name of the *δαρθίς* cf. also Aristotle, *History of Animals*, VIII, 3, 593b 3 and Aelian, *History of Animals*, X, 32.

⁶⁸ O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1906), I, p. 267.

⁶⁹ *History of Animals*, IX, 1, 610a 8. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 3, 593b 6.

⁷⁰ No historical person of the name seems to be known, but several mythical figures, unrelated to the story of Anthus, bore it: cf. *Odyssey*, XXIV, 103; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, VIII, 77; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XIV, 304; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 222, V, 128, XII, 306.

verifiable events. Could any group of characters more aptly be called "made" (πεποιημένα)? It is surely not coincidence.

It will have been observed that the πρόγματα of the *Anthus*-story were derivative, at least in part, from a tradition of hostility between the anthus-bird and the horse. But this consideration in no way impugns the author's originality in adapting such material to a narrative about human beings. It is fairly clear, too, that he took certain details of his story from the legends of Diomedes and Glaucus.⁷¹

There are two mythological figures called Diomedes: 1) the son of Ares and Cyrene and 2) the son of Tydeus and Deipyle. Possibly the two personalities were originally one, for, as Bethe remarks,⁷² both the Thracian Diomedes and Tydides were characteristically associated with horses.

The Thracian Diomedes, king of the Bistones, appears in stories of Hercules' eighth labor.⁷³ It was this Diomedes' unfriendly custom to cast all visiting strangers to his flesh-eating mares,⁷⁴ and Eurystheus commanded Hercules to bring these animals to Mycenae. Hercules, by a surprise attack on the guards of the horses, succeeded in abducting the beasts, but before he could get them on shipboard, the alarm had spread and Diomedes with his men fell upon Hercules and his company. Hercules entrusted the mares to his comrade Abderus while he withstood the assault. Diomedes was slain and the Bistones were repelled. But Abderus was the victim of the insatiable mares. Hercules, in his fury, threw the body of Diomedes to them. Then, after establishing a town, Abdera, in honor of his friend, he brought the beasts to Mycenae, glutted with their master. Here, at any rate, is a story of flesh-eating horses and a youthful victim. The parallel to the *Anthus* is, however, not sufficiently close to deserve further comment.

⁷¹ Tümpel, in *R.-E.*, VI, s. v. "Erodios": "Zu der ganzen Erfindung dieser Vögel- und Menschengeschichte sind Motive aus dem Mythenkreis des Diomedes entlehnt."

⁷² *R.-E.*, V, s. v. "Diomedes."

⁷³ The story is told by many mythographers: cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II, 96; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 30, 9; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, IV, 15.

⁷⁴ The mad appetite of the mares was induced, according to Aelian, by their drinking the waters of Cossinites, a river in Thrace; cf. *History of Animals*, XV, 25.

"Horse-taming" Diomedes, son of Tydeus, a principal character of the *Iliad*, was connected with less fearsome animals.⁷⁵ Such resemblance as there is between his story and that of Anthus becomes apparent when we consider the account of his experiences in Italy reported by Antoninus Liberalis himself:

The Dorians

2) . . . When Daunus, the king of the Daunians, recognized him [Diomedes] on his arrival [in Italy], he asked him to join him in war against the Messapians for a share of the land and marriage with his daughter.

3) And Diomedes agreed to the bargain. And when, having drawn up his forces, he had turned away the Messapians and taken the land, he gave it to the Dorians who were with him to cultivate. He had two boys by the daughter of Daunus: Diomedes and Amphinomus.

4) After he had died at a ripe old age among the Daunians, the Dorians buried him in state on the island and they called it Diomedes' Isle. And they went on farming the land which they had received from the king, and it bore them just such a very large crop as you would expect from their knowledge of husbandry.

5) But when Daunus died the barbarian Illyrians, out of envy of their land, plotted against them; and, appearing suddenly, the Illyrians destroyed the Dorians while they were all offering sacrifices on their island. By the will of Zeus the bodies of the Greeks disappeared, but their souls changed into birds.

6) And even now when a Greek vessel drops anchor, the birds come to the seamen; but they flee an Illyrian ship and all disappear from the island.

⁷⁵ Together with Odysseus Diomedes stole the noble white steeds of Rhesus from the Trojan camp, *Iliad*, X. In an earlier conflict (*Iliad*, V, 25, 164, 263) he captured the horses of Dares, Echemus (or Chromius), and Aeneas. With them he was victorious in the chariot races held in honor of Patroclus, *Iliad*, XXIII, 400. The temple of Hippolytus in Troezen was dedicated by Diomedes; cf. Pausanias, II, 32, 1. According to Antoninus Liberalis, XXXVII, he married the daughter of Daunus (Euippe). Elsewhere we learn that he founded Argrippa; cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, XI, 246 and Strabo, VI, 283. All these references suggest Diomedes' association with the "horse-idea."

This story, it will be seen, contains a metamorphosis *εἰς ὄρνιθας*, and the birds (probably herons) are said to react to the Illyrian ships much as the *ἄνθροι* react to horses.⁷⁶ One notes that the land given to the Dorians is fruitful because of their skill in husbandry, while, by contrast, the *Anthus*-story emphasizes Autonous' poor farming. Pliny reports that the pasture of the *limes Diomedis*, ostensibly the land granted to Diomedes by Daunus, makes horses mad.⁷⁷ These details, in more and less degree, compel comparison with the narrative of Anthus.

Another account tells of enmity between Daunus and Diomedes.⁷⁸ Although Diomedes had come to the king's aid against his foes, it was on the promise only of a grant of land. After the victory had been achieved Daunus gave him a choice between the whole land and the whole booty. Alaius, Diomedes' bastard brother, who was in love with Daunus' daughter Euippe, somehow cheated Diomedes by accepting for him the booty and yielding the land to Daunus. Accordingly Diomedes placed a curse upon the fields that they should not bear harvest unless eared by his own descendants. (We are reminded, if vaguely, of the barren meadows of Autonous.) Diomedes was later murdered by Daunus and his comrades were turned into *ἐρωδιόι*.⁷⁹

The Diomedes legends no doubt influenced the author of the *Anthus*-story. But, though he used certain motifs from these familiar myths, he was in no sense creating a variant of a stock account. The selection of details shows a conscious eclecticism very different from the methods of folk narrative. And on the whole, the indebtedness is slight.

Our author may also have used to some extent the legends of Glaucus of Potniae and Glaucus of Anthedon. On the assumption that the *Anthus*-story is traditional myth, Gruppe contended that it unites these two legendary figures.⁸⁰ As in the case of

⁷⁶ A similar legend (not associated with Diomedes) is recounted in Philo, *de Animalium Proprietate*, *Περὶ ἐρωδιῶν*.

⁷⁷ Pliny, *Natural History*, XXV, 94. (Have we a reference to a similar myth in Sophocles, *Ajax*, 144?)

⁷⁸ Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 592-632.

⁷⁹ Holzinger in his edition of Lycophron's *Alexandra* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1895), note to vs. 597, attributes the *ἐρωδιόι* to an ancient scholium on *Iliad*, V, 412. Cf. also Strabo, VI, 284 and Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. "Διομήδεια."

⁸⁰ Gruppe, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83, 267. Both Potniae, an inland city, and

the two Diomedes, a single original may reasonably be postulated for the two Glauci,⁸¹ but our narrative cannot be used as evidence of the fact.

Of Glaucus of Anthedon (the Γλαῦκος πόντιος of Aeschylus' lost drama, probably satyric) the parentage is very uncertain, but according to one account he was son of Anthedon and Alcyone.⁸² This Glaucus, a fisherman, noted how fish stranded on the seashore were revived by contact with a certain plant. (The plant was like that which Helius obtained on the Islands of the Blest to fodder his horses.⁸³) He tasted it and, inspired, leapt into the sea and became a sea deity. There are many versions of the story of Glaucus' leap (Γλαύκου πήδημα).⁸⁴ Now it is true that there was in heroic legend an Anthas of the town of Anthedon and, further, an Anthedon who was grandson of an Anthus (Anthes?);⁸⁵ but the Anthus of Antoninus Liberalis, be it repeated, has no demonstrable connection with these primitive figures; he is an artistic creation. The prepotent plant is a far cry from the *limes Diomedis* and mad horses, but it serves at least to illustrate the fact that there was well established belief that horses are peculiarly sensitive in matters of diet!

Glaucus of Potniae (Aeschylus' Γλαῦκος Ποτνιαεύς) is of slightly more significance to us. This son of Sisypheus and father of Bellerophon⁸⁶ was the possessor of a fine herd of mares which, becoming mad, devoured him. Their frenzy was attributed to various agencies: 1) their eating of a plant which grew at Potniae;⁸⁷ 2) their drinking of a spring at that place;⁸⁸ 3) the instigation of Aphrodite who was angry because, like Hippolytus, Glaucus spurned her or because he kept his mares from stallions

Anthedon, on the Euboean sea, are in Boeotia. An Anthas is clearly associated with Anthedon. See remarks on Schoenus, p. 164. On Anthas of Anthedon see p. 168, and p. 162, note 62.

⁸¹ Cf. Kirchner, in *R.-E.*, VII, s. v. "Glaucos."

⁸² Athenaeus, VII, 296b; cf. *ibid.*, VII, 296c.

⁸³ Alexander Aetolus, in Athenaeus, VII, 296e.

⁸⁴ Cf. Pausanias, IX, 22, 5-7. Another version in Athenaeus, VII, 297a.

⁸⁵ See above, p. 162, note 62.

⁸⁶ *Iliad*, VI, 154-156.

⁸⁷ Cf. scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 318.

⁸⁸ Aelian, *History of Animals*, XV, 25.

in order to insure their fitness;⁸⁹ 4) their lack of their usual diet of man's flesh.⁹⁰ Aeschylus' lost play dealing with this character presumably used a version of the story which told of the hero's death when the mares upset their master's chariot in the races in Iolcus; the dramatist's explanation of the beasts' madness is uncertain.⁹¹ Glaucus and Anthus share a similar fate due to the madness of thoroughbred mares; the unwholesome plant appears in one version.

It is my conclusion that the *πράγματα* of the *Anthus*-story, though not entirely without precedent in other accounts, represent a unique combination of materials and constitute, accordingly, an original work of creative authorship. There is cause for astonishment that such a brief narrative—barely two pages of Teubner text—should present a synthesis of such multifarious elements, "of imagination all compact." Ornithology and heroic legend form a background for essentially new characters and episodes. The ingenuity of the whole composition argues more powerfully than anything else that the story, if built in large part from folk-lore, is not a folk product. It provides, it seems to me, a most remarkable lesson in the workings of the creative mind. As surely as with Coleridge, the "unifying power" of the imagination presided over the conception of this tale—its true claim to originality. When one studies its character, it becomes apparent that it most strikingly fits Aristotle's description of Agathon's lost play. The peculiar distinction of the story is just this, that its personages and events are *made* (*πεποιημένα*).

SEYMOUR M. PITCHER.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

⁸⁹ Servius, on Vergil's *Georgics*, III, 268.

⁹⁰ Probus, on Vergil's *Georgics*, III, 267.

⁹¹ Cf. H. W. Smyth, *Aeschylus*, Loeb Classical Library (1930), II, p. 391.

THREE PAPYRI OF DIOSCORUS AT THE WALTERS ART GALLERY.

The Library of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore contains three papyri¹ whose contents show that they come from the archives of Dioscorus of Aphroditē.² One is the heading of a petition from Dioscorus to the praetorian praefect of the East of 551 A. D. and the other two are literary efforts of Dioscorus. They will be referred to below as Papyri Walters 1, 2, and 3. All are glued to cardboard and the two which are broken into several fragments have been placed together in the wrong order. It will be a long and extremely delicate task to free them from their mounting. Meanwhile, since there is little likelihood that writing will be found on the verso, it has been thought advisable not to delay publication any longer. Photographs of the papyri have been cut up and arranged in the proper sequence and then re-photographed to secure the plates which accompany this article.

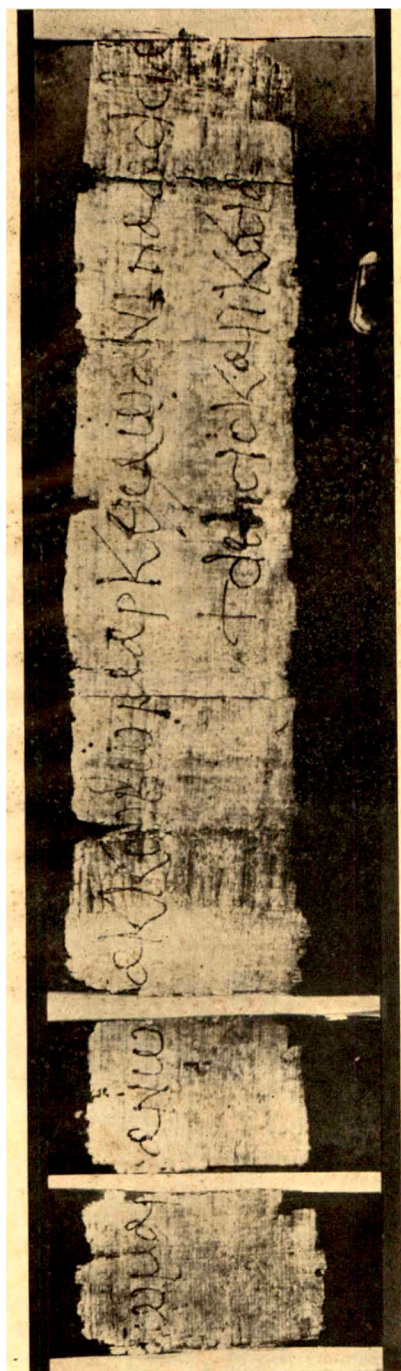
P. Walters 1. Inv. no. 519. 7.5 cm. x 81 cm. Broken into a number of fragments, which were then glued to cardboard in two strips in the following order: Upper strip, b, a, c; lower strip, g, e, d, f. The papyrus is light brown in color, stained dark brown in the middle and at the extreme right end. The writing is on the recto in the same hand as the first page of P. Masp. 67002,³ illustrated in P. Masp. I, pls. II-IV. It is

¹ Listed in the catalogue of sale of the collections of Jean P. Lambros, Athens, and Giovanni Dattari, Cairo, sold in Paris, June 17-19, 1912, under *Collection Giovanni Dattari du Caire*, group 18, 616 as "*inscriptions démotiques sur papyrus*." The group comprised these three Greek and one Coptic papyrus (Walters, Inv. no. 518). I am grateful to the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery for their kind permission to publish the Greek papyri.

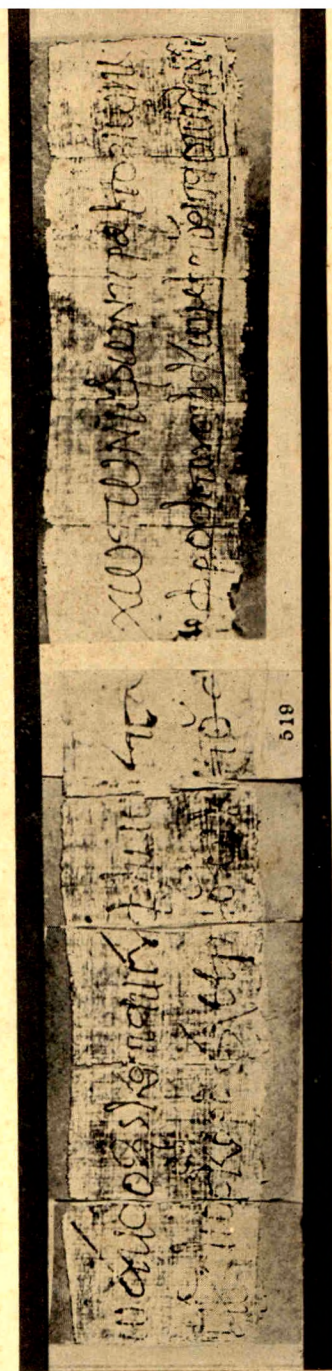
² For Dioscorus and the publication of his archives cf. H. J. M. Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1927), p. 68: To the references given there may be added V. Martin, "A Letter from Constantinople," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XV (1929), pp. 96-102, Keydell in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.*, Suppl. VI (1935), pp. 27-29, and F. Della Corte on P. Berl. 10580, *Rivista di Filologia*, LXIV, N. S. XIV (1936), pp. 399-404.

³ The following abbreviations are used in referring to publications of papyri. Roman numerals denote volumes.

P. Masp.—Jean Maspero; *Papyrus Grecs d'Époque Byzantine*, in



P. Walters 1, a-c



P. Walters 1, d-g

extremely difficult to read with the naked eye on the dark portion of the papyrus, but an infra-red photograph has made it plainly visible.

[^aϕ ^bΦλαου] ^cἰω ^cΜαρ | ^cιανῶ | [^cΙ] ακκῶβω ^cΜαρκέλλω ^cἈνινᾶ ^cἈδδα |
† ^cδέησις καὶ ^cἰκεσία
[^dἰω τ] ^dῶ ^eἐνδ | ^eοξ | καὶ ^fπανεν | ^fφήμω ^fἐπά | [^gρ] ^gχω ^gτων ^gἱερῶν ^gπραιτοριῶν
^πΔιο | ^υσκόρο | ^υἐλσειν | ^υοἰκητὸ ^α | [^π] ^αἈφροδίτους ^{τῆς}
^υκώμης ^υτὸ ^υἈνταιοπολιτ ^υν(ο) ^υμ

The color of the papyrus supports the rearrangement a, b, c. The arrangement c, a, b, would give five complete names, but would place a and b which are light in color between the end of c and d which are very dark. Also it is to be expected that the name begins with Φλάουιος. When only one of a series of names is given the last name is used (v. P. Lond. V, 1663, note 1). Thus *Novella* 129, referred to below, supports this rearrangement.

1. ἐνδοξοτάτω.

2. παρὰ Διοσκόρου ἐλεεινοῦ οἰκητοῦ τοῦ Ἀνταιοπολίτου νόμον.

A horizontal line beginning in the η of *οικητου* is drawn through the next three letters and continued under the rest of the heading.

Notes

1. Ἰακκώβω: This spelling is found also in P. Masp. 67030, A, 1.

- '*Avivā*: The name occurs in P. Lond. V, 1904, 1 Δό(γος) '*Avivā* (?).

2. *οικητου*: Not found in the other papyri of Dioscorus. *οικήτωρ* in P. Masp. 67002, 2; 67007, 6.

- 'Αφροδίτους: The reading is clear. 'Αφροδίτης in all other papyri except P. Masp. 67032, 12 ἀπὸ κώμης [καλο]υμέν[ης 'Α]φρ[οδίτ]ων.

Translation

To Flavius Marianus Jacobus Marcellus Aninas Addaeus, the most glorious and praiseworthy praefect of the sacred praetoria,

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, I (nos. 67001-67124), 1911, II (nos. 67125-67278), 1913, III (67279-67359), 1916.

P. Flor.—*Papiri Fiorentini, documenti pubblici e privati dell' età romana e bizantina*, II, ed. D. Comparetti (Milano, 1911), III, ed. G. Vitelli (1915).

P. Lond.—*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, V, ed. H. I. Bell (London, 1917).

BKT—*Berliner Klassikertexte*, V, ed. Schubart and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Dichterfragmente* (1907).

appeal and supplication from Dioscorus, wretched inhabitant of Aphrodite, the village of the Antaeopolite nome.

Novella 129 of Justinian, of the year 551 A. D., is addressed to Ἀδδαίῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων.⁴ We know from P. Masp. 67032 that Dioscorus was in Constantinople in that year. No petition thus far published in the Dioscorus papyri is addressed to the praetorian praefect and only one contains the name of Dioscorus as the petitioner, though several are believed to come from him.⁵ This heading is doubtless from a rough draft or copy of the document submitted to the official addressed, such as the other petitions are also.

P. Walters 2. Inv. no. 517. 23 cm. x 45 cm. Written on the recto in the uncial hand of Dioscorus, as illustrated in P. Masp. I, pls. XXVIII, XXIX, lower portion, and Milne, *op. cit.*, pl. VII. The papyrus is stained a dark brown at the right edge. A blank space along the upper edge shows that the first line of the poem has been preserved. Either the poem was left incomplete, since a space sufficient for another line and a half has been left blank at the bottom of the papyrus, or only half the width of the papyrus has been preserved and a second column stood to the right of this.

ὦ πτολίарχε μέγιστε βοηθόε πᾶσιν ἀνάγκης.
 κλῦθι ποιομένον Παφίης χθονὸς ἐνναετῆρος.
 δέξεο μῆς γενιῆς τὰ δυσίμερα δάκρυα μόχθων.
 πολλὰ μοι ἐν γραφίδεσσι χαράγματα οἴκοθεν ἤχθη
 5 ὅττι καὶ Γαβριῆλιν χειρίῳ τῶν πρὶν ἔερεν
 Πενταπολίτης Θεόδωρος ἀτάσθαλα ἔργα καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἡμετέρων σφετέρισεν ἁλῶν καρπὸν ἀπούρας.
 χῶρον ἅ[π]αντα θέριζε μελισταγέων σταφυλάων.
 θρέμματα ἡδὲ βόας πόρεν ἅρ σὰ κτήματα πάντα
 10 οὐν[ε]κεν ἐνδεκάτης Θεοδόσιος ὣν λάβε χρυσῶν
 [ἡμετ]έρης [γ]ενιῆς βιοτήσιον. Νῦν δὲ φαεινῶν
 [σοῦ πρ]οκυλ[ι]ν δόμ[ε]ν[ι]ος πόδας ἔχων ὕψος Ἄρειον

2. MS κλῦθι 3. MS δυσίμερα 5. MS ὅττι 8. This line was added later in smaller letters in the space between 7 and 9 in ink of a brownish

⁴ *Corpus Iuris Civile*, Vol. III, *Novellae*, Schoell-Kroll, 5th ed. (Berlin, 1928).

⁵ P. Lond. V, 1674, 1675, 1677; P. Masp. 67019; P. Flor. III, 295, 296.

tint. The rest is written in black ink. 9. MS *αῖσα* The line is in ink of a brownish tint. It may have been added with 8 to separate the interpolated line from the succeeding one rather than to mark the quantities. 10. MS *χρῶσαν* 12. MS *ὑψος* The piece containing the first letters of 11 and 12 which have been preserved was broken off and then glued directly onto the following preserved part. The fragment also contains on its upper edge the bottom of *κε* in *συγκαν*, 10, which shows that it should be moved over to the left, thus giving space for the insertion of one or two letters.

Notes

1. Cf. P. Masp. 67097, v., B, 20: *ὁ στρατιάρχε μέγιστε*.
2. This gives the reading for BKT V, 11, 3, 54 as *κλύθι ποιομένων Παφίης χθονὸς ἐνναστήρων*. For *πονίω*, cf. P. Masp. 67120, v., B, 18 *πᾶσι ποιομένοις*. Aphroditopolis is called "land of the Paphian" also in P. Masp. 67120, v., C, 34.
3. An aorist imperative *δέξο* is found in II., 19, 10. Perhaps through a misunderstanding of the formation of this word Dioscorus coined *δέξο*. The traces of the doubtful letter suggest *ε* rather than *α*. *μῆς* apparently on the analogy of *ἐμοῦ*, *μοῦ*. The form *γενή* does not appear in other papyri of Dioscorus. *γενή* in P. Masp. 67097, v., C, 13; 67120, v., B, 7. The substitution of *ι* for *ε* is due to Coptic influence. Cf. Mayser, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (Leipzig, 1923), I, 1, p. 80.
4. *ἐν γραφίδεσσι χαράγματα*: Cf. BKT V, 11, 3, 34.
5. *Γαβριήλ*: Cf. *Ιακώβιος* P. Masp. 67118, 13; *Ιακώβης* P. Masp. 67086, 2. I have understood this line and the next to mean "also Gabriel did wicked deeds, worse than those which Theodorus of Pentapolis formerly committed," supposing that Dioscorus had in mind *τῶν πρὶν α*. Another translation might be, "both Gabriel did worse deeds than his former ones and Theodorus of Pentapolis himself did wicked deeds," placing a period after *αὐτός*. The impossibility of fitting the name into the meter has produced an extra syllable in 6. In P. Masp. 67177, v., A, 20 Dioscorus solved the difficulty by writing *Πενταπολιήτου Θεόδωρου*.
8. *μελισταγέων σταφυλῶν*: Cf. Milne, *op. cit.*, 100, D, 5.
10. *Θεόδωσσιος*: The spelling with double *ς* is probably to make a long syllable.
12. *κυλινδομαι* occurs in P. Flor. II, 114, p. 3, 6: *σὲ κυλινδομένη παρὰ ποσσὶ*.

Translation

O mightiest ruler of the city, helper to all in time of need, hear a distressed inhabitant of the land of Paphos, receive the unlovely tears of my family for their hardships. Many written documents did I bring from home, (declaring) that Gabriel also did wicked deeds, worse than those committed formerly by

Theodorus of Pentapolis. He took and appropriated the harvest of our threshing floors. He reaped all the place of the honey-dripping grapes. The flocks and cattle he gave then as your possessions entirely, because of the money which Theodosios took in the eleventh indiction, the meager livelihood of our family. And now prostrating myself before your feet, the martial crown of radiant footprints . . .

This petition in hexameters, addressed to a high official and recounting the misfortunes suffered by the author, is similar to the poems published in P. Masp. 67097, v., B, 67131 (in iambs), 67177, and BKT V, 11, 3. Line 10 gives a clue to the cause of the complaint and to the date. Theodosios is to be identified with the official of the same name in P. Masp. 67029 and 67024,⁶ and possibly in 67123 also. P. Masp. 67029 is a fragmentary imperial rescript answering an appeal against the injustice of Theodosios with regard to the public taxes in the 11th indiction just past. The date given suggests that *ἐπινεμήσεως* or *ἰνδικτίωνος* is to be understood with *ἐνδεκάτης* in P. Walters 2, 10. The exact nature of the wrong committed by Theodosios is explained in P. Masp. 67024, 1-17. Dioscorus is clearly the petitioner. His father was wont to collect the taxes of Aphrodito and pay them into the provincial office. In his absence Theodosios collected the taxes of the village but did not turn them over to the public treasury. Consequently the officials of the provincial office exacted the taxes a second time. On complaint being made an imperial rescript was granted (67029), but not even then was satisfaction obtained against Theodosios, and a second appeal was made. Since P. Masp. 67024 is to be dated around 551 A. D. when Dioscorus was in Constantinople, the 11th indiction referred to in 67029 and in P. Walters, 2, 10 must be the one of 547-548 A. D. On what authority Theodosios acted is not indicated. He may be the Theodosios who is the *σκρινιάριος καὶ προέχων* in P. Masp. 67123, 3, of 537 A. D., acting as the representative of the *στρατηλάτης*,

⁶ These two papyri are discussed by M. Gelzer, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, V (1913), pp. 370 f. and J. Partsch, *Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. hist. Klasse*, 1911, pp. 202-224.

the duke of the Thebaid. We can not say that he held this same position ten years later.

It is difficult to identify Gabriel or to determine his position. His seizure of Dioscorus' crops and cattle was due to Theodosios' appropriation of the taxes. Two results of Theodosios' actions are set forth in P. Masp. 67024. A second exaction of the taxes was made (11-13) and because of this some of the landholders in Aphrodito took property (πράγματα) belonging to Dioscorus and his brothers (24-27). Clearly in the course of these difficulties Dioscorus and his brothers had inherited their father's responsibilities and were forced to make good the loss incurred by the taxpayers. If Gabriel is one of the landholders, it seems strange that he alone is singled out for complaint. Also this interpretation does not appear to agree with 9. The meaning of this line is obscure. It implies that Gabriel confiscated the possessions of Dioscorus in the name of the official to whom the poem is addressed, presumably for the non-payment of taxes.⁷ Gabriel would then be a subordinate state official. But according to P. Masp. 67024 the taxes were paid a second time.

The deeds of Gabriel are said to be worse than the earlier outrages of Theodorus of Pentapolis. P. Masp. 67177 is a poetical appeal for aid against the woes resulting from the violence of this Theodorus. The woes seem to consist of the exaction of four pounds of gold from Dioscorus and his consequent impoverishment. Maspero identifies Theodorus with Θεόδωρος ἐλεωνὸς ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Πενταπολιτῶν ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας of P. Masp. 67168, 55. The mention of Theodorus' earlier misdeeds implies that they are familiar to the dignitary addressed and it seems likely that he is the one to whom P. Masp. 67177 is addressed also. There he is not named but his ancestry is extolled and it may be that his father was named Meleager and his grandfather Basilius. Maspero believes he is the duke of the Thebaid and understands 23, in which Dioscorus says that he has come outside his native land to the country of the king of all, to refer to a visit to the residence of the duke. It is more probable that Constantinople is meant and that the poem is addressed to the praetorian praefect, especially if 19 is to be understood literally.⁸

⁷ κτήματα apparently does not here have the meaning of "farms."

⁸ "Ἀρκία πῆματ' ἔπασχον ἐν ἱεροθίοισι θαλάσσης."

It is also possible that the emperor is appealed to in P. Walters 2. The imperial rescripts P. Masp. 67024, 67029 show that the complaint against Theodosios was brought to his attention. At a later period Dioscorus addressed a poem to Justin II (P. Masp. 67183). But the opening line, laudatory and extravagant as it is, is in itself too brief for the adulation with which one would expect Dioscorus to address the emperor. The choice seems to lie between the duke of the Thebaid and the praetorian praefect.

P. Walters 3. Inv. no. 516. 22 cm. x 4.5 cm. + ca. 4.5 cm. + 30 cm. Broken into five pieces: beginning of 1-3: A; of 4-9: B; of 10-13: C; remainder of 1-9: D; fragment of undetermined position: E. The papyrus is glued to cardboard with B at the upper left hand corner, followed by A, then D. E is placed a slight interval below A, between 8-9 of B and 4-6 of D. C is placed apart in the lower left-hand corner. A blank space above 1 indicates that the beginning of the poem has been preserved. A narrower blank margin on the left edge of A, B, and C gives the left margin of the poem. 10-13 may be wrongly numbered. C contains the initial letters of 4 lines, but it may not belong directly below B. There is nothing to indicate the proper position of E. The writing is on the recto and is that of the uncial hand of Dioscorus. The papyrus is very dark.

	A	D	
	ὡς [ψ -]	πενί[η]ς ἐπιτάρροθος ἐγγὺς ἀνάκτων	
		ἀγγ[ελίην] ἑρέειν πενίης κακομηχάνου βίης	
		ὄφρα[κε μὴ] βλεφάροισιν ἴδω μόρον νιῶν ἐμείο	
B	χείμ[ψ - υ]	μενων ἐπεὶ κτήτορες αὐτὸν εὐόντες	
5	οὐκ ἐ[πέχουσ']	ἐπίτηδες ἐπίφρονα ἔργα παλάμων	
		πρὸς τ[ε θεοῦ] μεγάλοιο καὶ ἀθανάτου βασιλέως	
		ἀμμ[ι καὶ ἐν] κλινέεσσι. Χαράξατε νέματα θεῖα	
		ἡμετ[έρων] καμάτων ἄμπανμά τε μερμηράων	
		ὄφρα[υ -] τησουσιν κτ . . . π . βίη	
C 10	εκτ		
	εν	E	εοσιοφ
	ηξυ		αυτις
	εν		με

8. MS μερμηράων 9. MS βίη

Notes

1. Possible readings are δ $\sigma\upsilon$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ or $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ as in BKT V, 11, 3, 33. $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\nu}\varsigma$ $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omega\nu$: Cf. Milne, *op. cit.*, 98, col. 2, 8.
4. $\chi\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega\nu$ would fit the space but not the meter.
5. $\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\nu$: Cf. *Etym. Magnum*, p. 647, 51.
6. Identical with BKT V, 11, 3, 53.
7. $\kappa\lambda\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\iota$: Treated as a heteroclitc noun.
8. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.*, 55: $\lambda\eta\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\nu$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\delta\mu\pi\alpha\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$.

Translation

. . . protector of poverty, associate of rulers, speak a message of the baneful violence done to poverty, that I may not see with my own eyes the death of my sons [who are suffering hardships], since the perpetual owners purposely do not restrain the planned deeds of the murderers, by the great god and the immortal king, against us even in our beds. Write divine commands as a respite of our toils and cares that . . .

This fragment of a hexameter poem is similar to P. Walters 2. The $\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ of 4 may be the landholders against whom complaint is brought in P. Masp. 67024. There nothing is said about deeds of violence. The phrases, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\nu}\varsigma$ $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omega\nu$ and $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ suggest that a high official, nearer to the emperor than the duke of the Thebaid, is addressed. He may be the praetorian praefect.

GERTRUDE MALZ.

SWENT BRIAR COLLEGE.

SOPHOCLES, STATISTICS, AND THE *TRACHINIAE*.

On the date of the *Trachiniae* literary critics have said many things. They have not all been very good critics, but their judgments have had at least one thing in common: they have all been subjective. Figures are objective. The purely objective figures compiled by Siess,¹ for example, demonstrated that the *Trachiniae* is an early play; they demonstrated too that the *O. T.* is the latest, though their author more prudently said that "it belongs to the late group." The most recent writer on the point that I have seen, Prof. T. B. L. Webster,² is less confident. He accepts the evidence of antilabe, but "Statistics for resolution, elision, and other metrical peculiarities do not give such clear results." This paper will not touch elision and other metrical peculiarities, but will examine antilabe briefly, resolution less briefly, and will produce, I hope, results very clear indeed, but such as to cast a certain gloom over the automatic application of stylostistics to Sophocles.³

Figures are objective. Those for antilabe⁴ are *Ajax* 8, *Antig.* 0, *Trach.* 2, *O. T.* 10, *Electra* 15, *Phil.* 30, *O. C.* 44. The *Trachiniae* obviously belongs to the *Ajax-Antigone* period; it all works beautifully—except for the odd fact that antilabe should be the only stylistic feature to work at all. But here are some more figures: antilabe occurs first in the *Trachiniae* at v. 409, in the *Ajax* at v. 591, in the *O. T.* at v. 625, in the *Electra* at v. 1209. It gets later and later, like the moon. Does this mean anything? Perhaps not; but what of these facts, that the first 1200 verses of the *Philoctetes* contain 20 antilabae out of 30, the first 1200 of the *Electra* 0 out of 15 (out of 27 if all

¹ *Wiener Studien*, 1915, 244 ff.

² *Introduction to Sophocles*, p. 189.

³ Not necessarily to Euripides, whose dramatic mind, and therefore methods, were different. Sophocles more than any other dramatist reflects the speaker's mind at the moment in language, rhythm, even syntax; there is even the suggestion of individual styles for Oedipus, Creon, Tiresias. This is not evident in Aeschylus, and in Euripides the opposite is manifest. An "external" style like Euripides' is much more likely to change chronologically and measurably.

⁴ This count omits antilabe in melic iambs. My figures throughout are based on Pearson's text.

antilabae are counted)? If antilabe and resolution are what we may call unconscious details of style in Sophocles, as resolution no doubt is in Euripides, they may be good tests of date; but then we should expect them to occur indiscriminately throughout a play. If they are not unconscious, but meant something to Sophocles, we must find out what it is that they meant—however tentatively we may have to describe this—and then let our criticism use the substance and not the shadow.

Let us begin with antilabe. That in the *Electra* and in the *O. T.* it gravitates to the end of the play is no accident. Sophocles did not allow accidents. To see what it meant to Sophocles we must look as well as count, and we need not look very hard. It becomes evident at once that antilabe was a means of conveying dramatic excitement; not any and every kind of excitement, or we should certainly have it in the earlier scenes of the *Electra* and *O. T.*, but particular kinds—hard, and it may be dangerous, to define, but quite easy to feel.

Antilabe tends to occur in runs, and that at the end of a scene. In the *Ajax*, *O. T.* and *Electra* (plays which we will consider together) this happens at *Ajax*, 591-4, 981-3, 5, *O. T.*, 626-9, 1173-6, *Electra*, 1220-6, 1503-4—well over half of the total number. This is natural, and suggests at once that there is nothing casual in antilabe; it is used to convey or accompany a feeling of tension, and this, in Sophocles, is usually greatest at the end of a scene. But not any kind of tension. Not such, for example, as we feel during Antigone's last scene; this calls for lyrics; but Teucer's grief (*Ajax*, 981 ff.), being more personal, less solemn, naturally issues in quasi-lyrical antilabe. Nor does antilabe convey the intellectual tension that goes with debate, however acrimonious, for the particular nervous swiftness is wanting. It is naturally made expressive of abruptness in thought, manner or action; hence *Ajax*, 591-4 (*Ajax* dismissing Tecmessa), *O. T.*, 625-8 (the end of Oedipus' quarrel with Creon), *ib.*, 677 (the exit of Creon), *ib.*, 1120 (expressive of Oedipus' determination). At *El.*, 1209 it emphasizes Orestes' action in forcibly taking the urn from Electra; more vividly at *ib.*, 1323 the sudden change in Electra's tone. Or it goes with poignancy of emotion or swiftness of action, as at *O. T.*, 1173 ff. (the end of the discovery), *Electra*, 1475 ff. (the Aegiasthus-scene), 1220 ff. (the end of the recognition-scene), 1347, 1349—

a certain abruptness (surprise or impatience?) in Orestes, and in Electra extreme nervousness at the reappearance of the Paedagogus.

Here are all the cases of antilabe that these plays offer, and, although labelling these effects is ungrateful work, we can fairly say that in all a certain note is perceptible. The dramatic excitement is tense, but there is in it also a certain sharpness or hardness, or as in the Aegisthus-scene, a certain palpitating quality. In general, it is the opposite to the kind of excitement that prevails in the *Antigone*. To call it "realism" would save some trouble but create more; for, although the passage with the urn, Electra's sudden change of tone, Oedipus' attack on Creon, the grim treatment of Aegisthus may be called realistic, it is obviously a realism which does not cease to be high poetry and imaginative drama; so that if we say "realistic" because we must say something, let us not be bewildered when we do not find in these passages, or in these plays, the metrical resolutions that go with "realism" in a totally different sense.

It is equally clear that in these plays the scenes which do not use antilabe have dramatic excitement indeed, but not of this sharp or palpitating kind. Oedipus has his altercation with Tiresias as with Creon, but it is an altercation, not a row. Still less have we this personal, rough-edged quality in the opposition between Antigone and Creon; these collide on a plane on which antilabe would be all wrong. Or again, the second of the scenes between Electra and Chrysothemis rises, like some of those mentioned above, to a high emotional climax, only it is not of the kind that makes our hearts bump. Sophocles knows perfectly well what he is doing; it is no more accidental that in general antilabe occurs towards the end of plays than that in the *O. T.* the first stages of the long process of discovery move in leisurely couplets while the last goes swiftly in half-lines.

But is not this simply to substitute one term for another? If antilabe accurately reflects the degree of "realism" in a play, is it not the same thing to arrange plays in order of increasing "realism" as of increasing antilabe? Perhaps it is, but at least we know now what we are doing; we know that we are making the assumption that Sophocles did steadily grow in "realism," and this assumption we can test by reading the plays.

In fact however it is not the same thing at all. Now that we know for what purpose—however vaguely we may choose to define it—Sophocles used antilabe, what do we do when we find it only twice in the *Trachiniae*? Do we conclude that this play is highly poetical, like the *Antigone*, non-realistic, and therefore early? Not if we can read the play itself. We shall read it, and then look at the two antilabae. They occur close together (vv. 409, 418), when the interfering Messenger is brusquely dragging the truth out of the reluctant Lichas. Once more Sophocles is doing what the dramatic mood of the moment suggests. Where else in the play do we find that palpitating excitement or that high tension or that rough-edged quarrelling which produced antilabe in the other plays? Nowhere. There is excitement elsewhere, but not of this kind. Is this because the play is akin to the *Antigone*? The way to decide if the plays are akin or not is to read them. If on the other hand the *Trachiniae* is a later play, was it beyond Sophocles' competence to refrain from using a device which was not called for?

We have still to consider the two plays in which antilabe is more frequent. In the *Philoctetes* there are twice as many as in the *Electra*. Moreover there are three times as many resolutions—and for the same reason. The play is tragic only in the Greek sense of the word. It is serious intellectual drama, certainly with a background of *πάθος*, but not presenting a tragic vision of life; it has as its basis a double psychological problem (the effect of suffering on Philoctetes and of Philoctetes on Neoptolemus), and as its superstructure a deftly-managed intrigue issuing in the appropriate "happy ending." The action is busy and naturalistic; Odysseus jumps out from behind rocks and Philoctetes has an attack of his malady. It is inevitable that the figures for antilabe and for resolution should soar, and, though we need hardly consider the antilabae in detail, we must observe that they do not soar at random. The first is at v. 54

Νε. Τί δῆτ' ἀνωγας;

Οδ. τὴν Φιλοκτῆτου σε δεῖ . . .

It seems to convey Neoptolemus' reserve and suspicion (cf. *Electra*, 1347); and if it is held that such a use of it implies a certain loosening of style the answer is that in this play there

are particular reasons why the style should be loosened. The second, a familiar type, occurs at v. 466; the third not until v. 674. We remarked above that two-thirds of the antilabe in this play fall in the first two-thirds of it, but so far are they from being evenly and as it were casually distributed that while the 1079 trimeters in the play contain 30, the first 571 contain only 3. The next 90 have 15. Sophocles is still doing exactly what he intended, and it remains to prove that these intentions developed chronologically.

The *O. C.* brings stylo-arithmetic to confusion. Antilabe goes up from 30 to 44, but resolution comes down from 11 per 100 trimeters to 5.2. What can this mean? Is the play in one respect more "realistic" than the *Philoctetes* but in another less? How does it compare with the *O. T.*, which has less antilabe but more resolution (5.6 per 100)? It contains much more vigorous action than the *O. T.*, and, as it were, more sharp and particular action. There are a lot of comings and goings (Ismene, Creon, Polyneices, Theseus), and these, merely as events in themselves, have a different emotional quality from the comings and goings in the *O. T.* Our feelings in the *O. C.* are more concentrated on the present action, less on the tragic consummation. There is violence—the seizure of Antigone, the attempted seizure of Oedipus—and there are several highly personal and emotional scenes—the greeting of Ismene, the appeals to Theseus. In all this there is distinctly to be perceived that personal sharpness of note which we found for example in the quarrel between Oedipus and Creon. In this sense the *O. C.* is more realistic than the *O. T.*; more realistic even than the early scenes of the *Philoctetes*.⁵ On the other hand the dramatic conception underlying this quick and sharp action is a highly poetic one; not more so perhaps than that of the *O. T.*, but obviously more purely poetic than the intellectual interest of the *Philoctetes*. It is clearly wrong to speak of "realism" in the ordinary sense in connection with a play that ends more imaginatively than any since the *Eumenides*.

In a special sense realistic, in the general sense highly poetic—

⁵ A stage-effect like that of Neoptolemus looking for the cave while Odysseus remains below ought perhaps to be called naturalistic. At all events it is quite different from the "realism" of the *O. C.*

can we expect figures to represent this? But of course they do. They represent facts, and if Sophocles is still master of his craft we ought to expect to find him using antilabe freely but making his metre much more severe than it was in the *Philoctetes*. It would be very convenient if the play with most antilabe had most resolution too, but since these two plays, and these two effects, are so different, it would bring little credit to Sophocles. It is not, after all, stylo-arithmetic that is brought to confusion, but the uncomprehending use of it.⁶

We may survey the antilabe in the *O. C.* summarily. Ismene arrives. What she is going to say may be important, but her mere arrival, Oedipus being as he is, is a fact of the greatest emotional significance. It accounts for 9 of our 44 cases of antilabe. At v. 652 Oedipus comes to the climax of his appeal to Theseus; 5 more. Creon is seen coming—another fact of immediate significance in itself; antilabe (v. 722). He threatens to seize Antigone, the chorus protests, she is seized, and he threatens Oedipus too. This produces antilabe 12 times. Need we continue? Only once does it seem possible to say that antilabe is casual—at v. 46. Elsewhere it is the direct reflection of the violent action or emotion in which the play is so rich.

I do not maintain that Sophocles' style remained static in its subtlety, or that these figures have nothing to do with chronology. It is tenable that Sophocles would not have used antilabe so freely had he written the *O. C.* twenty years earlier—supposing that to be possible; or that there would perhaps have been less of it had he not already exploited it for a particular purpose in the *Philoctetes*. What I do maintain is this; if we suppose that all the plays written during the *Philoctetes*—*O. C.* period contained a high number of antilabae, regardless of their tone and feeling, we are only insulting Sophocles the craftsman. This position will be reinforced by our analysis of resolution, where we can be more definite in proportion as the figures we deal with are higher.

The number of resolutions per hundred trimeters⁷ are *Ajax*

⁶ Siess' elaborate tables look impressively scientific, but what can be the use of a method which cannot consider the major fact that the *O. C.* is tragic, the *Philoctetes* not?

⁷ With hesitation I have included as trisyllabic feet words like *πόλεως*, though as *-ews* is so often scanned as a monosyllable I doubt the neces-

6.1, *Antig.* 3.8, *Trachin.* 5.9, *O. T.*, 5.6, *El.*, 3.3, *Phil.* 11, *O. C.*, 5.2. There is not much sign of chronology here—and why should there be? Sophocles never sat down to write a couple of hundred trimeters, but always to write lines for this character or that to speak, in given circumstances. There is no reason to assume that the lump figures of a play must be illuminating, except on the assumption, obviously unlikely and easily disproved, that Sophocles, like Euripides, used a standard dramatic style. In fact, we must look as well as count. We will take the plays scene by scene, and consider those scenes whose rate of resolution differs markedly from the average for the play. To save arithmetic, I shall express this rate as one resolution every so many trimeters. To some extent my figures are bound to be arbitrary—although as they have enjoyed the great advantage of being checked by Mr. E. Harrison they are at least correct. However, the margin of error is necessarily large, so that only substantial variations from the norm are worth considering.

Ajax. Average, 1 in $17\frac{1}{2}$.

Vv. 1-133, 9 in 133 = (1 in) 15: 263-347, 6 in 84 = 14: 348-430, 0 in 16: 430-595, 16 in 166 = 10: 646-692, 1 in 47 = 47: 719-814, 5 in 96 = 19: 815-865, 10 in 51 = 5: 866-973, 3 in 48 = 16: 974-1184, 9 in 202 = 22: 1223-end, 3 in 179 = 60.

It will be noticed at once that the rate is high in 815 ff. That happens to be Ajax' farewell-speech; in ten consecutive verses towards the end of it there are no less than five resolutions. And how does this speech compare with others of Ajax'? 646 ff. (*ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρός*) is 1 in 47; 430 ff. (*αἰαί*) is 6 in 71. The point is clear enough; the more controlled mood of the former speech is reflected in the figures. The altercations that end the play do not raise the rate at all; they produce excitement, but not the pathetic excitement which, as we shall find, is the common

sity of this. Lyric trimeters are included. In view of the common (though I think mistaken) convention that resolutions in proper names do not count, I have not counted them. Sophocles, I am sure, did; so evidently careful a craftsman would obviously avoid ordinary resolutions in proportion as he could not avoid the others. The inclusion of these "inevitable" resolutions would in most cases make no relative difference, but in a few would strengthen the case here presented.

source of resolution. Nor is there resolution, either here or in any other play, in the passages where antilabe occurs. As we have already seen in comparing the *Philoctetes* and the *O. C.*, resolution and antilabe "mean" different things; the picture that emerges from this counting is perfectly consistent.

The four resolutions in the Menelaus—Teucer scene are two pairs, 1064,5 and 1132,3. In the latter πολέμος echoes πολεμίους—a rhetorical point of perhaps no special significance. The former passage is

ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ χλωρὸν ψάμαθον' ἐκβεβλημένος
ὄρνισι φορβῇ παραλίους γενήσεται.

Is it forced to see in the consecutive resolutions* a reflection of Menelaus' trembling rage? One would certainly say so, did not such points occur so often.

Antigone. Average, 1 in 26.

Vv. 1-99, 4 in 99 = 25: 163-331, 3 in 169 = 56: 384-581,
4 in 193 = 48: 630-780, 4 in 150 = 37: 883-928, 3 in 46 =
15: 988-1114, 6 in 127 = 21: 1155-1256, 9 in 102 = 11:
1277-end, 3 in 26 = 8.

In this, the most ideal of Sophocles' plays, it is no surprise to find resolution receding. There is passion in abundance, but not the kind of personal emotion that brings resolution. Creon in particular is not the man to be given resolution of the metrical kind. But even more significant than the scarcity of this device is its distribution. The messenger-speech alone contains 7 in 52 verses—one-fifth of the total number. The messenger-speech in the *Ajax* contained 0 in 38 verses; that was a speech of earnest warning, this of passionate action, date of composition is irrelevant. The third scene contains four resolutions—three of them are consecutive (vv. 419-421), and occur in the de-

* Consecutive resolution (by which I mean one resolution in each of two consecutive verses) is very rare. I shall mention all cases.

The real rate in the last scene is brought down by the remarkable series of resolutions in proper names, 1292, 3, 9, 1302. They may be "inevitable," but they obviously suit Teucer's mood at the moment. So with all other unusual accumulations of such resolutions; see below. (I should not have thought of investigating these separately but for Mr. Harrison's kindness in sending me his lists.)

scription of the storm. Finally there are three in the 14 verses which describe Eurydice's death. These three passages then account—and obviously by design—for 13 of the 36 resolutions in the play.

Two further points may be noted. Of the three resolutions in 883 ff. two are consecutive (916, 7). Their effect therefore will be enhanced, and, without insisting more than we should on what they "mean," we can say that they are appropriate. The Haemon-scene has four resolutions (counting the doubtful *πóλωσ* at 656). The three certain ones all occur during the climax, 742, 746, 760. It may be asked if three resolutions in forty verses would be noticed at all, if the audience was attending to the play and not to the metric? Of course not—and what of that? The dramatic temper of a passage depends on an enormous number of separate effects, of which resolution is one; it is not necessary that this one should be separately noticeable. In a full orchestral climax the harp will probably not be heard at all except by those who are specially listening for it; nevertheless the composer brings it in, because it will contribute something that he wants. Elsewhere, in a more lightly-scored passage, he may use a definite harp effect; elsewhere in the *Antigone* Sophocles used three consecutive resolutions—a definite effect. This manipulation of resolution is found so regularly and so intelligibly in Sophocles that accident is entirely ruled out. The delicacy of the workmanship is remarkable; it recalls those curves, imperceptible except by measurement, in the contemporary Parthenon.

Trachiniae. Average, 1 in 17.

Vv. 1-93, 5 in 90 = 18: 141-204, 1 in 64 = 64: 225-496, 12 in 272 = 23: 530-633, 4 in 102 = 25: 663-820, 13 in 156 = 12: 863-895, 4 in 17 = 4: 896-946, 4 in 51 = 13: 1044-end, 14 in 212 = 15.

The first four scenes have little of note. The resolutions occur fairly regularly, except that Deianeira's speech in the second scene has none. (In ordinary narrative Sophocles shows a marked tendency to avoid resolution.) In the passage 350-597 the Messenger's speech has three close together, Deianeira's and Lichas' none. In this I see no significance, unless perhaps it is a reflection of the Messenger's eagerness. The higher rate in the

scene 663 ff. is natural; the first twenty verses that Hyllus speaks contain five resolutions. Three in the two verses 878, 9 (the Nurse announcing Deianeira's death) are eloquent, and four more in her narrative do not surprise us. Finally, though the dying Heracles, naturally, is not in general given resolutions, he has a remarkable outburst of five in six verses (1095 ff.) when recounting the monsters he has overcome. The quasi-pictorial effect is obvious.

O. T. Average, 1 in 18.

Vv. 1-150, 8 in 150 = 19: 216-462, 11 in 247 = 22: 512-648, 6 in 137 = 27: 649-688, 1 in 15 = 15: 698-862, 10 in 165 = 16: 911-1085, 13 in 175 = 13: 1110-1185, 0 in 76 = ∞: 1223-1296, 8 in 74 = 9: 1312-end, 11 in 158 = 14.

The outstanding fact is that the most painfully moving scene in the whole of Greek Tragedy has no resolution at all. The still quality of its tension is obviously intolerant of this effect—though it admits antilabe. With this exception, resolution, which is remarkably steady during the first part of the play—both in gross and in detail—becomes regularly more frequent up to the last scene, where the rate is brought down by its rarity in that magnificent last speech of an Oedipus already master of himself again (only one resolution in 36 verses).

The Priest has four in ten verses (18, 20, 26, 27) while describing the condition of the city; contrast the solemn rhythms with which he closes. Oedipus' speech 216 ff. falls logically, and rhythmically, into two parts; in the first he proclaims the decree against the murderer and there are no resolutions; in the second he elaborates the curse and speaks of his personal interests, and there are four.⁹ Once more we see that altercation does not mean resolution; the Tiresias-scene has it only six times and the Creon-scene only three. There is dramatic excitement, but the tone is, shall we say, too hard for this particular effect. But as soon as Iocasta appears we find consecutive resolutions (636, 7), with a third almost at once. In the big Iocasta-scene the rate rises a little; and we may at least note the fact that Oedipus, while asking the fatal questions of Iocasta, has three resolutions close together (741, 750, 754), while from

*Consecutive resolutions, 256, 7. The point seems clear enough.

774 to the end of his narrative-speech he has none, except the consecutive ones at 825, 6.¹⁰

Then the Messenger arrives, and whereas no page in the Oxford Text has yet contained more than three resolutions, we now find five on one page (vv. 932 ff.), and four more on the top of the next. What is more, this outcrop ends in the remarkable *πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὃ δὲ θανόν* of v. 967. It is not by accident that these nine resolutions¹¹ in 36 verses coincide with the emotions produced by the Messenger's tidings¹²—nor is it accidental that this one scene contains nine of the nineteen proper-name resolutions in the whole play. After this, we get to grips with the business of discovery. As in the crucial scene which follows, resolution becomes scarce—3 in 116 verses. The messenger-speech sends the rate up with its tale of death; 7 in 50 verses: *Περónas* may have been inevitable, but *περόνας βλέφαρα*, with *σταγόνas* so close (1276, 8) suggests design. So do the 6 resolutions in 47 verses in Oedipus' next speech.¹³

Electra. Average, 1 in 30½.

Vv. 1-85, 2 in 84 = 42: 251-327, 4 in 77 = 19: 328-471, 5 in 144 = 29: 516-659, 5 in 144 = 29:¹⁴ 660-822, 9 in 163 = 18: 871-1057, 1 in 187 = 187: 1098-1231, 2 in 131 = 65: 1232-1287, 1 in 12 = 12: 1288-1383, 4 in 96 = 24: 1398-1441, 0 in 26: 1442-end, 4 in 66 = 16.

This, the grimmest and most austere play of Sophocles', is metrically the most regular. Even so, it is astonishing to find 318 consecutive trimeters with only three resolutions between them (871 to 1281). Electra's own inflexibility seems to have affected the metre.¹⁵ The brilliant messenger-speech (6 in 84)

¹⁰ The emotional effect is obvious, and is increased by the tribrach *Πόλυβον* in the next verse.

¹¹ Vv. 934, 38, 42, 55, 59, 60, 67. In this passage neither *πατέρα* nor *θάνατος* nor *θανάσιμον* are unavoidable words.

¹² Contrast the quality of the emotion of 1110 ff. This will illustrate the significance of resolution better than my adjectives.

¹³ There are consecutive resolutions from Creon, 1427, 8, if *λερός* is trisyllabic.

¹⁴ Coincidences, not misprint.

¹⁵ Except in the messenger-speech Sophocles is clearly reducing resolution to a minimum. Neglecting that speech, we find no fewer than 12 out of 31 resolutions accounted for by *πότερον* (*πότερα*) and *πατέρα*.

is much more regular than those of the *O. T.* (rate, 7) and of the *Antigone* (rate, $7\frac{1}{2}$); at the end Orestes dies, falsely, without the tribute of a resolution—and surely it is right, in keeping with the fierce exultation shown by the Paedagogus, that instrument of vengeance.

Special points, naturally, are rare. Only three times, outside the messenger-speech, are resolutions allowed to come together. The repetition of *πότερον* (535, 9) is perhaps a purely rhetorical effect, but *πατέρα, ιερά* (279, 281) may be held to suggest a touch of quick emotion, while v. 433, *οὐδ' ὅσον ἐχθρὰς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς* is, in so bare a play, quite remarkable, the reflection of Electra's indignation.

Philoctetes. Average, 1 in 9.

Vv. 1-134, 6 in 134 — 22: 220-390, 8 in 171 — 21: 403-506,
8 in 104 — 13: 519-675, 11 in 157 — 14: 730-826, 21 in
88 — 4: 865-1080, 36 in 215 — 6: 1218-end, 28 in 211 —
 $7\frac{1}{2}$.

Nothing could show more clearly than the *Philoctetes* how, and why, Sophocles varied his rate of resolution not from decade to decade but from minute to minute. Over the whole play the rate is twice as high as in the *O. T.*, yet in the first two scenes it is slightly lower here than in the first two of the other play. Accident or habit are at once ruled out. In the *Philoctetes*, especially in the later scenes where the numbers are so high, analysis could be almost endless, but we must select. In the second scene Neoptolemus' false narrative of 48 verses contains no resolution; Philoctetes', 5 in 63—consecutive at 308, 9, and it is easy to see why. The third scene as a whole raises the rate, but we must not take it as a whole. To v. 465 the dialogue is reminiscent and informative, and the rate is 2 in 63; then comes Philoctetes' appeal, and the rate becomes 6 in 40 (with consecutive resolutions 484, 5, 6). In the next scene Philoctetes' short expression of joy brings no resolutions; we may ask why not, and may see the answer to the question presently. The false story of the Merchant is also barren—it is ostensibly indifferent in tone. At Philoctetes' interruption (578; note his *τί με κατὰ σκότον*) this assumed indifference takes a sudden turn, and the rate rises from 0 in 59 to 11 in 98. Neoptolemus' pseudo-astonishment is reflected in three consecutive resolutions at 600-3.

The scene beginning at 730 uses resolution at five times the rate of the first two scenes. Either we shall read the scene and understand the point at once, or, bowing to figures *φονᾶντ' ἀσυνέτοισιν*, conclude that it was written twenty years later. The figures are high enough to warrant one closer analysis. From 856 to 894 the action is outwardly calm and there two resolutions in 30 verses. While Neoptolemus beats about the bush the rate remains low (895-914, two resolutions, both given to Philoctetes). Then the confession comes and the avalanche begins; from 917 to the end of Philoctetes' speech, 45 verses, there are 15. Even so, when towards the end of his speech Philoctetes turns from denunciation to a deeper tone of despair, we find, after *δίπυλον*, ten verses without one resolution. This suggests the answer to the question left unanswered above; Philoctetes' joy, like his despair, was too solemn for tribrachs.

O. C. Average, 19½.

Vv. 1-116, 5 in 116 = **23**: 254-509, 22 in 254 = **11**: 549-667, 5 in 119 = **24**: 720-885, 4 in 153 = **38**: 891-1043, 9 in 153 = **17**: 1096-1210, 2 in 115 = **57**: 1249-1446, 12 in 197 = **16**: 1447-1555, 2 in 71 = **35**: 1579-end, 4 in 91 = **23**.

As antilabe is very frequent in this play it is worth while to point out again that it has no tendency to coincide with resolution.¹⁸ So much for undifferentiated "realism."

The scenes which differ notably from the average are the second and fourth. The high rate of the former is due to the beginning and the end. Oedipus' speech 258 ff. has 7 resolutions in 34 verses; the last part of the scene 466 ff., has 6 in 45; the middle section only 9 in 175. It is not obvious why the dialogue about the sacrifice should use resolution so often (nor why there are consecutive resolutions at 305, 6); but the effect in 258 ff. is clear. In the first part of the speech he is arguing, and the rate is 2 in 17; in the second he makes his appeal, and the rate jumps to 5 in 17, with four of them in four verses (281 ff.). In the fourth scene the rate is low. Creon begins with a smooth, false speech, in which, naturally, there are no resolutions. Oedipus replies with indignation, and this means resolution neither here, nor in the *O. T.* (Oedipus-Creon,

¹⁸ V. 333 the only exception.

Oedipus-Tiresias) nor in the *Ajax*. Between 800 and 875 occurs that tense action that calls for antilabe but not for resolution—4 in 70 verses.

The scene 885-1043 has points of interest. Theseus has two considerable speeches, Oedipus and Creon only one each. There are nine resolutions, seven in Oedipus' speech, two in Creon's; Theseus is the calm figure. If too we compare this speech of Oedipus' with his speech 760-800 (in which there are no resolutions at all), we see at once a corresponding difference of tone; that one is intellectual, this one personal and emotional. Of the two next scenes, the first is markedly below the average rate, the second above it. The one gains the consent of Oedipus to see Polyneices, the other presents the actual interview. The interview is interesting. All the resolutions which Polyneices is allowed in his first two speeches occur between 1309 and 1330, a passage in which we may perhaps say that he is making his most urgent and personal appeal; at all events, there they are (1312, 25, 27). This too is the passage in which Sophocles allows himself his biggest accumulation (by far) of resolutions in proper names—seven of them. But these are inevitable? They are not in the least inevitable (as an analysis will show) in passages in which Sophocles has reason for keeping down his resolutions. (These special resolutions affect none of the passages which I have noted as being bare of ordinary resolutions except the last scene of the *Ajax*, where the effect is designed [see above], and the prologue to the *Electra* [4 special resolutions] where the dramatic tone is relatively indifferent.) A second point in this interview. There are consecutive resolutions at 1356, 7—where Oedipus refers to his banishment from Thebes at his sons' hands. They seemed vaguely familiar; I turned back to 440, 1, where Oedipus refers to the same facts, and found consecutive resolutions too. This is not leit-motif, mnemonic or pattern: it is simply that the same emotion is treated in the same way. Whether Sophocles did this consciously or instinctively makes no difference to us; that question means only are we to call him astonishingly sensitive and careful, or only astonishingly sensitive?

Lastly, there is the messenger-speech. Resolutions in these have been *Ajax*, 0 in 38; *Antigone*, 7 in 52; *O.T.*, 7 in 40;

Electra, 6 in 84. If the rate here were the same as in the *O. T.* and *Antigone*, we should find ten to twelve resolutions in the 81 verses; there ought however to be far less, in proportion as this speech is more solemn and imaginative. I counted anxiously; there are three.

So much for resolution. What we have found out from its fuller data strongly supports what we suspected about antilabe, namely that it was used or not according to Sophocles' conception of what the drama needed at the moment. It suggests too that lump figures for elision and so on will not be of the slightest use until they are similarly analysed. If elision turned out to vary with dramatic mood, it would be fresh evidence for the subtlety of Sophocles' dramatic technique; if it turned out to be demonstrably independent of dramatic mood (as it obviously is not at *O. T.* 370-1 at least), then it might be evidence for something else. In resolution, emphatically, there is no drift towards realism, colloquialism, or anything else. When all the resolutions in a play are lumped together, it is possible to say that they give no clear results—so much the better for Sophocles' credit as a poet; but if, reflecting that Sophocles was a dramatic poet, we pay some attention to the drama, we get results which are very clear indeed. Resolution and antilabe are dramatic instruments, used perhaps consciously, perhaps unconsciously, but at all events consistently.

The figures for antilabe do indeed rise—though the figures *Antigone* 0, *Ajax* 8, *O. T.* 10, *Electra* 15 do not tempt us to date the *Ajax* at about 433. To some extent the rise may have been chronological; Sophocles may have liked the effect more and more. But he kept his hands on all the controls always, and an absolute change in his style is of little importance when weighed against its infinite suppleness. Was then Sophocles, alone of great men, exempt from a steady development? Obviously not, but the significant development in him is not in style but in what moulds style, the nature of the dramatic conception underlying his plays. His dramatic interests change; the earlier plays are based on a universal tragic conception, the later ones on an interest in a particular character or situation. Here, if we can use it, there is some basis for dating—rough indeed, but resting on fundamentals. Resolution shows us nothing but what we

know already, the degree of personal passion with which Sophocles wished to invest a play, scene, or passage. The presence of antilabe raises a presumption of lateness (a presumption which we can test by reading the play) because antilabe is the natural reflection of that late interest in the particular dramatic action. Absence of antilabe means only that the dramatic action of the play did not call for it. And why not? We must read the play and find out. Literary criticism is an inexact science, but until criteria are found independent of the poet's thought, it is the only valid one. If for example only the first half of the *Philoctetes* had survived, any critic worth listening to would risk the opinion that it was a late play, basing this opinion on the nature of the dramatic conception on which it is based. The stylo-statist however would be compelled to point out that it contains only 3 antilabae, while the first half of the *Ajax* contains 4. The objectivity of figures can be deceiving.

So with the *Trachiniae*. If the student of Sophocles can show that from the *Ajax-Antigone*, through the *O.T.-Electra*, to that diverse pair *Philoctetes-O.C.*, there is a steady and natural development in the poet's dramatic and tragic way of thinking, such that it accords satisfactorily with the conception and the technique and the structure of each play; and if this general development gives sound reason for putting the *Trachiniae*, say, where Jebb put it, round about 420; he has the right, even the duty, to reject antilabe and resolution as evidence.¹⁷ The incidence of these in the play is already explained by the nature of the particular dramatic action.

H. D. F. KITTO.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

¹⁷ There is also the argument (used to support an early date for the *Trachiniae*) that during one period Sophocles used poorish plots (*zweispaltig*), and then abjured them forever. I cannot discuss this here, but I would not accept this, any more than counting, as a substitute for criticism.

CICERO'S AEDILESHIP.

Although Cicero frequently mentions the aedileship which he held in 69 B. C.¹ he nowhere states whether he was curule or plebeian aedile. An indication of the character of the office is however given in the following passage (*Verr.*, ii, 5, 36-7) :

Nunc sum designatus aedilis ; habeo rationem quid a populo Romano acceperim ; mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cura et caerimonia Cereri Libero Liberaeque faciundos, mihi Floram matrem populo plebique Romanae ludorum celebritate placandam, mihi ludos antiquissimos, qui primi Romani appellati sunt, cum dignitate maxima et religione Iovi Iunoni Minervaeque esse faciundos, mihi sacrarum aedium procurationem, mihi totam urbem tuendam esse commissam ; ob earum rerum laborem et sollicitudinem fructus illos datos, antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicendae locum, togam praetextam, sellam curulem, ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae.

The prerogatives of office listed here, particularly the curule chair, and the reference to *ludi antiquissimi qui primi Romani appellati sunt* have seemed to indicate that Cicero held the curule aedileship, and modern scholars have been unanimous in believing that he was elected to that office in 70 B. C. But the passage has always been puzzling, for the games which Cicero mentions, the Ceriales, the Florales, and the most ancient games to the Capitoline Triad, seem at first sight to include festivals that belonged to both types of aediles. Scholars have been forced to the unlikely conclusion that Cicero made a mistake in listing the games for which he must at the time of writing have been making preparations. So far as we know, the curule aedile celebrated only two sets of games, the Megalenses and the Romani.² Cicero names three festivals and confirms the number later when he says *trinos ludos aedilis feceram*.³ If he was

¹ Cf. *Verr.*, i, 22-6 ; 36-7 ; ii, 1, 14 and 19 ; *Pro Mur.*, 40 ; *In Pis.*, 2 ; *Brut.*, 319 ; *De Off.*, ii, 59 ; *Ad Att.*, xii, 17 ; *Div. in Caec.*, 70 as interpreted by J. Seidel in his excellent dissertation, *Fasti Aedilicii* (Breslau, 1908), p. 55, note 5. See also Plut., *Cic.* 8 ; *De vir. ill.*, 81, 3.

² For the evidence see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii², pp. 518 ff. Dio, xxxvii, 8, mentions specifically the Megalenses and the Romani as the games which impoverished Caesar when he was curule aedile.

³ *Pro Mur.*, 40.

curule aedile he should certainly have included the Megalenses. Just as surely he should have omitted the Ceriales, which belonged in the province of the plebeian aedile.⁴ Probably he should also have omitted the Florales. The curatorship of these games is in some doubt, for the aediles Publicii who held them when the temple of Flora was dedicated in 240 B. C. are described by Festus as *aediles curules* and by Varro and Ovid as *aediles plebis*.⁵ But the officer who held the games in 173 when they were entered in the calendar as a regular festival seems to have been a plebeian aedile.⁶ The festival of Flora, as Cicero indicates in this passage, was always associated with the plebs, and its direction almost certainly remained in the hands of a plebeian official.

"The most ancient games, the first to bear the name Roman" have always been identified with the Ludi Romani held by the curule aedile in September. But Cicero does not actually say that the games which he is to hold are still called the Roman games. He is, I believe, referring not to the Ludi Romani but to another set of games to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the Ludi Plebeii which the plebeian aedile held in November, and he is claiming that the games held by the plebeian aediles were the oldest games, the ones first called Roman. The Ludi Plebeii, almost identical with the Ludi Romani in their peculiar struc-

⁴ The plebeians were closely associated with the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera. They kept their archives in the temple (Livy, iii, 55, 13) and frequently made donations to Ceres from fine money (Livy, x, 23, 13; xxvii, 6, 19; xxvii, 36, 9; xxxiii, 25, 3). It was the custom of the plebs to invite each other to dinner on the Cerialia just as it was the habit of the nobles to invite each other on the Megalensia (Gell., xviii, 2, 11). Cf. also Livy, xxx, 39, 8 with Mommsen's comment, *op. cit.* i², p. 607, note. Dio, xlvii, 40, 6, mentions plebeian aediles as curators of the Cerialia in 42 B. C.

⁵ Festus, p. 276 L; Varro, *L. L.*, v, 158; Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 287 ff.

⁶ The coins of C. Servilius C. f., an officer of the mint of the first century B. C., have on them the words *Floral. primus*. Cf. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, i, p. 469. The inscription seems to refer to an ancestor of Servilius who held the games in 173, the year in which the Floralia were made a standing festival. Since in that year the curule aediles were patricians, Servilius, who apparently belonged to the plebeian branch of the family, must have been plebeian aedile. See Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 645, note 538; Seidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 f.

⁷ Greenwood's version, Loeb text.

ture, developed as did the Romani from the ancient votive games which from the days of the Tarquins the Romans were said to have celebrated from time to time in honor of the Capitoline Triad.⁸ These games, which had no fixed date in the calendar, were known as Ludi Romani or Ludi Magni (sometimes Maximi).⁹ From the time of the institution of the office in 494 the plebeian aediles are associated in the tradition with the curatorship of the great Roman games. Dionysius, here as elsewhere confusing the Ludi Romani with the Latin festival, says that the plebeian aediles, immediately after their institution, were given duties in the sacrifices and contests of the Ferae Latinae, and the right to wear the purple toga, to sit in the curule chair, and to enjoy other insignia of royalty.¹⁰ The tradition that the plebeian aediles were curators of Jupiter's *ludi* at this early period is also reflected in the scholiast on the Verrines who dates the origin of the Ludi Plebei at the beginning of the Republic: ¹¹ *Plebei ludi quos exactis regibus pro libertate plebis fecerunt aut pro reconciliatione plebis post secessionem in Aventinum*. Valerius Maximus (I, 7, 4) shows traces of a similar tradition when he describes as Ludi Plebei the great games attributed to 490, a celebration famous for the omen which caused the *ludi* to be repeated, and places the spectacle in the Circus Flaminius, which was later the scene of the *circenses* in the Ludi Plebei.

A definite indication of the priority of the plebeian aediles as

⁸ See Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, ii, pp. 42 ff. Against Mommsen's view of the relation between votive and annual games see Piganiol, *Recherches sur les Jeux romains* (Strasbourg, 1923), pp. 75 ff.

⁹ Livy, i, 35, 9: *Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi Romani magnique varie appellati*. The special votive games which continued to be celebrated after the two annual festivals of Jupiter were fixed are regularly called *ludi magni* by Livy; in one instance they are described as *ludi Romani votivi* (xxxiv, 44, 6), a phrase which shows that the sort of spectacle that the Romans gave to their chief god was known as "Roman" games.

¹⁰ Dionys., vi, 95: κοσμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πορφύρα καὶ θρόνῳ ἐλεφαντίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπισήμοις οἱ εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς. On Dionysius' confusion of the Ludi Romani and the Ferae Latinae see Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.*, ii, p. 232, and Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i⁹, p. 391, note 7.

¹¹ Pseudo-Ascon., p. 143 Orelli, a note on *Verr.*, i, 31. The scholiast however believes (see p. 142) that the Ludi Romani, instituted under the Kings, were entirely different from the Plebei.

curators of the great Roman games is to be found in Livy's account (VI, 42) of the institution of the curule aedileship at the time of the Licinian-Sextian rogations in 367. The senate, as a thanksgiving to the gods for the reestablishment of concord, voted *ut ludi maximi fierent et dies unus ad triduum adiceretur*. The language of the passage suggests that the *ludi* were not yet a regular festival, but had to be voted for each occasion. Livy's account further indicates that the duty of celebrating such games devolved on the plebeian aediles. *Recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis conclamatum a patriciis est iuvenibus se id honoris deum immortalium causa libenter facturos*. The curule aediles, according to Livy, were instituted as curators of great Roman games which the plebeian aediles had refused to celebrate.

Modern scholars are almost unanimous in rejecting the tradition that the plebeian aediles were from their institution charged with the celebration of games to Jupiter.¹² The *cura ludorum*, they hold, was originally a function of the curule aedile, whose festival, the Ludi Romani, was probably entered in the calendar in 367 or shortly afterwards; the institution of the Ludi Plebeii, usually placed in 220 when the Circus Flaminius was built, eventually, it is thought, provided rival games for the plebeian aediles. The reliability of the ancient evidence for an earlier connection of the plebeian aediles with Jupiter's games need not concern us here. For the discussion of Cicero's aedileship the important point is that the phrase *ludi antiquissimi qui primi Romani appellati sunt* accords with a well-attested ancient tradition about the Ludi Plebeii. Cicero has given us in calendar order a schedule of the games which he expects to hold.¹³ These games all fall within the province of the plebeian aedile, and that was the office to which Cicero was elected in 70 B. C.

But how are we to reconcile with the plebeian aedileship the prerogatives of the office which Cicero proceeds to enumerate? The *antiquior in senatu sententiae dicendae locus* would have

¹² Mommsen, *op. cit.*, ii³, pp. 517; 520, note 1, recognized the existence of the tradition. Piganiol, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff., makes a strong argument for the greater antiquity of the Ludi Plebeii, suggesting that the curule aediles in 367 took over a calendar festival previously celebrated by the plebeian aediles.

¹³ The dates in the Augustan calendars are: Ludi Ceriales, April 12-19; Florales, April 28-May 3; Plebeii, Nov. 4-17.

belonged to both types of aediles, but the *toga praetexta*, the *sella curulis*, and the *ius imaginum* are the special prerogatives of the curule magistrates. The very name of the curule aedile indicates that the office was distinguished from the plebeian aedileship by the fact that it was a curule magistracy. The right of the curule aedile to the *sella curulis* is attested in literature¹⁴ and in representations on coins where the chair is obviously a play on the name of the office. With the chair went the *praetexta*, the costume of the magistrate who occupied it. Although the plebeian aediles enjoyed these distinctions when they were giving games, the general belief is that at other times they used the *subsellium*, the bench which tradition assigns to the tribunes of the plebs, and were, like the tribunes, excluded from the use of the *praetexta*. The only definite evidence for this belief is a representation on a coin of about 86 B. C., a special issue of the plebeian aediles Fannius and Critonius. The reverse of the coin shows a bench, apparently a *subsellium*, on which are seated two togate figures, presumably the magistrates about to make a distribution to the people.¹⁵ But the coin, if it has been correctly interpreted, provides evidence for the pre-Sullan period. There are indications that the plebeian aediles were not permanently debarred from the *sella curulis* and the *praetexta*. They are not listed by the Ciceronian scholiast among the lower officers who used the *subsellium*¹⁶ nor are they mentioned by Plutarch with the tribunes when he asks why the tribune does not wear the *praetexta* when the other magistrates wear it.¹⁷ When Cicero

¹⁴ Piso *ap. Gell.*, vii, 9, 6; Livy, vii, 1, 5; ix, 46, 9; Plut., *Mar.*, 5.

¹⁵ Grueber, *op. cit.*, i, 314-5. The inscription P. A. on the coins is to be interpreted as P(ublico) A(rgento) or perhaps P(ublica) A(nnona). The ear of grain on the coin seems to indicate that the issue was made, perhaps at the Cerialia, to provide money for a distribution. Cf. Seidel, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁶ Pseudo-Ascon., p. 118 Orelli. *Sunt enim subsellia tribunorum triumvirorum quaestorum et huiusce modi minora iudicia exercentium qui non in sellis curulibus nec in tribunalibus sed in subselliis considerant.* From Verr., ii, 1, 14 (*Quum agam beneficio populi Romani de loco superiore*) it would appear that Cicero's aedileship gave him the right to sit on the tribunal from which tribunes and lower officers were excluded.

¹⁷ *Q. R.*, 81: *Διὰ τὴν περιπόρευσιν ὁ δῆμαρχος οὐ φορεῖ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων φορούντων.* Elsewhere Plutarch (*Mar.*, 5) speaks of the curule chair as the special prerogative of the curule aedile.

says that all praetors and aediles laid aside the *praetexta* as a sign of mourning for his threatened exile,¹⁸ he would seem to include the plebeian aediles in the group. If Cicero was plebeian aedile, the passage in the Verrines, which has usually been considered the best indication of the prerogatives of the curule aedile, provides instead evidence that the plebeian aedile had by the year 70 B. C. acquired the distinctions of a curule magistracy. The office, though inferior to the curule aedileship, had long been superior in rank to the tribunate.¹⁹ When under the Sullan constitution the tribunes were temporarily excluded from the highest offices of the state, the plebeian aedileship, which suffered no such restriction, was divorced from the other plebeian office, and it must have been much sought by men who wished to gain access to praetorship and consulship. It is likely that at this time the holders of the office acquired the insignia of curule magistrates and the right of handing down their wax masks to their descendants.

Cicero's success in his candidacy is easier to understand if he was seeking the plebeian aedileship, for, although the agents of Verres had already secured the election of consuls and a *praetor repetundis* who were favorable to Verres, Cicero, the prosecutor of Verres, was returned first by all the tribes.²⁰ As his colleague another new man, Caesonius, also opposed to Verres, was elected.²¹ There is no parallel in our records for the election of two new men to the curule aedileship.²² For that office, the

¹⁸ *Or. ad Sen.*, 5, 12: *Ille <Gabinus> . . . cum toga praetexta quam omnes praetores aedilesque tum abiscerant irrisit squalorem vestrum.* Cf. *Vatin.*, 16: *aediliolam praetextam togam.*

¹⁹ Mommsen, *op. cit.*, ii², pp. 480 ff.; iii, pp. 860 ff. The plebeian aedileship, though it was said to have been instituted as an office subsidiary to the tribunate, usually follows the tribunate in cases where both offices were held. In the time of the Second Punic War the plebeian aediles seem not yet to have secured the right of enrollment in the senate. Before 123-2 B. C. they had attained it. The tribunes did not secure the privilege until the post-Gracchan period.

²⁰ *In Pis.*, 2: *me . . . aedilem priorem . . . cunctis suffragiis populus Romanus faciebat.* Cf. *Verr.*, i, 18 ff.

²¹ *Verr.*, i, 29; cf. *Pseudo-Ascon.*, pp. 140 f. Orelli. Caesonius was regarded by Cicero as a possible competitor for the consulship. Cf. *Ad Att.*, i, 1, 1.

²² There are a number of cases of the election of one new man, for example M. Silius, M. Platorius Cestianus, Cn. Plancius, M. Caelius

holders of which usually reached the consulship,²³ Cicero would have had rivals among nobles and particularly among patricians who were excluded from the plebeian offices.²⁴ Actually a patrician, P. Sulpicius Galba, who was one of Cicero's competitors for the consulship, may well have been elected to the curule aedileship in 70.²⁵ It may be noted that Quintus Cicero seems to have followed his brother's example when he sought and secured the plebeian aedileship four years later.²⁶

The curule aedileship, which was recognized as a more important office than the plebeian aedileship,²⁷ is commonly denoted in inscriptions by the full title *aedilis curulis*.²⁸ Cicero, who

Rufus. The attitude of the nobles toward the office comes out clearly in Cicero's *Pro Plancio*.

²³ In the years 200-187, a period when the lists are almost complete, three quarters of the curule aediles reached the consulship. Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, i^a, p. 532, note 2. Of eleven curule aediles known between 75 and 61, seven became consuls and one other was certainly a candidate for the consulship. The disturbed condition of public affairs probably explains why a number of the curule aediles of the next decade failed to become consuls.

²⁴ Since the plebeian aediles were elected in the *comitia tributa*, presumably under the presidency of a plebeian officer (there is no direct evidence on the subject), Cicero might be expected to use *plebs* instead of *populus Romanus* of the group which gave him the office (cf. *Verr.*, i, 25; ii, 1, 19; ii, 5, 36). But Cicero is here in accord with his use of *populus Romanus* in *Leg. Agr.*, ii, 16 ff. Cf. Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, pp. 129 ff.

²⁵ His coins, issued when he was curule aedile (Grueber, *op. cit.*, i, p. 433), were originally dated by Mommsen in the year 69. Cf. *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 621, note 452. But Mommsen later (*Röm. Forsch.*, i, p. 100) placed the curule aedileship of Cicero and Caesonius in this year. Galba's aedileship is dated by Seidel (*op. cit.*, pp. 54-5) and by Münzer (*P. W.*, s. v. "Sulpicius," no. 55) in 71. Galba was among the jurors rejected by Verres (*Verr.*, ii, 1, 18) and was therefore not in office in 70. His haste in beginning his canvass for the consulship (*Ad Att.*, i, 1, 1) suggests that he was eager to secure advancement as fast as the law allowed.

²⁶ Quintus held the office in 65 when Caesar and Bibulus were the curule aediles. He was therefore plebeian aedile. Cf. Seidel, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²⁷ Plutarch, *Mar.*, 5: *μειζων*; Diod., xx, 36: *ἐπιφανέστερα*. Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, ii^a, p. 480, note 2.

²⁸ *Aedilis* is used alone for the curule aedileship in the earlier Scipio epitaphs, Dessau, 1, 2, 3 (where in two cases the verse may explain the

from time to time uses *aedilis curulis* of others,²⁹ always speaks of himself simply as *aedilis*. He would hardly have failed to give the full measure of dignity to his own position. If he had held the curule aedileship, he would probably have drawn parallels from his own experience when in 54 he defended the election of a new man, Cn. Plancius, to that office. In the *Pro Plancio* he mentions a number of successes and failures in candidacy for the aedileship, but gives no details about his own case.³⁰

Since Cicero reached the consulship as soon as he was permitted by the *leges annales*,³¹ his cursus indicates that in his day the plebeian as well as the curule aedile was not eligible to the praetorship until three years after he had held the aedileship. Mommsen's view was that an interval of a single year, such as was sufficient between tribunate and aedileship or tribunate and praetorship, was also permitted between plebeian aedileship and praetorship.³² Cicero's career shows that this view must be revised.

Cicero, writing as he was about to take up his duties as aedile, cannot have made a mistake in numbering and naming the games which he was to celebrate. The games which he lists show that he held the plebeian aedileship. His description of the plebeian games as *ludi antiquissimi qui primi Romani appellati sunt* accords with a well-attested tradition that before the curule aedileship was instituted the plebeian aediles were curators of the great Roman games. Cicero's list of prerogatives which were to accompany his aedileship shows that the plebeian aediles had before 70 B. C. acquired the insignia of curule magistrates.

omission of *curulis*). The full form is found in a later Scipio epitaph (Dessau, 6) and in the following inscriptions which show a republican cursus: Dessau, 43, 43 a, 45, 48, 54, 56, 57, 60. For *aedilis curulis* on coins see *C. I. L.* i², *conspicuous nummorum*, nos. 277, 326, 327, 341, 342, 350.

²⁹ Cicero, *Cluent.*, 126; *Or. ad Quir.*, 15; *Har. Resp.*, 27; *Flacc.*, 77; *Brut.*, 264; *De Or.*, i, 57.

³⁰ Cf. *Pro Plancio*, 12 where Cicero discusses the case of M. Seius, a new man who was curule aedile in 74 or 73. Cf. also 51 ff. The only reference to Cicero's own case is in 18: *Sed non hic magis quam ego a meis competitoribus et alias et in consulatus petitione vincebar.*

³¹ *Leg. Agr.*, ii, 3-4; *De Off.*, ii, 59.

³² Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, i², p. 534.

The change in the status of the office probably took place under Sulla. Cicero's cursus indicates that the *leges annales* required a two-year interval between plebeian aedileship and praetorship.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

BRIN MAWR COLLEGE.

A NOTE ON L. ROBERT, *COLLECTION FROEHNER*.

When I last wrote on the small fragment of an Athenian decree published by Robert as no. 3 in his *Collection Froehner* (*A. J. P.*, LIX, pp. 498-499) I did not suspect that the inscription which he gave as "unedited" would be found already published in the *Attic Corpus*. Schweigert has called my attention to the fact that it appears as *I. G.*, II², 597 and again as *I. G.*, II², 597, *Addenda*, p. 662, where the restoration follows that of Wilhelm, who also published the fragment in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, p. 279.

The decree was passed on the same day as *I. G.*, II², 486, and Schweigert has now added still another document from this same day (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 297). The piece has been again identified by Klaffenbach (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1937, pp. 1682-1683), who restores the first line correctly as ε[πὶ Φερεκλέους ἀρχοντος]. Inasmuch as the date is 304/3 B. C., the inscription cannot be used to prove anything about the nature of the secretaryship during the time of Demetrios of Phaleron, as I had argued. None the less, I believe the contention sound that during this period the secretary was of minor importance, and that unless evidence to the contrary is adduced decrees with named secretaries should probably not be assigned to the years when he controlled Athens.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY.

THE BEE OF ARTEMIS.

The early association of the bee with the cult of Artemis is attested by varied evidence. It appears not only upon the strange polymastoid statue of the Ephesian goddess but upon the earliest coins of her city. As the owl was the emblem of Athena at Athens, so the bee seems to have been the emblem of Artemis at Ephesus. Although the extant examples of the polymastoid statue¹ are all of late date, it is hardly possible that the type with its medley of elements can have been a late Hellenistic creation.² So important was the bee in the cult of Artemis that her priestesses received the name of Melissa, "Bee." There is no direct evidence that the Ephesian priestesses of the goddess bore that title, but the assumption that she did is justified by the monuments cited. Another such title was *μελισσονόμος*, "bee-keeper."³ At Delphi there was a *μέλισσα Δελφίς*.⁴ The first priestess with this title probably served in the temple of Apollo there which bees had made of wax.⁵ These Apolline "bees" must have had some relation to the "bees" of Artemis, the twin sister of the god.

Particularly significant is the part played by the bee in Cretan tradition, where it appears in the name of Artemis. The Cretans called her *Βριτόμαρτις*,⁶ a title which was anciently defined as *dulcis virgo*.⁷ Since the Cretan word for "sweet" was *βριτύ*, the initial element of the name Britomartis was correctly translated *dulcis*. The closeness of *βριτύ* to the verb *βλίσσω*, "to take the honey from the comb," and to the name of the nymphs, *Βρίσσαι*, who were said to have taught the Thessalian Aristaeus bee-culture,⁸ led Cook to the very reasonable conclusion that *βριτο-* is a variant of *μέλισσα*.⁹ Thus the name Britomartis

¹ H. Thiersch, *Artemis Ephesia* (1935), assembles all known examples.

² Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 409.

³ Aeschylus, frag. 84.

⁴ Pindar, *Pyth.*, IV, 60.

⁵ Pausanias, X, 5, 9.

⁶ Hesychius, s. v.

⁷ Solin., XI, 8, who adds *ea aedes ostentat manus Daedali*.

⁸ Diodorus, *Bibl.*, IV, 81; *Etym. Mag.*, 213, 55, s. v. "*βρίσσαι*."

⁹ *J. H. S.*, 1895, p. 15.

meant originally "bee-maiden" in view of the prominence of the bee in the cult of the goddess but acquired a secondary meaning of "honey," "sweet." That the Cretan Artemis had close ties with Delphi is indicated by the tradition that Cretans participated in the colonization of Delphic territory. Perhaps the "bees" that built the second temple of Apollo at Delphi were Cretan. A number of references attest the ancient prestige of the bee in the island. One states that the infant Zeus had been nourished by bees, whence perhaps came his title *Melissaos*.¹⁰ A second mentions a son of Zeus named *Meliteus* who, when exposed in the woods, was likewise nourished by bees.¹¹ *Melissa*, the daughter of the Cretan king *Melissos*, reared the new-born Zeus, the same *Melissa* who became the first priestess of the *Magna Mater* and bequeathed her title to her successors.¹² To the literary references are to be added the monumental. A curious ritual vessel imitating a honey-comb was found at *Cnossus*, and Evans cites the honey-comb of gold which *Daedalus* wrought for *Aphrodite of Eryx*.¹³ Further the bee is a Minoan hieroglyph, which Evans compares with another in a royal Egyptian title where it means "bee-keeper."¹⁴

The religious significance of the bee at *Ephesus*, where there was a large *Lydian* colony, raises the question whether the bee played any part in *Lydia*. The donation of columns by *Croesus* to the temple of the *Ephesian Artemis* indicates an early worship of the goddess in keeping with the *Lydian* devotion to the *Delphic Apollo*. It further explains the appeal to the *Ephesian Artemis* in the sepulchral inscriptions of *Sardis*.¹⁵ Since the goddess regularly bears the title *Ibsimsis*, "Ephesian," in these inscriptions, she very probably took her attribute, the bee, with her to the *Lydian* capital. This reasonable assumption yields a clue to the meaning of a word which occurs four times with

¹⁰ *Hesychius*, s. v.

¹¹ *Antoninus Liberalis*, 13.

¹² *Lactantius, Div. Inst.*, I, 22, 19-20. That the *Magna Mater* should have as priestess *Melissa* was the logical expression of the close ties existing between her and *Artemis* in *Asia Minor*.

¹³ *Diodorus*, IV, 78, 5; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, pp. 154-155. There is a question as to the reading of the passage in *Diodorus*. Evans accepts *κηפור* instead of *κηφόρ*.

¹⁴ Evans, *P. M.*, I, pp. 280-81.

¹⁵ *Buckler, Lydian Inscriptions*, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 26.

the name of Artemis in the inscriptions.¹⁶ The most suggestive of the instances is

sivraūmis artimul karrirs kavek bakillis.¹⁷

The words *sivraūmis artimul*, which occur three times in the same inscription, are here joined with *kavek bakillis*, which mean "and the priest of Bacchus." Just as *kavek* precedes *bakillis*, so *sivraūmis* precedes *artimul*. Hence *sivraūmis* may also designate a priest. In another passage is

artimuç ibsimçaç kulumçak sivraūmn.¹⁸

Here the word *sivraūmn* is the same as *sivraūmis*, but of the plural or dual number since it accompanies two Artemises, one of Ephesus and the other of Koloë. In view of the importance of the bee in the Ephesian cult of the goddess it seems likely that *sivraū*, the first part of these two variants, is the Greek σίμβλος, "beehive," a word of unknown origin but as old as Hesiod. *Sivraūmis* is perhaps composed of *sivraū* and *mis*, since *ū* is the sign of the accusative singular of Lydian nouns. If *mis* is a suffix of verbal value, then the word could mean "keeper of the beehive," thus corresponding to the title μελισσονόμος, and would be applicable either to the goddess or her representative, a priestess. The Lydian and the Greek may have derived the *sivraū* and σίμβλος from a third language, the Greek inserting a *μ* as in ὄμβριμος for ὄβριμος. The Lydian word for "bee" could then be *si*.

Turning to the Lydian proper adjective *Ibsimsis*, "Ephesian," and another of the same formation, *Kulumsis*, "of Koloë," we may recognize an adjectival suffix in *-msis*. With the help of Hesychius, who tells us that Lydian *ibu* meant πολύ, we arrive at the conclusion that *Ib-si-msis* is the adjective of a name meaning "rich in bees," just as the earlier name of Tralles, Πολύανθεα, meant "rich in flowers." If this interpretation is correct then the bee on the coins of Ephesus becomes another example of the punning type, like that on the coins of Melitaea in Phthiotis¹⁹ and the seal, φώκη, on the coins of Phocaea. This analysis of

¹⁶ Buckler, *op. cit.*, nos. XXII, 9, 11, 12; II, 10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXII, 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 10.

¹⁹ Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 301.

Ibsimsis is strengthened by the Greek *Ἐφεσ-*os*, which is composed of ἐπ-*és*, the ἐπ being the Greek version of ἰb²⁰ and the *és* the same as *és* in ἐσ-μός, "swarm of bees."²¹ That Greek π represented Lydian *b* is shown by the bilingual of Pergamon.²² The name Ephesus thus meant "many bees" or "place of many bees."

The Cretan name of Artemis—Britomartis, "honey-maiden"—may possibly throw some light upon a famous Cretan story. Glaukos, the son of Minos, fell into a jar of honey and was drowned, but was revived by the seer Polyeidós. A vase painting of the fifth century depicts the seer with the dead boy in a tomb²³ in which Minos had commanded that the two be shut up. The tomb, which is shown in section, is of the beehive type, appropriately surmounted by the tripod of Apollo.²⁴ The jar into which Glaukos fell is not represented nor is its type mentioned in the literary version of the tale. It may have been of beehive shape like that of the "Mycenaean" ossuary which was discovered in a modest tholos tomb in Crete.²⁵ The jar is in fact a miniature tholos. Now Cook believes that the story of Glaukos implies an ancient custom of preserving the dead in honey.²⁶ Since honey and milk were important in mystic doctrine, the falling of Glaukos into honey is to be compared with the declaration of the Orphic dead that they had fallen into milk. This comparison is the more appropriate in view of the Cretan

²⁰ There should be noted in this connection the form *Ipesius*, "Ephesian," which occurs on a military diploma (*C. I. L.*, XVI, no. 7, tabella II). Five of the witnesses are from Sardis, the sixth from Maeonia, another name for Lydia. The provenance of these witnesses suggests that the form *Ipesius*, Ἐφεσῖος, owes its initial syllable to the Sardian *Ibsimsis*. I owe the reference to Mr. H. S. Robinson of Princeton University.

²¹ The aspirate is attested by ἀφεσμός, which is incompletely defined as "a swarm of bees" in Jones' revision of Liddell and Scott. It designates "a colony of bees" which has migrated from home. Cf. ἀποικία and οἰκία.

²² Buckler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, no. 40.

²³ Murray, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, pl. XVI, p. 26.

²⁴ The tripod may allude to the part which the oracle of Apollo played in the story. On tripods in a Minoan tomb see Evans, *P. M.*, II, p. 283.

²⁵ Halbherr, *A. J. A.*, 1901, pl. VI, no. 4 and p. 275.

²⁶ *Zeus*, I, p. 469.

elements in Orphism.²⁷ The falling of Glaukos into honey may then have had the same mystic significance as the Orphic statement which was inscribed on gold tablets buried with the dead. *Μελίχροτον* was an offering to all the dead. The depositing of the bones of the dead in a Mycenaean jar of the shape of a beehive probably had the same effect as placing them in honey. One is reminded of the practice of the Ptolemaic Greeks who at Hadra near Alexandria placed the ashes of their dead in *hydriae*,²⁸ obviously because the souls of the dead craved a drink of water. The devotees of Osiris appealed to him to grant the dead cold water,²⁹ and the Orphic was instructed to say to the guardians of a spring on his *descensus Averno*: "I am parched with thirst and perishing. Give me to drink of the spring."³⁰ If the ashes of the dead were placed in a water-pitcher, they could then constantly assuage their thirst. So one buried in a beehive could constantly satisfy his need of honey by the same sympathetic magic. What was true of the small beehive ossuary was true of the large one, and it may be that the great beehive tombs of the Minoan-Mycenaean age were so shaped, in imitation not of beehive houses but of actual beehives, because of the importance of the bee and its honey in the destiny of the dead. Cook reproduces from a gem a scene of Hermes evoking the dead from a burial jar while a soul in the form of a bee hovers above it.³¹ One may wonder whether Polyeidon observing snakes while in a tholos tomb with the dead Glaukos is the Minoan prototype of Asklepios, who had a tholos at Epidaurus where snakes served a curative function. Asklepios was credited with raising the dead to life. The significant rosette which appeared in the Mycenaean tholos tomb and on the miniature tholos of terracotta previously cited is seen again on the tholos within the sacred enclosure of Asklepios at his famous sanctuary.³² The Mycenaean *megaron* and *propylon* survived into the historical period, the former to become a temple. Is it not possible that the tholos

²⁷ Cf. Elsler, *Orph.-Dion. Mysteriengedanken in der Christlichen Antike*, p. 357.

²⁸ A. J. A., 1909, p. 387.

²⁹ Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, I, p. 88.

³⁰ Cf. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 427. Note Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum*, 17: *παρὰ τῇ Μίθρᾳ ὁ κρατὴρ ἀντὶ πηγῆς τέτακται*.

³¹ Zeus, I, p. 469:

³² A. J. A., 1935, p. 518.

of the god who raised the dead to life is the beehive tomb in which Glaukos was revived?

The question now arises why Pausanias called the tholos tomb at Mycenae a *θησαυρός*, "treasury." Since objects of precious metal were deposited in Mycenaean graves and tombs generally, the tholos was no more a treasury than the shaft-grave. If the term *thesauros* had been applied to the tomb only by Pausanias, one might believe that it came into use in the Graeco-Roman period; but such is not the case. The idea was too wide-spread. Naevius, who died in 199 B. C., speaks in an epigram of the *Orci thesauro*, and Ennius in a fragment of his *Iphigenia* has *Acherontem obibo ubi mortis thesauri objacent*.³³ In both these passages the word *thesauros* indicates a Greek provenance for the figure of speech. However the normal word in Judaism for the abode of righteous souls was "treasuries." In the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, which was written originally in Hebrew in the first century, is the following prediction: "And it shall come to pass at that time that the treasuries of the dead shall be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous."³⁴ Charles states that in the apocalyptic circles to which St. John belonged it was the accepted belief that only the souls of the righteous were admitted to these treasuries which would be opened at the close of the Messianic kingdom, when the souls would come forth at the final judgment. Yet in *Proverbs*, VII, 27 we read: "Her house (that of the harlot) is the way to hell leading down to the *raqe'a* of death." The provenance of the idea that souls are deposited in treasuries in the underworld may have been Minoan. Classical Greece knew Pluto as god of the dead and god of riches, and hence the dead could have been regarded as confined in the place of his riches or treasure. The Roman Dis answered to the Greek Pluto. Now Zeus buried his treasure in Gaza when he founded that city, which worshipped in historical times Marnas, or the Cretan Zeus. It is a fact of special importance that the grave was confused with the realm of the dead in all early thought.³⁵ Hence the idea that the souls

³³ Frag. Scen., 245.

³⁴ R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, I, p. 179; cf. Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. 42, note and 56. J. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle*, p. 30, n. 2 gives extensive literature on the "treasuries."

³⁵ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. "State of the Dead," p. 842.

of the dead were in underworld treasuries was applicable to the single tomb. It is more likely that the tomb as a treasury was the original conception, which was extended to the general abode of the dead in the underworld.

That the Mycenaeans themselves called the tholos tomb both beehive and treasury is a reasonable inference from the tradition relating to Trophonius and Agamedes. They built a treasury for Hyrieus,³⁶ the founder of the town of Hyria in Boeotia.³⁷ This Hyrieus presents a certain correspondence to Zeus who founded Gaza and there buried his treasure. Now the names Ὑρίεος and Ὑρίη are derived from ὕρον, the Cretan word for "beehive,"³⁸ or rather from its diminutive which appears in ὑριότομος.³⁹ Another city with a name of the same origin was Hyria, which was founded by Cretans in Iapygia.⁴⁰ Herodotus states that the Cretans after the death of Minos sent an expedition against Camicus, the later Agrigentum, and that the survivors of it were driven ashore by storm, gave up hope of returning to Crete, and founded Hyria in Iapygia. The same Cretan word perhaps enters into the name of Hyrtacina, a city of Crete, which had a bee as coin-type.⁴¹ Hyrieus, for whom a treasury was built at Boeotian Hyria, must have had some ties with Crete and was possibly another Melisseus, the Cretan king whose daughter Melissa nourished the infant Zeus with goat's milk and honey.⁴²

Pausanias does not say that the treasury of Hyrieus was built in the shape of a beehive, but since the great *thesauros* at Orchomenos had such form it may be safely assumed that his too was a *tholos*. Agamedes and Trophonius, who built it for Hyrieus, were the sons of Erginos, the king of Orchomenos. The story about the pilfering of the treasury affords additional evidence

³⁶ Paus., IX, 37, 3.

³⁷ *Iliad*, II, 496 and schol. A close semantic parallel to Hyrieus and his city Hyria is found in Meliteus, the son of Zeus, who founded a city Melite in Phthia. Cf. Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam. Syn.*, XIII.

³⁸ Hesychius, s. v. The reduplicated Latin *susurrare*, "buzz," contains the same word. Cf. *susurrant apes*. See Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wört. d. Indoger. Spr.*, II, p. 527, s. v. "suer."

³⁹ Hesychius, s. v.

⁴⁰ Herodotus, VII, 170; Strabo, VI, 282.

⁴¹ Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 397.

⁴² Cf. A. B. Cook, *J. H. S.*, 1895, pp. 1 ff.

of the Minoan date of Hyrieus. The builders contrived to make one of the stones of the structure removable from the exterior and by this means were able to steal some of the gold and silver.⁴³ When Hyrieus discovered the theft, he set a trap upon the vases which contained the remaining treasure. Agamedes was caught and, being unable to extricate himself, was decapitated by his brother Trophonius, so that with the removal of the head the thief might not be identified. Trophonius disappeared into the earth at Lebadea, where was the pit of Agamedes.⁴⁴ The place where he disappeared Pausanias describes as a circular foundation with the diameter of a small threshing floor and less than three feet high.⁴⁵ The opening into the oracle of Trophonius was within the circle, through a dome-shaped building which Cook believes was the tholos tomb of an old Boeotian king.⁴⁶ Now it was to the place where Trophonius entered the earth that bees conducted the Boeotians. Those who descended into the oracular chasm took with them cakes kneaded with honey.⁴⁷ If Cook is right in his theory, then one readily sees the appropriateness of the bees as guides. They conducted the Boeotians to their "hive." The importance of the bee in this tradition is shown by the earlier name of the Boeotians, Βαίσσιοι,⁴⁸ which is a simple variant of Μελίσσοι.

The antiquity of the story of the theft of gold and silver from the treasury of a king is established by the version given by Herodotus.⁴⁹ The king in this case was one Rhampsinitis, the successor of that Proteus who sheltered Helen of Troy. The name which is based upon that of Rameses suggests a L. M. III date. A third version of the tale has also intimations of a Minoan date. Agamedes and Trophonius built a golden treasury for king Augeas at Elis in which, on the advice of Daedalus, traps were set to catch thieves. Agamedes was again the victim. It seems likely that this tale originated in Crete in the Minoan

⁴³ Could the content of these tombs have suggested that Rhesus lay buried in a cave of silvered earth (*Rhesus*, 970-71) and that rocks containing gold held Cronus asleep in a deep cave (Plutarch, 941 f) ?

⁴⁴ Paus., IX, 37, 3-5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, 39, 11.

⁴⁶ Zeus, II, p. 1074. The circular enclosure might also be compared with that of the shaft graves at Mycenae.

⁴⁷ Paus., IX, 39, 11.

⁴⁸ Hesychius, s. v.

⁴⁹ II, 121-122. Cf. How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, I, pp. 224-225.

age, whence it found its way to Egypt and to the mainland of Greece. The royal owners of these stone treasuries are to be compared with Zeus in that he too founded a city, Philistine Gaza, and there buried his treasure.

To the considerations already adduced in favor of the theory that the underground *tholoi* at Mycenae, Orchomenos, and elsewhere in Greece were beehive tombs in the intention of their builders may be added the significance of the Latin *favissa*. Gellius records a question put to Varro as to the nature of the *favissae Capitolinae*.⁵⁰ The passage is as follows:

Varro rescripsit in memoria sibi esse quod Q. Catulus curator restituendi Capitolii dixisset voluisse se aream Capitolinam deprimere ut pluribus gradibus in aedem conscenderetur suggestusque pro fastigii magnitudine altior fieret sed facere id non quisse quoniam 'favisae' impedissent. Id esse cellas quasdam et cisternas quae in area sub terra essent ubi reponi solerent signa vetera quae ex eo templo collapsa essent aliaque quaedam religiosa e donis consecratis. Ac deinde eadem epistula negat quidem se in litteris invenisse cur favisae dictae sint sed Q. Valerium Soranum solitum dicere ait quos thesauros Graeco nomine appellaremus priscos Latinos 'flavisas' dixisse quod in eos non rude aes argentumque sed flata signataque pecunia conderetur. Conjectare igitur se detractam esse ex eo verbo secundam litteram et 'favisas' esse dictas cellas quasdam et specus quibus aeditui Capitolii uterentur ad custodiendas res veteres religiosas.

The explanation of Soranus has this in its favor that anciently temples like the Argive Heraeum did on occasion receive cast bullion; but the derivation of *favisa* from *flata* is a *tour de force* like so many of the ancient etymologies. *Favissa* is rather to be derived from *favus*, "a honey-comb." The position of the *favisa* underground and near a temple and the list of its contents are clearly indicative of religious character. It seems like the descendant of the tholos under the south porch of the palace at Knossos,⁵¹ especially when one remembers that the Minoan and

⁵⁰ Gellius, II, 10.

⁵¹ Evans, *P. M.*, I, pp. 103-6. For a beehive well at Arkhanes see *ibid.*, II, p. 44. It is L. M. III.

Mycenaean palaces had a sacred character which accounts for the Greek temples that arose upon their ruins. The purpose of the subterranean tholos at Cnossus is uncertain, but it is tempting to conjecture that such may have been used as a *cella* for storage of objects or a *cisterna* for the storage of water. That a *favis*a should have been used for water was the natural consequence of its position and may have given rise to the curious tradition that bees carried water to Deo, a goddess of fertility with whom Zeus was united. Here the bees may allude to Zeus Melissaios, although priestesses of Demeter were called Melissai. If such is the allusion, the bee has taken over the function of Zeus as the sky god who fertilizes the earth, Deo, with rain. That this was a motif of Minoan mythology is rendered plausible by a Mycenaean gem,⁵² which represents two hybrids with narrow-waisted bodies like bees hanging on their backs. They hold pitchers above a plant as if they were about to water it. Another gem shows the same hybrid with a bull.

The close association of the bee and the bull, which later found expression in the strange superstition that bees sprang from the bodies of bulls, may date from the Minoan age. It is suggested again by the worship on the citadel of Boeotian Thebes of Poseidon as a bull⁵³ and by the name of a son of Poseidon—Hyrieus, "the beehive keeper." The same intimacy is indicated by the successive names of the people of Boeotia. Their earlier name, Blissioi, meant "Bee-men," while their later name was derived from βούς. Boeotia had another early name, Messapia,⁵⁴ which appears to contain the word *apis*. At Ephesus the bee played an important rôle in the cult of Artemis, and there too the youthful wine-pourers of Poseidon were called ταῦροι.⁵⁵ Artemis as a bee-goddess now seems perfectly at home among the Tauroi and to have an appropriate title in the *epitheton* Tauropola.

The theory prevails that the Mycenaean treasuries received their name from their resemblance to beehive banks,⁵⁶ but this

⁵² Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. II, 32.

⁵³ Hesiod, *Scutum*, 104.

⁵⁴ Steph. Byz., s. v.

⁵⁵ Athenaeus, 425c.

⁵⁶ D. M. Robinson, *A. J. A.*, 1924, p. 248. Evans, *P. M.*, I, p. 106, rejects the idea that the beehive tombs were treasuries. He points out (*ibid.*, II, pp. 36-44) the resemblance of Minoan to Libyan sepulchral *tholoi*. It is quite possible that they expressed the same idea. The beehive may have copied a house-type.

is unlikely. The reference of Naevius to the treasury of Orcus, the belief that the underworld had treasuries of souls, the confusion of that underworld with the single tomb favor rather a belief that the tholos tomb was a treasury of the souls of the dead buried in it. The importance of the bee and honey in the cult of the dead likewise favor the conclusion that the beehive tomb owes its shape to the beehive, the abode of souls in the form of bees.⁵⁷ When a woman named Melissa refused to divulge the mysteries of Demeter and was in consequence torn to pieces by angry women, Demeter caused bees to emerge from her body.⁵⁸ This Melissa was entitled to the *epitheton* of Persephone, *μελιτώδης*.⁵⁹ The Orphic doctrine of the soul as a bee may have been of Cretan provenance like the Orphic doctrine of Zagreus. Sophocles knew of it when he wrote, "The swarm of the dead hums."⁶⁰ The tholos owed its description as a treasury not to the objects of gold which were deposited within it but rather to the golden honey which was stored in the hives. They were treasuries whose bees were souls according to a primitive mysticism.

From Crete the symbolic bee found its way to Sardinia, where in a grave was discovered a bronze statuette of a youth with five bees symmetrically arranged upon the breast. As Cook observes, the bee is here a symbol of immortality.⁶¹ The date of the statuette is not given, but it is tempting to believe that the symbol shares a Minoan origin with Talos⁶² and the Cretan slab of bronze bullion.⁶³ The longevity of the bee as a symbol of the soul and its association with the bull receives striking confirmation from the discovery in the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks, of three hundred gold bees together with a bull's head of gold.⁶⁴

G. W. ELDERKIN.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

⁵⁷ Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum*, 19.

⁵⁸ Cf. Cook, *J. H. S.*, 1895, pp. 14-15. Hesychius, s. v. "μελισσαι": αἱ τῆς Δήμητρος μύστιδες.

⁵⁹ Porphyry, *op. cit.*, 18. Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 443.

⁶⁰ Frag. 693: βομβεῖ δὲ νεκρῶν ὄμιλος.

⁶¹ Cook, *J. H. S.*, 1895, p. 19.

⁶² Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 721.

⁶³ Svoronos, *Jour. Int. d'Aroch. Num.*, IX (1906), p. 171. Evans, *P. M.*, II, p. 624.

⁶⁴ *J. H. S.*, 1895, p. 19.

A NUMBERED LEGION IN A FRAGMENT OF THE ELDER CATO.

Klotz and Gelzer have clearly established the fact that the legion numbers in Polybius and Livy, while perhaps not always authentic in themselves—for errors do creep into manuscripts—, are at any rate evidence of an actual practice of the third and second centuries B. C. in Rome.¹ On general grounds, the manner of assigning the elected *tribuni militum* to their posts² and the way in which the consuls drew lots for their legions³ obviously point to the existence of a system of identifying legions by number. More specifically, the two scholars named have shown that in all probability many of the individual instances of such numbering in Polybius and Livy rest on the ultimate authority of Q. Fabius Pictor, a contemporary reporter of the events narrated in the later historians.⁴

Independently of such considerations, however, the genuineness of the practice of numbering legions is warranted by evidence in a sentence quoted by Festus from the elder Cato. The whole passage from Festus reads as follows:

Prodidisse non solum in illis dicitur, qui patriam prodiderunt, sed etiam tempus longius fecisse. ut Cato: "Te, C. Caecili, diem prodi<di>sse militibus legionis III, cum prodicionem non haberent."⁵

¹ A. Klotz, "Die Bezeichnung der röm. Legionen," *Rh. Mus.*, LXXXI (1932), pp. 143-154; M. Gelzer, "Die Glaubwürdigkeit der bei Livius überlieferten Senatsbeschlüsse über römische Truppenaufgebote," *Hermes*, LXX (1935), p. 275. The Livian legion numbers were earlier accepted as genuine: cf. Fr. Gessler, *De legionum Romanarum apud Livium numeris*, Diss. Berlin, 1866, and Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I⁸, p. 51, n. 1, II³, p. 578, n. 2; but U. Kahrstedt later denied their authenticity—"da es zu Polybios' Zeit keine Legionsziffern gibt," of the year 218 B. C., in vol. III of O. Meltzer's *Geschichte der Karthager*, 1913, p. 180; cf. also Kahrstedt's *Die Annalistik von Livius B. XXXI-XLV*, 1913, p. 80.

² Polyb., 6, 19, 8-9.

³ Livy, 22, 27, 10; 42, 32, 5. Cf. also Gessler, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴ Polyb., 1, 26, 6; 1, 30, 11; 3, 40, 14. Livy, 24, 36, 4 (through Polybius).

⁵ Festus, 282 Lindsay; H. Jordan, *M. Catonis praeter librum de re rustica quae extant*, 1860, p. 73. Ursinus corrected the reading *prodidisse*

Obviously, if it were not common practice to number legions, Cato would not have mentioned a "third legion"; and it is further evident that Verrius Flaccus, or Festus, or any other grammarian, would have had no reason to tamper with the text of the sentence in so far as the legion and its number are concerned, for they have no bearing on the point for which the sentence was cited. We must accept the phrase *militibus legionis III* as genuinely Catonian and as honest testimony.

The fragment is thus the earliest direct evidence for legion numbering at Rome, and is consequently important to the student of the Roman army and of annalistic historical writing. Important, too, is the date to be assigned the fragment. It must fall in or before 149 B. C., the year of Cato's death.⁶ A more precise dating is made difficult by the vagueness of Cato's words, as well as by the fact that no C. Caecilius is known contemporary with Cato.⁷ It may be suggested, however, that the fragment is from Cato's speech *De re Histriae militari*;⁸ that the proper name should be read as C. Caelius; and that the third legion was that engaged in 178 in the Istrian expedition of the consul A. Manlius Vulso.

The name *Caelius* very frequently appears in MSS in the form *Caecilius*, not a very surprising fact, for the latter name was much more common than the former.⁹ The C. Caecilius of the

of the Farnesianus. For the phrase *prodere diem* cf. also Terence, *Andr.*, 313 and Lucilius, 214 M. The word *proditionem*, found nowhere else in this sense ("prolongation of a period of time, postponement"), must take its meaning from *prodere* as used here: cf. T. Bögel, "De nomine verballi latino quaestiones grammaticae," *Jahrbücher für Class. Phil., Supp.* 28 (1903), p. 150.

⁶ Note that Cicero attests a "fourth legion" for this year: *De rep.*, 6, 9 (= *Somnium Scipionis* I, 1).

⁷ Münzer, *P.-W.*, s. v. "Caecilius," No. 11, 1188.

⁸ Attested by Festus, 280 L, citing the word *punctatoriolas* meaning *levis pugnas*; cf. Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁹ On the relative frequency of the names cf. indices of the *C. I. L.* At least 11 different Caecilii occur in Livy, but no Caelius, except for *Mons Caelius*. In Nonius Marcellus, who like Festus cites isolated names and fragments, Caecilius occurs in 8 of 16 appearances of Caelius, while for book I (the only book for which complete readings are available: cf. L. Müller, *Nonius Marcellus*, II, 1888, p. 354) Caelius is read only once in 7 occurrences of Caecilius. The tendency seems clearly to be from the shorter name to the longer. M. Caelius, of Cato's oration *Si se M.*

fragment can hardly refer to the M. Caelius of Cato's speech *Si se M. Caelius tr. pl. appellasset*¹⁰ because of the difficulty in the *praenomen*¹¹ and because the position of authority over a legion evidenced in the fragment would not fall within the province of a *tribunus plebis*. On the other hand, a Caelius does occur in connection with the speech *De re Histriae militari*, a speech generally referred to the years 178-177,¹² and considered as an attack on the consul Manlius and his officers for their badly mismanaged campaign of 178.¹³ Livy records Manlius' legions as the "second" and the "third,"¹⁴ and names a *tribunus militum* of the third legion as C. Aelius,¹⁵ a name which has been repeatedly identified with the Caelius, likewise a tribune in the Istrian campaign, mentioned by Ennius.¹⁶

Oaelius tr. pl. appellasset, occurs as M. Caecilius in Paulus Festi, 52 L, and Priscian, VI, 228 Hertz, and as Caecilius in Macrobius, *Sat.*, 3, 14, 9. In Pliny, *N. H.*, 7, 165 and 27, 4, M. Caelius Rufus appears in MSS as a Caecilius (cf. Ruhnken on Vell. Pat., 2, 68, and Münzer, *Hermes*, XLIV [1909], p. 141); and in Livy, *Per.*, 73, C. Caelius appears as C. Caecilius (Münzer, *P.-W.*, s. v. "Caecilius," No. 12, 1188, and s. v. "Caelius," No. 6, 1255).

¹⁰ Jordan, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59.

¹¹ Cf. H. Meyer, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, 1842, p. 130. Note that this Caelius occurs twice as a Caecilius but with *praenomen* unchanged: cf. note 9 above.

¹² Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, I^r, 1881, p. 812; Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxiv; L. Lange, *Röm. Alterthümer*, II, 1862, p. 245; Weissenborn, on Livy, 41, 6, 2.

¹³ Livy, 41, 1, 1-5, 12.

¹⁴ 41, 1, 6-7; 2, 3; 2, 9; 3, 5-7; 3, 9; 4, 3.

¹⁵ Named together with T. Aelius, i. e., as *T. et C. Aelius*, 41, 1, 7; 4, 3.

¹⁶ Macrobius, *Sat.*, 6, 3, 3: *hunc locum* (i. e., *Iliad*, 16, 102-111) *Ennius in quinto decimo ad pugnam Oaelii* (MSS *celii, celi*) *tribuni his versibus transfert: Undique conveniunt velut imber tela tribuno*, etc. (Vahlen, 401-8). This name has been variously emended to agree with the Livian C. Aelius (Bergk, *Kl. Schriften*, I, 1861, pp. 252 ff., following the humanist Merula, ed. of Ennius, 1585; Münzer, *P.-W.*, s. v. "Caelius," No. 1, 1254; E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, L. C. L., I, 1935, p. 154, n. 1) or even to agree with Caecilius (W. Aly, *Livius und Ennius*, 1936, p. 28, n. 5; p. 40, n. 2, relying on the *T. Caecilius Teucer fraterque eius* whose bravery moved Ennius to write the sixteenth book of the *Annales* [Pliny, *N. H.*, 7, 101]; but cf. Fr. Marx, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, VII [1886], p. 152 and Fr. Skutsch, *P.-W.*, s. v. "Ennius," 2609). But the accuracy of the Macrobius Caelius is assured

The paleographical identification of Cato's C. Caecilius, Livy's C. Aelius and Ennius' Caelius is not at all difficult.¹⁷

The chief uncertainty involved in the identification of these individuals as one lies in the diversity of acts attributed to them. Ennius' Caelius is noteworthy as being the target of the Istrian onset; ¹⁸ Livy's C. Aelius is remembered as ingenious in devising a method of hurrying his troops to aid Manlius in recovering the Roman camp from the Istrians; ¹⁹ and Caecilius received Cato's hostility because he caused some delay to the soldiers of the third legion, a delay forbidden or not expressly ordered, *prodidiſſe diem . . . cum proditiōnem non haberent*.

In Livy's narrative the person who fulfils the rôle of Ennius' Caelius is the tribune M. Licinius Strabo.²⁰ It has been suggested that the annalist C. Licinius Macer altered the name from its Ennian form to give his own family tree the glory really belonging to a Caelius.²¹ A more likely explanation is that the two tribunes were celebrated in Ennius' account of the Istrian war, Caelius as the ingenious tribune, Licinius as the heroic defender of the camp, as in Livy's complete version, and that Macrobius in identifying the verses he quoted from Ennius experienced a slip of memory and named one of the two famous

by the fact that the name, occurring five times in the Macrobius MSS (not counting 6, 3, 3), appears once as Caecilius (3, 14, 9; cf. note 9 above) and four times as Caelius (1, 4, 26; 1, 8, 6; 1, 12, 31; 3, 14, 15). Cf. also L. Havet, "L'histoire rom. dans le dernier tiers des Annales d'Ennius," *Bibl. de l'école des hautes études*, XXXV (1878), p. 36; L. Müller, *Quintus Ennius. Eine Einleitung* . . . , 1884, pp. 177-180; E. M. Stuart, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*, 1925, pp. 203 f.

¹⁷ Our text of Livy, book 41 through 9, 11 (*et edio*-) rests not on the Vindobonensis Lat. 15 but on the *ed. pr.* of S. Grynaeus (1531). But a comparison of the errors in the surviving pages of the MS with Grynaeus' text shows that it is wholly possible that in 41, 1, 7 or 4, 3 (or in both places) stood the error *t. et caelius* (for *t. et c. caelius*) and that Grynaeus corrected to *t. et c. aelius*, as he did correct, e.g., *sc. claudium* to *senatus C. Claudium* (41, 14, 3), *inPELLI* to *in P. Aelii* (21, 9), *senatus* to *se senatus* (42, 6, 9), *cassio* to *C. Cassio* (32, 4), *m. etatilius* to *Marcius et Atilius* (38, 1). The infrequency of the name Caelius in Livy would have made him hesitate to write *C. Caelius*. Cf. Havet, *op. cit.*, p. 36, n. 3.

¹⁸ Cf. note 16 above.

¹⁹ 41, 3, 6-8.

²⁰ 41, 2, 9-10.

²¹ Stuart, *l. c.* (cf. note 16 above), followed by Warmington, *l. c.* Cf. Livy, 7, 9, 5 on Licinius as a glorifier of his own family.

tribunes but not the one meant by Ennius. The difficulties of checking references in ancient books are well known.²²

And if Caelius (in Ennius and Livy) was famed for his ingenuity, it does not necessarily follow that he was utterly blameless. Manlius was the object of an attack by the *tribuni plebis* for his inefficient conduct of the war in Istria,²³ and of course his officers were likewise responsible for their actions: in fact, Manlius would have been censured just because he had not held his officers and men under a stronger and more rigorous discipline. Livy's narrative of the expedition, strongly pro-Manlian in tone,²⁴ attaches no blame to any one person; rather

²² F. G. Kenyon, *Books and readers in ancient Greece and Rome*, 1932, pp. 65 f. But if Macrobius quoted the verses from a text of Ennius and not from memory, he probably found there only one name—Caelius. To judge from the few surviving lines of the *Annales*, Ennius gave the full name of a new person in his narrative (cf. 303-306 V), but on the reappearance of the character he used only one name, *praenomen*, *nomen*, or *cognomen* (223, 251, 295, 329, 334, 335 V). In the Macrobius text, then, the *o* would be an integral part of the name and not a *praenomen* (e.g., *O. Aelius*); if Macrobius found the name Aelius in Ennius, it is difficult to see how the *o* would have crept into the text.

²³ Livy, 41, 6, 1-3; 7, 4-10. The tribunes also objected to his making war without first consulting the senate and the people; but there was nothing illegal in his entering Istria without previous consultation: cf. the *iustum piumpue bellum* of 196 (Livy, 33, 29, 1-8), waged without such previous consultation of the senate or of the people. But doubtless precedent was offended: cf. the instances when the senate was consulted in 183 (Livy, 39, 55, 4) or asked for consultation in 171 (*id.* 43, 1, 11). Cf. further G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, IV, 1, 1923, p. 430, and A. Heuss, *Die völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen der röm. Aussenpolitik in republik. Zeit*, *Klio*, Beiheft 31, (N. F. 18), 1933, pp. 23 f. No trial is recorded for Manlius, and he served as proconsul in 177 (against the tribunes' wishes: Livy, 41, 6, 2-3; 10, 5); but note that the Istrian war was in 177 a consular, not a proconsular, *provincia* (9, 1, 8): apparently a reprimand was thus visited on Manlius.

²⁴ This bias has led Münzer (*P.-W.*, s. v. "Manlius," No. 90, 1214 f.) to suggest that there existed three traditional accounts of the Istrian affair of 178: (a) the one favorable to Manlius, of the expedition itself (Livy, 41, 1, 1-4, 8; 5, 12), (b) the one hostile to Manlius, of the aftermath in Italy and in Rome (5, 2-3; 6, 3; 7, 5-10), and (c) one combining both features, in Ennius. As for (c), unless Livy reproduces Ennius, there is no certainty, for the Ennian fragments are too few to permit a reconstruction of his account. But Livy may well represent Ennius: cf. G. Zippel, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus*, 1877, pp. 103 f., and T. Frank, *Cambridge Ancient History*, VIII (1930), p. 328.

the disastrous loss of the camp is laid to the working of mob psychology. The account, while of good annalistic tradition,²⁵ can be discredited in some details because of its over-emphasis on the laudable events (the careful posting of defences for the camp, the heroism of Licinius, the cleverness of Caelius), and because of the point just noted, the failure to mention specific instances of Manlius' mismanagement and the reference of the disaster to mob psychology. It is not impossible, further, to suspect not mere glossing over of detail but even actual suppression of important events.²⁶ If Caelius had been directed to return to camp with wood and fodder, if he delayed longer than ordered, if his absence with his troops weakened the camp and invited the early morning Istrian attack and eased their capture of the camp, one can readily understand Cato's mentioning that detail.²⁷ For Ennius (and for Livy, whose narrative may well derive from Ennius) a pro-Manlian bias would serve to suppress this detail, and that suppression could be made much easier and more effective by emphasizing the clever way in which Caelius hurried back to join Manlius.²⁸

YALE UNIVERSITY.

MALCOLM E. AGNEW.

²⁵ Zippel, *l. c.*; De Sanctis, *l. c.*, n. 87; E. Pais, *Storia di Roma durante le grandi conquiste Mediterranee*, 1931, p. 196, n. 20.

²⁶ Cf. note 23 above, end.

²⁷ Livy makes the third legion a foraging party (41, 1, 7); modern writers usually look on it, partly as that, but primarily as a guard for the line of retreat to Aquileia: cf. B. Benussi, "L'Istria sino ad Augusto," *Archeografo Triestino*, n. s., IX (1882), p. 332; G. Veith, *Die Eroberung Istriens durch die Römer*, Wien, 1908 (= *Strefleura Militärische Zeitschrift*, XLIX [1908], II, Heft 10, pp. 1513-1544); G. Veith in J. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Schlachten-Atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte*, 1922, Röm. Abt., coll. 49-50; De Sanctis, *op. cit.*, p. 431. But when the Gavillii Novelli of Aquileia discovered the capture of the camp (41, 5, 1) and hastened home, they did not meet with the third legion: that was summoned by a special messenger from the consul (3, 5). The assumption that the commander of the third legion delayed his return to Manlius' camp would thus explain the anomaly in the separate camps for the legions.

²⁸ Any difficulty that may be felt in the mention by Cato of one tribune and by Livy of two tribunes in command of the third legion is unreal, for tribunes, like consuls, alternated in command of their legion: Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, I^a, p. 47; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, II^a, p. 363; Lengle, *P.-W.*, s. v. "Tribunus," 2443.

THE ROMAN STAMP OF SENECA'S TRAGEDIES.

I.

The preponderantly unfavorable attitude of critics¹ to the tragedies of Seneca may be explained, at least in part, by the almost inevitable but nevertheless erroneous practice of judging these tragedies by a gauge that is alien to them. The imitation of an action, according to Aristotle,² is expressed by means of "language embellished with rhythm, harmony and song." To recognize an action so presented, let alone to appraise its merit, requires familiarity with the conventions involved. We cannot realize how large a part convention plays in drama until we come upon the drama of other peoples, also highly civilized, such as the Indians or the Chinese, whose drama employs conventions different from ours.

Of our current dramatic forms the one that depends most on a system of conventions is the Opera. The stories, the language, the harmonies make no attempt to achieve realistic verisimilitude, and even the spectacle is calculated to impress by its grandeur rather than to lend an illusion. If we notice that the affinity of Senecan tragedy is with modern opera (even rhetoric is a closer approach to conversation than is singing), we shall have a sounder basis for criticizing it and will be readier to recognize its genuine spiritual contributions.

We have had adequate treatment of the Roman Elements in the Tragedies of Seneca,³ if Roman elements mean on the one hand commonplaces on kingship, on the blessings of a humble life, familiar descriptions, all found in other Roman writers,

¹ Varying critical opinions are reported, with documentation, in H. V. Canter, *Rhetorical Elements in the Tragedies of Seneca*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 10, 1 (1925), pp. 15-20. Much depreciatory modern criticism is due, I am convinced, to the brilliantly derogatory treatment of D. Nisard, *Études . . . sur les poètes latins de la décadence* (Paris, 1834), I, pp. 57-198.

² *Poetics*, 1449 b 3.

³ This is the title of a paper by R. B. Steele, *A. J. P.*, XLIII (1922), pp. 1-32. The opening sentence reads: "The object of this paper is to present some indications of Roman thought, native or naturalized, in Seneca's portrayal of Greek character."

and, on the other, allusions to objects and institutions specifically Roman, such as military triumphs, religious usages, marriage customs. In regard to the second group, such bold anachronisms as *Fescenninus* (*Medea*, 113) and *quiritibus* (*Thyestes*, 396) show that Seneca was not concerned with maintaining even an exterior consistently Greek;⁴ and in regard to the first, conflicting remarks on kingship⁵ show that Seneca was not concerned with promulgating a consistent doctrine on the subject. Professor Steele's description of the tragedies as "political essays in which Seneca assigns to Greek characters his own views in regard to Roman conditions" cannot therefore be adequate. The discovery of parallel expressions in Seneca's predecessors and followers and of contemporary allusions in his own plays demonstrates the Roman character of the plays on the level of lower criticism, so to speak. The higher criticism, in this sense, would concern itself with the broader ideals and attitudes of Senecan tragedy, and primarily with its aim and scope. We may then discover that if Seneca is bad Euripides he may be very good Roman tragedy, and even that Roman tragedy, given the acquired taste that all conventional art requires, may be very good tragedy.

II.

We may assume with Hermann that the tragedies were intended for actual performance.⁶ Even if they were not performed, it is clear that each was written with the conditions of performance in mind throughout, and not, so to speak, as an oratorio.⁷ This makes it imperative to remember that the con-

⁴ Among many other examples mention may be made of allusions to the usages of Roman triumphs, *Troades*, 150 and *Phoenissae*, 578; *aquila*, *vesilla*, *Phoen.*, 390, 400; usages of a Roman marriage, in the epithalamium in *Medea*, 58 ff.

⁵ The principal passage is *Thyestes*, 204-490; cf. also *Phoen.*, 592 ff.

⁶ L. Hermann, *Le Théâtre de Sénèque* (Paris, 1924), pp. 153-196. The conclusion is (p. 195): "... toutes les tragédies de Sénèque, sans exception, étaient destinées par lui à la présentation sur un théâtre public ou privé de ces oeuvres, avec acteurs, chœurs et musique."

⁷ Cf. F. Leo, "De Senecae tragoediis observationes criticae" (*Senecae tragoediae*, Vol. I, Berlin, 1878), p. 82: *Iam si quis contendat ut scaenae traderentur has tragoedias scriptas non esse, ita tamen eas compositas esse concedet ut possint in scaena agi.*

ditions of dramatic presentations in Rome differed *toto caelo* from those that had obtained in Greece. In Greece the drama was (1) a religious performance, (2) played before an audience which was intelligently interested and actually participated in the enterprise, (3) in a theater of the utmost physical simplicity, where natural scenery was allowed to compete with or relieve the spectator from the business in hand. To contrast *seriatim*: (1) Roman drama was for entertainment only, (2) played before an audience temperamentally like a movie audience today, an audience, moreover, that appreciated or pretended appreciation for virtuosity in rhetoric and in the display of assorted learning, and on the other hand was accustomed to horror in its entertainment by the constant presence of gladiatorial combats, (3) in a theater which was itself grandiose and luxurious and had a tradition of lavish and spectacular display. (It has been remarked that the 600 mules used in the presentation of Accius' *Clytemnestra* constituted a very strong company for the Romans.)

From these premises there follow certain consequences. Firstly, there is a pronounced tendency toward melodrama. Characters are white or black, right against wrong, and not one mixture of right and wrong against another mixture of right and wrong, as in Greek tragedy. This is what we should expect in a drama concerned with amusement rather than with edification, played before an audience concerned with intensity rather than with balance. So, to take plays of which the Greek models are generally familiar, Jason's genuine kindliness makes Medea's unrelieved ruthlessness the more shocking. Phaedra makes no effort to stem her passion but is very ready to proclaim it from the first and to yield to it, while Hippolytus is not the objectionable prig he is in Euripides but a rather appealing outdoors young man. He does not commit the sin of scorning Aphrodite; the play is altogether white and black. And so is Atreus an unmitigated villain in the *Thyestes*, and so Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*; and so in greater or less degree, all the plays.

There is melodramatic effect also in such magnificently theatrical scenes as the hiding of Astyanax in Hector's tomb, and the intense, psychologically brilliant battle of wits and emotions between Andromache and Odysseus (*Troades*, 524-813). This is one of the very greatest scenes in all ancient drama and

is suggested by nothing in Euripides' *Hecuba* or *Trojan Women*, which are the manifest sources for Seneca's play. Another highly effective scene, also original with Seneca as far as we can tell, is Hippolytus' angry abandonment of his sword because it had been defiled by Phaedra's touch, and the later use of the sword to effect Theseus' false recognition (*Phaedra*, 714, 896). Another powerful scene is that of Jocasta pleading half successfully with one and the other of her sons as they confront each other in actual battle (443-664). A scene of the highest excellence for psychological interest as well as spectacle is Thyestes driving himself to enjoy his luxurious banquet and being stifled by the heavy atmosphere electric with presage of evil (*Thyestes*, 920-969).

These things happen before the actual eyes of the audience. Other such are brought before their minds' eyes by messengers' speeches filled with pity more heartrending and fear more horrifying than any in the Greek masters. Mention may be made of the immolation of Polyxena and Astyanax (*Troades*, 1056 ff.), of the manner of Hippolytus' death (*Phaedra*, 991 ff.), of Creon's description of his necromancy (*Oedipus*, 530 ff.), of the storm that wrecked the Greek fleet (*Agamemnon*, 421 ff.), of how Atreus slaughtered and boiled and roasted Thyestes' sons (*Thyestes*, 623 ff.).

These speeches illustrate another requirement of the Roman stage: the actors must be given lines that can be declaimed rather than read. There is still a (fortunately diminishing) school of Shakespearean acting which holds to the tradition of tearing a passion to tatters, and there are audiences which have a taste for sound and fury, whether or not they signify nothing. In Seneca the tirades signify something. They are not, as is often said, mere 'bombast'. They are the excess of intensity, a demonstration of passion which provided a genuine spiritual experience in a certain view of life, as I shall try to show below. Today our conventions do not admit such emotional displays, even on the stage. We do not weep, we do not kiss, we do not commiserate others or ourselves with such abandon. But where restraint in such matters is not the code, how else can the presence of passion be conveyed? Even the Prometheus of Aeschylus must cry out: how else can the audience know his anguish? Literary periods and genres, furthermore, have each

its own idiom. The normal idiom of Silver Latin poetry is exaggeration, and it can be very effective if it is not met with resistance. The exaggeration in Seneca, as in Lucan, amuses us only if we fortify ourselves with the critic's detached determination not to be impressed.

Let us look at a single passage of the sort which is usually written down as bombast. In Clytemnestra's first scene with her nurse in the *Agamemnon* she says (131-144):

Maiores cruciant quam ut moras possim pati;
 flammae medullas et cor exurunt meum,
 mixtus dolori subdidit stimulos timor,
 invidia pulsat pectus; hinc animum iugo
 premit cupido turpis et vinci vetat:
 et inter istas mentis obsessae faces,
 fessus quidem et devinctus et pessumdatus,
 pudor rebellat. fluctibus variis agor,
 ut cum hinc profundum ventus, hinc aestus rapit,
 incerta dubitat unda cui cedat malo.
 proinde omisi regimen e manibus meis:
 quocumque me ira, quo dolor, quo spes feret,
 hoc ire pergam; fluctibus dedimus ratem:
 ubi animus errat, optimum est casum sequi.

Certainly this is a wrenching and straining and tormenting of the emotions, but if these plays are intended, as I shall say below, to show significant individuals controlling themselves and their environments by their emotional drives, nothing can be more relevant to the purpose of the play than to make plain the magnitude and the character of the struggle in the heart of Clytemnestra. An impression of bombast or verbosity may be given by the generosity in words and figures, but each is useful, each adds to the intensity and the strain, and intensity and strain are precisely what the poet needs to convey. How could it be done more economically?

Spectacular speeches are only one of Seneca's spectacular effects. The mechanical resources of the Roman stage must certainly have affected its drama. From the Indians and the Chinese as well as from certain modern productions of Shakespeare we have learned that it may be better to trust the imagination of the spectator than to be too explicit in décor. But, if the affinities of the Roman stage are with opera and the movies, we can see that it must make a point of lavish and

explicit display, in the tradition of the 600 mules. So, in the *Agamemnon* Strophius actually appears with a racing chariot to save the infant Orestes and actually races off at a speed which amazes Electra (944-945). There are other such episodic but spectacularly effective bits, and there are many opportunities for incidental display. Phaedra partly disrobed (386 ff.) must have provided spectacular interest on several levels (though it must be said that the plays are quite free of sexual vulgarity). Scenes such as these, incidentally, seem to me convincing arguments that these plays must have been presented. Mechanical contrivances will, I am convinced though I cannot sketch a plan, explain the apparent difficulty of the scene in *Hercules Furens* (991-1038) where Amphitryon gives a running commentary on action part of which must be visible to the audience. They will permit the audience to see and hear Thyestes ill at ease in his new found luxury, with Atreus gloating fiendishly in the background (*Thyestes*, 920-969).

A word must be said of the murders, which Seneca, contrary to Greek practice, presents *coram populo*. But the Greeks were not chary of dead bodies, even mangled ones: witness Pentheus in the *Bacchae* or the four corpses in the *Phoenissae*; nor of painful deaths: witness Hippolytus. They objected to murder on the stage perhaps for religious reasons, as the Croisets⁸ suggest, or simply because of the physical awkwardness of stage murders. If murder seems rather frequent in Seneca it is because his tragedy is primarily concerned with the strong passions of intense individuals, for the display of which nothing is so fertile for agent or victim, in prospect or actuality, as violent death.

Intensification of passion is likewise the object of Seneca's numerous ghosts, as comparison with Greek ghosts will show. In the *Hecuba* the ghost of Polydorus simply discharges the function of a Euripidean prologue by putting the audience in possession of certain necessary data. But in the *Thyestes* the ghost Tantalus is driven in to supplement his own torments and to abet the Furies in their fiendish work (1-121). In the *Agamemnon* Thyestes' ghost is itself essentially the spirit of vengeance. These apparitions, incidentally, by their costuming,

⁸ *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque* (Paris, 1929), III, p. 131.

entrances, and delivery must have given scope for Roman skill and taste for the spectacular.⁹

These instances illustrate the display of theatrical dexterity of a type still familiar. There are in Seneca also displays of knowledge which, like Strophius' chariot, are dramatically episodic, but which are a necessary element in contemporary literary style. A literate public expected to be flattered and to be impressed by learned talk on mythology, astronomy, geography, medicine.¹⁰ These subjects are equally prominent in Lucan, but nowhere as obtrusive as in the *fons et origo* of the fashion, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes. Of certain set descriptions also it may be said that they are deliberate show-pieces,¹¹ even when they fit into the play as admirably as does the description of the plague in the *Oedipus* (37-70) or of the idyllic state of primitive society and its degeneration in the *Phaedra* (483-565). For many other declamations dramatic justification is not so obvious. Nor is it always obvious in the case of the numerous *sententiae*¹² which stud these plays. Always they are smart, often they are brilliant in their concise summation of an attitude; in stichomythia they sometimes degenerate to a clever game (e. g., *Medea*, 159-176). For an appraisal of Seneca only the merits, not the presence, of *sententiae* can come into question, for they are a *sine qua non* of Silver Latin style, and therefore a natural part of Seneca's idiom.

III.

What we have done so far is merely to explain some of the faults in the tragedies of Seneca as being due to Roman standards and practices, and perhaps to show that some things regarded as faults have positive merits. But that is not enough. The heart of a drama is character; plot, dialogue, setting are all really means for expressing character. The subsidiaries are functions

⁹ Cf. the arrangements for Caesar's funeral and their effectiveness: Suetonius, *Julius*, 84.

¹⁰ References would cover every page of the text; I select for mention: mythology, the fates of the Argonauts, *Medea*, 607-669; astronomy, *Thyestes*, 789-874; geography, *Troades*, 815-57; medicine, 1218-34.

¹¹ These are treated fully in Canter, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-84.

¹² Classified and discussed in Canter, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-99.

of the dramatist's skill and ingenuity, his characters are what give him distinction. The sameness in Seneca's characters which critics complain of, their common trait of being permanently at the top pitch of emotional excitement volubly expressed, is, as a matter of fact, just the sort of sameness which meets a foreigner in a strange country. In Seneca's country it may be the custom to wear one's heart outside instead of inside one's clothes and to shriek for attention to it by all contrivances of color and sound and gesture; but that does not mean that the hearts are identical. The contrary would seem to be indicated: the heart is so important a human document that any peculiarity must be remarked. My principal point is that the habit of emotional intensity in itself provides a legitimate dramatic interest. Drama must deal with persons of significant stature; the little man's troubles cannot be dignified into crises to engage general interest. In the early Roman Empire (as in certain other periods of history which, curiously, followed the Senecan pattern in drama) great figures¹⁸ did dramatize themselves and were expected to do so. Their own emotions, their hates and loves, their lusts and ambitions, and, most important, their deaths and the events that might lead to their deaths, are matters of supreme interest. The external world and external institutions, however grand or sacred, are important both for the hero and his observers only as they affect his ego.

Always, of course, *people* are the most interesting things in the human world, and therefore in drama. But in other drama we observe people as they react to institutions: in Seneca institutions are of the same importance for the character as the cut of his clothes or of his hair. Like the Senecan nurses they are foils against which the outlines of the hates or ambitions of the principals may be sharpened for the observer. The cosmic order itself is expected to subserve grand human actions: in the presence of a grand sinner the sun is expected to darken, in

¹⁸ In *Oedipus*, 778 the poet is impelled to explain the fewness of Laius' attendants by having the greater number lost on the road. This reminds one of Sainte-Beuve's comparison of Aeneas shooting seven stags, which he does not himself carry, with Odysseus shooting one, which he himself ties and carries (*Étude sur Virgile*, 1891, p. 243; cited in J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome . . . Golden Age* [London, 1909], p. 459).

the presence of a grand crime, to retreat backward to its rising.¹⁴ Perhaps it was the prevalent Stoic philosophy which directed men's minds to the exploration of their souls; perhaps it was the growing conviction, propagated by Christianity, of the supreme importance of each individual as a son of the Father in Heaven.

Of such influence there is a curious substantiation in certain parallels, probably only fanciful, with events in Scripture. In *Hercules Oetaeus* Philoctetes' report of Hercules' last moments (1618-1757) comes to this: Hercules undergoes a *passion* on a pyre in order to become a savior of mankind; this is to be followed by a *resurrection* and an *apotheosis*; Alcmena *waits at the foot* of the pyre; Hercules speaks to his father in heaven and hears his reply (1725 f.):

Vocat ecce iam me genitor et pandit polos.
venio, pater.

To Theseus, who next after himself was a benefactor of mankind, Hercules says at the end of *Hercules Furens* (1337), *amas nocentes*: a remarkable compliment in the mouth of a pagan.

The implication of the worth of the individual is as characteristic of Seneca as it is alien to his models. The prime consideration in the choice of models seems to have been their aptness for such treatment. One cannot read the messenger's account of the sacrifice of Thyestes' children without thinking of the immolation of Isaac. It is not that little boys were cruelly slaughtered: they were *somebody's* children; and we remember the reiterated "My son" in *Genesis* xxii. It is the same with little Astyanax in the *Troades*; the Euripidean model is heartrending enough, but there we are somehow more angry with war than sorry for Andromache.¹⁵

Aeschylus' Clytemnestra is never introspective, never wavers in her course. Seneca's Clytemnestra is at least momentarily consumed with remorse that is precisely like a Christian sense

¹⁴ E. g., *Medea*, 28-31; *Phaedra*, 674-679; *Agamemnon*, 56. It may be significant that the *Thyestes*, which is the strongest play from my point of view, has the most instances of such cosmic sympathy: 107-122, 776-826, 1077-1080.

¹⁵ It may be worth remarking here that Hippolytus' abandoned sword is curiously like Joseph's abandoned garment; where did Seneca get this particular improvement on Euripides? Also: *Troades*, 697, *misero datur quodcumque, fortunae datur*, is remarkably like *Proverbs* XIX, 18.

of sin (*Agamemnon*, 108 ff.). So does Thyestes freely admit his guilt and his remorse when confronted by the pretended forgiveness of his brother (*Thyestes*, 512 ff.). Not only remorse but another highly individual feeling, a splendid self-sufficiency with contempt for all the world but self is dramatically expressed in these plays. In this same play (885 ff.) Atreus gloats:

Aequalis astris gradior et cunctos super
altum superbo vertice attingens polum. . . .
dimitto superos.

Nothing can lend a greater thrill of glory, bloody but unbowed, than Ajax in the storm (*Agamemnon*, 532-555):

solus invictus malis
luctatur Ajax . . .
"superasse cuncta, pelagus atque ignes iuvat,
vicisse caelum Palladem fulmen mare
non me fugavit bellici terror dei
Phoebea nec me tela pepulerunt gradu."

Lucan has a companion piece equally magnificent in Cato's reply to the renegade Labienus who had advised him to consult the oracle of Hammon in connection with the march through the African desert (IX, 566-584). A national pride in Rome's universal civilized dominion is apparent in such a passage as *terminus omnis motus*, etc. (*Medea*, 369 ff.). Similarly the *Phoenissae* (599-616) gives a list of foreign places suitable for carving into realms.

As in Homer it is expected that heroic characters shall prove their right to heroic portions by *doing*. Medea, Phaedra, Clytemnestra, Deianira have nurses so that their doing shall be emphasized by contrast with their nurses merely talking. Medea is active, aggressive, virile in her hate, Andromache in her mother love, Phaedra in her passion. Lycus' suing for her hand inflames Megara into action in *Hercules Furens*; in Euripides she is only the passive sufferer. Deianira in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* is another sufferer, patient and saintly. In his Introduction to that play Jebb (p. xliii) remarks on the change made by Seneca and its adoption in French dramas on the same theme: "Apart from this, however, the Deianeira of Seneca, considered as a general type, would be more truly congenial to the French stage. It was difficult for the Latin races to imagine a woman, sup-

planted in her husband's love, who did not wish to kill somebody, — her rival, or her husband, or both." But that is oversimplification. To help toward an understanding of the capacity, the intensity, the course of passion, illustrated in significant individuals and writ large perhaps to be more easily understood of the people, is as high a service as a dramatist can render. At periods of release of human powers individual passions come to be emphasized and understanding of them to be especially sought. So it was in the early Roman Empire, and so it was in the Renaissance. The Renaissance welcomed Seneca's tragedies so eagerly not merely because they were the best available but for their own sake; they answered a requirement in the Renaissance temper just as they had answered a requirement in the early Empire.¹⁶ Literature is good as it contributes to understanding. The humanist's concern with man is preëminently with man's mind; there man's fearful and wonderful workmanship requires to be plumbed. Nothing can be as fascinating as the mind's capacity to sink to abysmal depths, to rise to proportionate heights, and to agonize in both processes. The spate of words which describes this agonizing is not mere bombast or attitudinizing. It represents an authentic craving to increase understanding of life, and so to make humanity more adequate to it. It is to be remarked that the theme of death as a horrid inevitability, as a disgusting dissolution, as the supreme trial which is to be met with heroic fortitude, as, in a word, the touchstone of character, runs through all the plays; and in all the plays there are references to the state after life. That is because as the supreme crisis death determines the weight and meaning of life, and ennobles and illuminates the passions that revolve about it. If to philosophize is to learn to die, then these tragedies are philosophy not for their scattered Stoic commonplaces but in their entire concept.

Absurd excess in rhetoric and a preoccupation with horror that approaches ghoulishness are, aside from questions of plot and character, the charges pressed most persistently against Seneca; and his particular crime is that he is responsible for the

¹⁶ This point is made in a thoughtful study by Otto Regenbogen, "Schmerz und Tod in den Tragödien Senecas," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1927-1928 (Berlin, 1930), pp. 167-218.

Elizabethan so-called Tragedy of Blood, which sins in these two respects. Here we are fortunate in having the opinion of a scholarly modern poet who is austere, penetrating, spiritual. Mr. T. S. Eliot has written the Introduction to the Elizabethan translation of Seneca in the Tudor series.¹⁷ Mr. Eliot is very far from being a Seneca enthusiast, but he makes three points of an ascending scale of interest for us. (1) The Tragedy of Blood is far gorier than can even be imagined for Seneca and wantonly so (e. g., *Titus Andronicus*), whereas Seneca's use of the revolting is restrained and dramatic; Seneca had nothing to do with this aberration and is superior to it (pp. xxii-xxx). (2) Elizabethan bombast *can* be traced to Seneca. "Certainly it is all 'rhetorical,' but if it had not been rhetorical would it have been anything? . . . Without bombast we should not have had King Lear. The art of dramatic language, we must remember, is as near to oratory as to ordinary speech or to other poetry. On the stage, M. Jean Cocteau reminds us, we must weave a pattern of coarse rope that can be apprehended from the back of the pit, not a pattern of lace that can only be apprehended from the printed page" (p. xxxvii). (3) ". . . when an Elizabethan hero or villain dies, he usually dies in the odour of Seneca. . . . Dante had behind him an Aquinas, and Shakespeare behind him a Seneca." And against a contrary opinion in F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 122, "I am not here concerned with Shakespeare's 'borrowings' (where I am inclined to agree) but with Shakespeare the voice of his time, and this voice in poetry is in the most serious matters of life and death, most often the voice of Seneca" (pp. xliii f.).

MOSES HADAS.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

¹⁷ *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies Translated into English*, edited by Thomas Newton, London and New York, 1927.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AT ATHENS IN THE EARLY FIFTH CENTURY.

In the fourth and fifth volumes of *The Cambridge Ancient History* Walker and Munro ably present the development of internal affairs at Athens during the first decades of the fifth century. It seems to me, however, that their evidence may in part be read differently; and since their account is recent and full, it will be most convenient to use it as a basis for a new interpretation.

It is necessary at the outset to identify the pro-Persian faction at Athens, if we are to understand correctly the alignment of groups and individuals in the nineties. The vote on aid to the Asiatic Greeks at the time of the Ionian Revolt affords us the opportunity of analysis. By the end of the sixth century Athens had, of course, grave fears concerning Persia, for she had lost Sigeum to the Persians, and now the exiled tyrant Hippias was in Sigeum plotting a Persian invasion of Greece. In 498 B. C. Aristagoras came to Athens on behalf of the Ionian Revolt, and after considerable debate the Athenians decided to send twenty ships, only to recall them after the first reverse. The parties, says Walker (IV, p. 168), were nicely balanced, one side being strong enough to vote aid to the Revolt, though kept down to twenty ships, and then the other party to recall the ships after the first defeat. On the Ionian question, the *fundamentum divisionis*, the parties lined up as follows, according to Walker: The Peisistratid faction naturally voted against aid, but since it was so small, there was a coalition with the Alcmaeonidae. This is an extraordinary statement, for the triumph of Persia, first in Ionia and then in Greece, would mean the end of the Alcmaeonidae. There was not room in Athens for them and Hippias. Let us remember, too, that the supporters of the Alcmaeonidae included not only the city population, many of whom had connections with Ionia, if they were not actually from there, but also the people of the Hills, former supporters of tyranny, but devoted to the Alcmaeonidae ever since Cleisthenes had restored to them the land taken by Isagoras. Besides, since aid was in the first instance voted and since the Alcmaeonidae were the leading group at Athens, it is sensible to think of them as de-

termining the vote. But this leaves us the aristocrats as the pro-Persian faction, and Walker says (IV, p. 169) that these, the party of Isagoras, the old allies of Sparta and the bitter enemies of the Peisistratidae and Alcmaeonidae, were anti-Persian. The fact is, however, that the king of Sparta, Cleomenes, had once suggested the restoration of Hippias, and a reconciliation between Hippias and the aristocrats would now be natural. Where else in Athens might Hippias find supporters—surely not among the democratic masses? And who but the tyrants were left to help the aristocrats in their struggle against Cleisthenes and democracy? There was plenty of room in Athens for Hippias and the nobles, many of whom, indeed, had prospered under the Peisistratidae. The small number of boats sent to Persia represented probably not so much a slim factional victory as the Greek habit of caution. The Athenians were not anxious to invite trouble with Persia, and yet would be happy to be on the winning side. After the first defeat it was common sense to withdraw.

Miletus was destroyed in 494 B. C. and soon afterward the Persians began their preparations for an invasion of northern Greece. During this crisis Themistocles was elected archon for the year 493-492 B. C. A *novus homo*, Themistocles drew his support from the trading and industrial classes, the same group, as Walker correctly states, that had supported Cleisthenes. But Walker must be wrong (IV, p. 170) in suggesting that Cleisthenes' Medizing had cost his party the support of the city population. It does not take much argument to show that the masses, once started on the road of radicalism, will quickly abandon their old leader in favor of a new and more radical one. The return of Miltiades at this moment greatly complicated the political situation at Athens. Walker summarizes his position thus (IV, p. 265): As previously stated (IV, pp. 138, 170 f.), there were four political parties at Athens at the time of Marathon, and more than once two of these parties, the Alcmaeonidae and tyrannists, acted together, while the aristocrats under Miltiades "made common cause with the radical party under Themistocles on all questions of foreign policy." This gives us the union of two sets of natural enemies and assumes that the Athenians could isolate foreign policy from domestic. In any case, Miltiades was now tried, or charged, with tyranny, and was

acquitted. How did the Alcmaeonidae, Themistocles, and Miltiades line up in this famous case? Miltiades was a noble, of the great Philaid clan, familiar with Persian military tactics, but now Persia's enemy on account of his support of the Ionian Revolt. If we are correct in saying that the Alcmaeonidae were not pro-Persian, then Walker is wrong (IV, p. 171) in connecting foreign policy with the trial,¹ for the three actors in the drama were all anti-Persian. The struggle was a domestic one and, as we shall see, the various appeals were addressed to the masses, the aristocrats being ignored.

Munro pictures (IV, p. 230) Miltiades returning at the time of crisis, an aristocrat and kinsman of Isagoras (the rival of Cleisthenes), just the man desired by the Opposition (the aristocrats). His rank and connection approved him to the nobility, while the merchants and artists (from Ionia) liked his imperialism. This gives us curious bed-fellows, impossible ones, if we are right in saying that the aristocrats were pro-Persian. We then come to the statement that Miltiades was acclaimed the champion of the malcontents against the government and was elected general. But Themistocles was the "government," and as anti-Persian as Miltiades, whereas the point of *The Cambridge Ancient History* is that this struggle revolved around foreign policy, the one field in which the aristocrats under Miltiades and the radicals under Themistocles "made common cause." We must follow Munro's argument further. No war against Persia, he says (IV, p. 231), was possible without Spartan aid, and the Alcmaeonidae, knowing that Sparta would demand their expulsion and the repeal of the constitution, decided it was better to "come to terms with Hippias, restore the monarchy, and by sacrifice of the form preserve the substance of democracy." It is hard to believe that the Alcmaeonidae could have thought that; besides, it was perfectly possible for the Alcmaeonidae to be both anti-Spartan and anti-Persian.

The picture becomes clear and reasonable as soon as we regard the struggle as primarily domestic, with Themistocles at the center. Miltiades, a noble and enemy of Persia, returned home at the moment when Themistocles and the Alcmaeonidae were at the height of their strife. Anxious for power himself,

¹ During the Persian crisis, that is, Themistocles came to the rescue of Miltiades.

Miltiades would hardly be expected to align himself with the rival Alcmaeonid clan, whereas in the radical Themistocles he found just the ally he wanted. Themistocles, a *novus homo*, was glad to be associated with a name. He was not going out of his way, during his archonship, to save the leader of the aristocrats for the sake of collaboration on foreign policy. Together, these two enemies of Persia, one a democrat and the other a noble turned democrat, might destroy the Alcmaeonidae. The Alcmaeonidae, for their part, feared Themistocles more than Miltiades, who was still something of an unknown quantity, but decided that the best way to strike at the great radical was through his new ally. The three leaders appealed for support to the same group, the city masses. The people, thinking perhaps that coöperation with Sparta would be easier with the Alcmaeonidae gone, chose the radicalism of Themistocles and the name of Miltiades. This reconstruction, which makes subsequent events easier to understand, involves no contradiction and, among other things, does not make Miltiades the leader of the aristocrats who, as has been argued above, were pro-Persian. Furthermore, it avoids an unnatural alliance between aristocrats and city masses and the even more unnatural alliance between Alcmaeonidae and tyrannists. Foreign crises might come and go, but the struggle for power at Athens seemed destined to be fought out within the various factions of the masses.

The victory of Themistocles meant neither the permanent ascendancy of himself, which would be almost impossible in Greece, nor the disappearance, politically, of the aristocrats. We can see, however, as we look back on later events, that only those leaders could hope for success who governed, nominally at least, in the interest of the masses. As a matter of fact, the rest of the story can be briefly told, for only a few questions need be discussed in order to make clear the general development. The essential point is that we must find the connecting link between the two great constitutional changes in the period from Marathon to Pericles, the attacks on the archonship in 487-486 B. C. and on the Areopagus in 462-461 B. C. Once we see the connection, we shall have the key to an understanding of the development of the undiluted democracy, even though wise leadership might keep the new democracy temporarily in check.

Miltiades' unsuccessful expedition to Paros after Marathon

resulted in his conviction. For the moment, at least, the Alcmaeonidae were in the ascendant, and one of their number, Aristides, was elected archon in 489 B. C. His election and the conviction of Miltiades were not, however, signs of the triumph of the treacherous Alcmaeonidae,² for we have simply the results of normal factional strife. As Walker points out (IV, p. 266), Themistocles struck back, ostracizing his opponents, Hipparchus (487 B. C.), Megacles (486 B. C.), Xanthippus (484 B. C.), and Aristides (482 B. C.). And in the year 487-486 B. C. he caused the archonship to be thrown open to the lot, thus making possible "One Man Power." This is, indeed, a partial explanation of the attack on the archonship, though Walker immediately leaves the point and suggests that Themistocles' election to the new office of *strategos autocrator* in 480 B. C. marked his final triumph over Aristides and involved "a question of momentous importance for Athens and for Greece": namely, the creation of a navy.

We must return to Walker's description of the constitutional changes between Cleisthenes and the invasion of Xerxes (IV, pp. 154 f.) to understand his point of view. The most important fact about the creation of the *strategia* in 501 B. C. was that it "gave the opportunity for one-man power in the democratic constitution." This opportunity, however, would never have come, had not the archonship been thrown open to the lot. The lot's "application to that which had hitherto been the chief office in the state marks a very definite stage in the growth of the democracy. All our ancient authorities are agreed in regarding sortition as a democratic device for equalizing the chances of rich and poor. . . . The application of the lot to the archonship in 487 B. C. affords conclusive evidence that by that time the office had lost its importance." Certainly this marked a definite stage in the growth of the democracy, but for other reasons. The answer to our question is to be found in the driving ambition of Themistocles, whose radicalism and Persian policy had wide appeal. This would be of little help to him, however, no matter how many enemies he might ostracize, since he was ineligible for reelection to the archonship. To destroy

² A refutation of the theory that the Alcmaeonidae were traitors at Marathon may be found in H. G. Hudson's article, "The Shield Signal at Marathon," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XLII (1937), pp. 443 f.

one office and substitute another in its place is not easy and probably not possible unless the soil is already fertile. The archonship had not lost its importance by 487 B. C., nor were the Athenians motivated by a desire to leave elections to the gods. But the Athenians were ready to make an attack on two institutions which had long been associated with aristocracy. By applying sortition to the archonship, the people changed immediately the character of a great office and indirectly that of the Areopagus as well, since that Council was made up of ex-archons. The attack, however, was not as direct as one might suspect. Walker is careful (IV, p. 156) to call attention to the safeguard known as *procrisis*, whereby the nine archons were chosen by lot from 500 names previously selected by the demes. He should have added that these 500 names were limited to the two top census classes. The city masses, led by Themistocles, had dared to attack two ancient institutions. How long would it be before they abolished them?

The final Persian invasion occupied men's minds in 480 and 479 B. C. For the next years the success of Cimon, a liberal conservative, held in check the radical forces. But the opposition was waiting and in 462 B. C. felt strong enough to attack him on a charge of bribery. The leader of the democrats was Ephialtes, who believed in a further democratization of the constitution and in a break with Sparta. He was aided by Pericles, whose mother's uncle had been the great Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes. Cimon won, but when a little later he was dismissed from Ithome, the pro-Spartan policy of Athens collapsed, the aristocrats were discredited, and Cimon was ostracized (461 B. C.): The attack begun in 487-486 B. C. upon the strongholds of aristocracy at Athens was now resumed with vigor. Prosecutions of individual members of the Areopagus were followed by a reform of the Council, which deprived it of all its powers except those relating to homicide. Indeed, even the archonship was stripped of all trace of aristocratic influence, for in 457-456 B. C. it was thrown open to the *zeugitae*, and shortly afterward the preliminary selection of candidates was made by lot. The people of Athens were supreme, though Pericles might keep them in check. The aristocrats, under Thucydides son of Melesias, had to content themselves with nibbling at Pericles' imperial policy.

NOTES ON LUCRETIUS.

I. Ancient quotations of the *De Rerum Natura*.

Ancient quotations of Lucretius in the Grammarians and the Church Fathers have often been used to restore corrupt passages in his work as it has come down to us in the manuscripts O and Q, though Hermann Diels in his edition of 1923 was the first since Lachmann in 1882 to make full use of them. Take, for instance, the question of the order of certain lines. In book VI Giussani, Munro, Merrill, Bailey, and Diels shift the order of lines 1174-1180 to agree with the arrangement first suggested by Nangerius, and yet Diels alone notes that this order is at least partly confirmed by Macrobius' quotation (*Sat.*, VI, 2, 13) of 1179 immediately after 1177. A similar instance, though noted by Lachmann many years ago,¹ has been overlooked by Diels, and likewise by Martin in the Teubner text published 11 years later in 1934. Modern editors agree in rearranging Lucretius VI, 929-935 in the order 929, 934, 935, 930-933 to match the sequence in which they run in IV, 223-229. In so doing they are confirmed by ancient evidence, for Priscian (*Gr. L.*, II, 444, 14) quotes lines 929 and 934 in juxtaposition with the comment "Lucretius in VI." It is clear, therefore, that he had this passage in mind and not the earlier one in book IV.

II. "Lucretian" fragments.

Carlo Pascal in his article "Carmi Perduti di Lucrezio"² accepts as probably Lucretian nearly all of the fragments that the Grammarians have attributed to him and likewise many passages to which no name has been attached, as for example certain parts of Isidorus' writings. It is striking, however, that Isidorus often echoes Servius rather than Lucretius in his discussions of natural phenomena. For example, in explaining the origin of fire from friction³ Isidorus repeats as his own several

¹ In *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libris Commentarius*, ed. 4, p. 403.

² *Riv. di Filol.*, XXXIV (1906), pp. 257-268.

³ *Etym.*, XIII, 9, 1.

lines taken word for word from Servius' treatment of the same topic in his comments on Vergil's *Aeneid*, I, 743. From the same Servian passage Isidorus⁴ adopts a theory of the origin of rain without troubling to express it in his own words. Again in quoting Lucretius I, 314 Isidorus sides with Servius against the testimony of O and the corrector of Q.⁵ If further proof be needed that Isidorus acquired much of his Lucretius second-hand from Servius there is his quotation (one of the few that Diels overlooks, but noted in the later Teubner text) of Lucretius I, 715.⁶ Here he uses the verb "nascuntur" instead of "procrecere," in a passage that demands an infinitive rather than an indicative, though in the single line "nascuntur" makes perfectly good sense. Servius⁷ had twice made the same mistake in quoting the line, and used the same word, "nascuntur."

In commenting on these fragments editors usually pass on to Lucilius any line that they cannot accept as Lucretian. The fact that so little of this author's work has come down to us and still more the resemblance in the two poets' names makes this somewhat plausible. It is not impossible, though, that some of these doubtful "Lucretian" phrases may be remnants of lost poems of Lucan, such as that on Orpheus. In his case, too, the first three letters of the name are identical with that of Lucretius. Moreover, the key words of three of the fragments (nos. 5, 7, and 4 in Diels' edition) *torpor*, *panacea*, and the verb *oblino* occur in Lucan's extant work⁸ and may have been used elsewhere. By far the strongest argument for such a confusion is the queer mistake that Servius makes in a note on Vergil's *Georg.*, I, 139 on the declension of *viscus*:

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 10, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XX, 14, 1; cf. Serv., *ad Georg.*, I, 46.

⁶ *Etym.*, XIII, 10, 4.

⁷ *Ad Aen.*, I, 123; *ad Ecl.*, VI, 31.

⁸ Frag. no. 5 from Nonius, 339 L, is "*tantus conduserat omnia torpor*"; cf. Lucan, IV, 290:

alligat atque animum *subducto* robore *torpor*,

and Lucan, VII, 466:

nec libuit mutare locum; tamen *omnia torpor*
pectore constrinxit, gelidusque in viscera sanguis,

and note also that here he very nearly repeats his own "*viscere sanguis*" of III, 658. *Oblino* is used by Lucan in VI, 364 and *panacea* in IX, 918.

. . . et si de carne loquebatur, 'viscere' debuit dicere: Lucretius 'permixtus viscere sanguis,' item ipse 'viscus gigni sanguenque creare.'

The second of the two examples is I, 837. But one may look in vain for the other in Lucretius, since it is actually line 658 of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, book III. If Servius could make such a slip here, perhaps because of an abbreviation in his own notes, he and others might have done so elsewhere.

III. Lucretius VI, 839 ff.

Since Lachmann⁹ editors have agreed upon a lacuna of 52 lines (a whole leaf of the archetype) following line 839 in book VI. Certainly the line

frigidior porro in puteis aestate fit umor

follows most illogically upon the heels of the discussion of the Avernian Lake and the region fatal to birds. As proof that we have here a lacuna scholars have quoted Servius, *ad Georg.*, IV, 51,¹⁰ claiming that he implies a fuller discussion of temperature than has come down to us in the Lucretian passage. Actually, Servius only states that Lucretius was accepting the beliefs of the *physici* when he gives an explanation of the well that is cold in summer and warm in winter. In any case, Lachmann himself noted that Servius sometimes confuses the statements of commentators on Lucretius with the poet's own opinions,¹¹ so that the passage is no strong proof that we are confronted with a lacuna following line 839. Besides if one adds 52 lines to a discussion of temperature already comprising 69 lines (counting red letter titles) the passage becomes disproportionately long in comparison with the space allotted to any other phenomenon in book VI, always excepting the mighty electrical storms to which the poet devotes a quarter of the book. Indeed, it seems possible to consider that the illogicality of the passage is due rather to a

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 398 f.

¹⁰ . . . secundum physicos, qui dicunt quo tempore hic hiems est aestatem esse sub terris, et versa vice cum hic aestas, illic hiemem. quod etiam Lucretius <VI, 840> exsequitur, et trahit in argumentum putealem aquam, quae aestate frigidissima est, hieme vero tepidior.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 341 f.

transposition than to an actual loss of lines, since lines 840-847 might follow quite suitably after line 878 as another instance of the rarefaction of the earth by heat and its condensation when cold. From a discussion of why the water is colder in the daytime than at night the poet might logically pass with a "porro" to a discussion of why it is also colder in summer than in winter, and the *frigidus* of 873 would lead on to the *frigidior* six lines later, while the passage beginning in similar fashion just eight lines beyond (line 879)

frigidus est etiam fons, supra quem sita saepe

follows along naturally as the second main division of the subject which is introduced by line 848

esse apud Hammonis fanum fons luce diurna.

We have here, indeed, the opening line of the whole discussion. It sounds very like the beginning of a thought paragraph, and to proceed thus from a description of the Avernian places (or lakes as the poet calls them in line 738) to one of fountains seems not too abrupt in a book, such as VI, composed of rather heterogeneous material.

Is such a transposition possible on paleographical grounds? We must suppose that an early copyist substituted a group of lines beginning *frigidus est etiam* for one beginning *frigidior porro* and that although the lines were later inserted elsewhere, with perhaps a mark to indicate their true position, the scribe who in turn copied this manuscript inserted them wrongly in the position in which they were found in the codex that is the parent of O and Q. The fact that between lines 840 and 880 no less than 4 lines begin with the syllables *frigid* (lines 840, 849, 873, 879) and one with a similar *frigore* (line 845) might easily have led to the confusion that makes such a transposition possible.

The suggested arrangement appears not only possible but probable when one sets down the key lines, those beginning with the syllables *frigid* in this order, adding to them the line that introduces the subject:

848 *Esse apud Hammonis fanum fons luce diurna*
849 *frigidus et calidus nocturno tempore fertur.*

873 frigidus hanc ob rem fit fons in luce diurna

840 frigidior porro in puteis aestate fit umor

879 frigidus est etiam fons supra quem sita saepe

Here we have Lucretius' whole argument in skeleton form, reasonable both in sequence of thought and in the use of connectives. Any other order of lines completely upsets the logicity of the structure.

ANNIE LEIGH BROUGHTON.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

ON AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS xxi, 2, 4 AND xxvi, 5, 2.

In *A. J. P.*, LVIII (1937), p. 395 I said that the rejected manuscript reading *pridie*, with the meaning of *pridem*, is probably sound in Ammianus Marcellinus xxi, 2, 4 and xxvi, 5, 2, but that, although I suspected there were other examples of *pridie* so used, I was unable to produce one. I had forgotten *Paneg. Lat.*, IV, 30 *perstringi haec satis est, quod etiam pridie prolixius mihi dicta sunt* and XII, 8 *sed enim aerumnosa illa etiam pridie media aetate nostra civili sanguine maculata Verona*. W. A. Baehrens, *Paneg. Latinorum Editionis Novae Praefatio* (Groningen, 1910), p. 74 quotes Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.*, I, 16, 3 *fasciculum herbarum quem collectum pridie attingere non audebat, obiecit*; II, 11, 4 *et iam pridie imperator ex eorum sententia decreverat*; 15, 2 *Briccio furibundus irrupit: ibi plenus insaniae evomit in Martinum mille convicia; obiurgatus enim pridie ab eo fuerat*. Halm should not have omitted this use of *pridie* from the *Index verborum et locutionum* of his edition of Sulpicius Severus.

G. B. A. FLETCHER.

KING'S COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM,
 NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

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Bari, Laterza e figli (Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna), 1937.
Pp. 269.

The Nietzschean title attached to these, in the main reprinted, papers must not be taken too exactly; neither Sophocles nor Euripides is quite an "Apollonian" poet in Nietzsche's sense, and that his meaning is intended seems clear on p. 103. The essays are on the *Trachiniae*, on the *Oedipus at Colonus* (with a translation of the scene between Oedipus and Polynices), on the Modernity of Euripides, and on Human and Roman Elements in Horace. At the end are three studies on Horace and his Greek originals.

Bignone's translations of the *Trachiniae* and the *Coloneus* have been successfully produced in the Greek theatre at Syracuse, and what he here says in defense of the tragic power of these plays gains legitimate force from his observation of actual spectators. The essays on both plays abound in good remarks on the value of various arrangements. Thus the necessity of Iole's silence in the *Trachiniae* is demonstrated; anything she could have said would have ruined the effect, yet she had to be present. The intentional contrast between the two chief characters is dwelt on; it is right that Heracles should go to his death without a kind word for Deianeira, since "to wish Heracles to deviate from his dramatic line and intersect that of Deianeira would be an artistic error." And a main virtue of both essays is to show how much Sophocles relied on contrast in producing his effects. The *Trachiniae* as a whole is interpreted as a tragedy of character, the *Coloneus* as a drama of religious and political meaning that by a progression of contrast and crescendo secures the effect of religious catharsis.

So long as Bignone keeps his eye on the plays, reporting what he finds, he is a profitable guide; but when at the end of each essay, and very elaborately in the second, he goes beyond the plays in hand and attempts to account in general for the typical Sophoclean effect, we must part from him. The effect, he says (p. 93), is "essenzialmente conchiusa nella magnanimità dei suoi eroi." His position is perhaps made clear in the following sentences (p. 56):

The *Trachiniae* is above all not the tragedy of Deianeira and Heracles, but, in the sorrow of Deianeira and Heracles, the tragedy of human destiny. A destiny not felt with Oriental fatalism that prostrates and nullifies the will, but with that Greek sense of drama that cannot conceive of heroism save in the spirited struggle of the will against Fate.

A destiny that watches, infallible, in the skies, but that operates on earth, before us, on the stage, in the hearts and in the strong and active wills and passions of men. Everything must yield to it, but only the active force of man can mold it and molding it mold the image of his moral grandeur. . . . The tragedy of destiny is thus the tragedy of human greatness. . . . Only the love of Antigone could create the heroic destiny of her death; if, like the mild Ismene, she had submitted, her life would have remained for ever in the shade, resigned.

What seems evident here, and indeed throughout the two essays, is that Bignone has too readily surrendered himself to a sympathy for the characters. They have to think that theirs is the only right course, and Bignone joins them. He is able to do so because he thinks that the forcible, the heroic, and the magnanimous were, of themselves alone, the ideal of Sophocles as they seem to be his own ideal. What we know of Sophocles is against this. No good comes of suppressing the fact that these persons are in a highly emotional state which, though it enhances their heroism, keeps them from acting with perfect prudence. It is not necessary to be an Antigone in order not to be an Ismene. Magnanimity and prudence can reside in the same man, as the figure of Theseus in the *Coloneus* shows in pointed contrast with the passionate Oedipus. Bignone dismisses the concept of tragic flaw (p. 99) apparently under the impression that it means criminal or ritual guilt. Of course Oedipus' crimes are "not willed" (p. 97); the matter is subtler than that—responsibility does not end with good intentions. The *Antigone*, again, is not a struggle of the will against fate, but a struggle of the will of Antigone against the will of Creon. The pity of the outcome is that it is not inevitable, save in the human sense that Antigone and Creon "could not be" other than themselves. If this is what Bignone means by destiny, he is improperly playing on the word. The characters are responsible for their catastrophes, but do not deserve them. And Sophocles portrays this situation in a spirit of religious awe. He neither aims to justify the universe to man nor, in Bignone's spirit, to justify man against the universe. Probably he would think either attempt presumptuous. A certain modern temper finds it hard to conceive that such a spirit of reverence was ever sincere.

The nobility of Sophocles' persons, the catastrophe more terrible than they deserve, but also their passionate blindness—these remain the principal elements of the effect, and it is by his mode of balancing them that the poet creates the effect peculiar to him. The critic who suppresses one of them and urges forward *l'eroico* and *il destino*, with no word of *αἰδώς*, seems to echo the sounds of modern Italy more than the melody of Sophocles.

The third essay, on Euripides, contains a good analysis of the difference between Euripides and Aeschylus in their outlook on various matters, such as Aeschylus' confidence in action and

Euripides' confidence in thought, their views on nature and religion, their treatment of character, and the like. Studies of this kind, emphasizing the shift in values in an age that was marked by change, are always welcome.

The best essay in the volume is the last, on Horace. The poet is looked at from his Greek, Roman, and Italian sides. His relation to his Greek models is treated as "a loving conquest of Greek art" in the form and substance of poetry. Another point that is well developed is the presence in Horace of the Roman "expectation of eternity": "One feels that the poetry of Pindar was created in the joy of the instant, . . . without ambition of that eternal that becomes concrete in the sublime[?] perpetuity of history¹ and in the progressive continuity of civilization, of which Greece, great creator as she was of civilization and beauty, had no hope nor concept. For unlike Israel and Rome, Greece did not believe in the eternity of her own mission" (p. 175). Similarly (p. 214): "No Greek poet . . . had ever royally taken possession in art of the ideal of his race" as Virgil and Horace took possession of the Roman ideal.

Editors of Horace will need to take account of the suggestions made in the brief studies with which the volume ends. The first seeks to derive *Carm.*, 3, 19 from three successive *scolia* in *P. Oxyr.*, 15, 1795. The resemblance is too faint to prove borrowing on the part of Horace, but Bignone's arguments have substantial value in bringing Horace's poem within the circle of ideas in which it was doubtless written. His reference of *Sat.*, 2, 6, 14 ff. to *P. Oxyr.*, 17, 2079 is more probable. In the second study, following a hint of Heinze, he is able to point out details in *Epist.*, 1, 1 that bring this introductory poem into relation with the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle. Finally it is adequately shown that *concordia discors* in *Epist.*, 1, 12, 19 refers to Heraclitus and not, as has regularly been said, to Empedocles.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

JAMES HUTTON.

The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri Ezekiel. Edited by ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON, HENRY SNYDER GHEMAN, EDMUND HARRIS KASE. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1938. Pp. xii + 181; 43 plates. \$10.00.

It was an exceedingly valuable acquisition that Mr. John H. Scheide made when he bought 21 papyri leaves during his stay

¹ "Nella magnanima perpetuità della storia." Bignone seems to have a tendency to let words run away with him; in these essays the word is *magnanimità* used in season and out; in his *Teocrito* it was *tonalità* (cf. *A. J. P.*, LVII [1936], p. 358).

in Egypt in the winter of 1935-36. For they contained the Greek text of Ezekiel 19:12-39:29 and were a part of the notable collection of the Beatty Chester papyri which among others contained the Greek text of Ezekiel 11:25-17:21 in somewhat fragmentary form. The leaves of the Scheide papyri are all numbered on both sides, beginning with p. 39 and extending to p. 90. Unfortunately, pp. 41, 42, 57, 58, 65, 66, 75-78 and all pages after p. 90 are missing. We can only hope that they will turn up later. The codex contained besides Ezekiel also Daniel, Susanna and Bel, and Esther. Due to the numbering of the pages in the MS itself the extent of the codex can be reconstructed with "reasonable accuracy." Of the 21 leaves, 19 are in almost perfect condition, 2 are badly damaged. The text is in clear, careful, easily legible uncials. It is reproduced in somewhat reduced size on 42 fine plates, and a full-sized specimen is given on plate 43.

The transcription and edition of the text, with a careful collation with codices BAQ and with the lacunae filled out in brackets from codex B, were made by Professor Johnson in a model fashion. He is also responsible for the Introduction, and the sections on the Date, the Description, the Punctuation, and the Relation to other uncial texts, all of which are done most admirably.

Professor Gehman has contributed extended careful *observationes criticae* in which all variations are discussed in detail. Besides, he has composed the sections on the Relations to the Hebrew, Syro-Hexaplar and Greek texts, in which the minute observations are summarized and placed in larger perspective.

Professor Kase is responsible for the parts on the Relation to the Old Latin, the Use of the *nomen sacrum*, and the translator(s) of Ezekiel.

The great value of these texts is already well known, because they are part of the same codex as the Beatty Chester Papyri. It lies in the early date of the MS which goes back to the third century, if not indeed to the latter part of the second; it is therefore at least a century older than codex B. The text has, of course, the usual scribal mistakes due to haplography, dittography, homoeoteleuton, and confusion of letters. It has also a number of variant readings or doublets, e. g., in 21:24(30); 23:29; 27:8 which shows that it also is a mixed text. It has, moreover, some additions "which have no warrant either in our present Hebrew text or in any other Greek MS" in 38:21 and 39:41 (p. 13).

We find some better readings in the Scheide text than in BAQ, e. g., *λημφθηναι* 21:23(28); *εθνον* 20:40; but also some inferior ones, e. g., *Ιδουμαι[αν]* for *Ιουδαιαν* 21:20(25); *χειρα* *και* for *χαρακα* 21:22(27); *ομοια* for *ετοιμη* 21:11(16); *απολεισθε*

for αλωσεσθε 21:24(29); it omits εν καιρῳ in 21:25(30) and Φαραω in 32:2, etc. In 23:25 it has an interesting conflation.

By all means the most important contribution of the Scheide papyri to the textual history of the LXX is "the use of the single κς in designating the *nomen sacrum* where the other uncials more closely represent the present Massoretic text by a doublet of some form or other" (p. 19). That makes this text of singular significance, for it proves that the LXX had originally only the single κυριος and this in turn shows that the original Hebrew had only JHVH, cf. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, 3d edition. Professor Kase has shown, to my mind convincingly, that the Scheide text, in all probability, had the single κς originally in chapters 40-48 also, which are now missing.

Aside from this exceedingly significant help the Scheide text does not take us further in our attempt at reconstruction of the original Hebrew text of Ezekiel. It is true, it agrees in some minor matters with Hebrew manuscripts over against the Massoretic text, e. g., with two in 2:41 reading šām for bām; with two in 22:2 omitting w^eattāh; with many in 38:14 omitting h^elō'; and with many in 39:4 adding rabbīm. But these are of no serious consequence.

In 28:16 its mutilated transliteration το χειρὺς το σεχ shows that the original LXX had το χειρὺς το σεχεχ (σοχεχ), of which the final syllable εχ was omitted by haplography. All other Greek MSS omit it, except Q, which translates the transliterated το σεχεχ by το συσκιαζον. The Old Latin had already found the mutilated Greek text and reproduced it: *cherubin sech*. Of course, nobody had doubted the originality of the Hebrew, but for the LXX this witness is important.

In 36:8 the Scheide text alone of all Greek texts did not yet have the variant επιζουσιν but still had the correct original reading εγγιζουσι. However, the variant reading was so evidently merely a scribal error that it had been recognized as such long ago and Rahlfs had adopted it as the original reading in his text before the Scheide text was known. That the other Greek texts preferred it to the correct one is quite intelligible, for it makes excellent sense. The original had, "they are at hand to come home," while the inferior variant read, "they hope to come home."

In 27:16 the Scheide text has a doublet και εκ θαρσεως + ασοβ (corrupted from αβος). ΘΑΡCIC and ΘΑBOC are Greek, not Hebrew variants. The translator connected BOC with the last syllable of the preceding Hebrew word rkmh, reading it however mth instead of mh and regarding the m as the preposition min — from, and thus translated and transliterated εκ αβος.

In regard to the lacuna in 20:6 it may perhaps be suggested

that it contained very likely *ην αντελαβομην τη χειρι μου*, the *μου* going on the next line where there is enough space for it. This is a repetition of v. 5. For a similar repetition cf. 21:30(35). Codex A expresses the same well-suited meaning by *ωμοσα*, which however is corrupted from *ητοιμασα* (B), a free but neither improbable nor poor rendering of the Hebrew *tarti!* Just before this part of the lacuna the suggested *χωραν* is altogether unlikely because the Greek translator of Ezekiel does not use *χωρα* for the singular of the Hebrew *'āres*, except once only in 21:19(24), although it occurs frequently in the book. We shall hardly be wrong in reading *γην* here also, with all the other texts.

When we realize that the Scheide text is closer to the original LXX than the others, its high importance becomes apparent, and our gratitude for this excellent edition of the text and its photographic reproduction is correspondingly great.

JULIUS A. BEWER.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
NEW YORK.

HERMANN DIELS. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. Fünfte Auflage herausgegeben von WALTHER KRANZ. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1934-1938. Vol. I, pp. xiii + 482; vol. II, pp. 426; vol. III (Wortindex, Namen- und Stellenregister), pp. 654.

In 1922 this work was published in its fourth edition, but that was only an anastatic reprint of the previous editions eked out by supplementary sections containing additions and corrections. Diels in his preface expressed his regret at being prevented from giving his collection the revision and rearrangement which he then considered desirable; at the same time he indicated what this rearrangement would have been. Now Kranz, the author of the word-index which accompanied the second edition, has attempted to realize the plan which Diels himself had not the opportunity to carry out. The material of the supplements of the fourth edition has been incorporated into the text in its proper place along with a considerable amount of material brought to light by the subsequent research of Kranz himself and of other scholars. The arrangement of the work has been changed by placing the early cosmological, astrological, and gnomological material at the beginning of the first volume, the sophistical material at the end of the second; the order of the fragments within each section remains the same as before except for slight changes in the sections devoted to Parmenides and Empedocles (changes which Diels himself desired to make)

and the creation for Anaximander of a section B containing five passages supposedly preserving the original words of that philosopher. The translation of the original fragments has been "modernized," but wherever the interpretation deviates from that of Diels this has been duly noted; it has been the purpose of the new editor "das Werk im Geiste von Hermann Diels nach dem Masse der eigenen Kraft zu erneuern."

The mere checking of references and readings in a collection of this extent and variety is an enormous task, and errors as well as omissions are bound to survive the most painstaking editing. Witnesses to this fact are the two lists of "Zusätze und Berichtigungen" (vol. II, pp. 419-426 and vol. III, pp. 652-654) to which it is important to call the attention of all who use the collection. There remain corrections and additions which have escaped even these lists, however; and rather than pronounce an enthusiastic but general eulogy on a work, the character of which is already known and appreciated, I would pay my deep respect to the importance of the collection and to the pious industry of Kranz by supplementing these lists to the best of my ability.

ORPHEUS: I, p. 3, 3: cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* IV, 176-177. PHERCYDES: I, p. 44, 11: add Maximus Tyr. VII, 4 (p. 81, 9-13, Hobein). I, p. 46, 2: καὶ before τῷ should be excised (cf. Bonitz and Ross). I, p. 46, 4: for VI 9 read V 1, 9. THALES: I, p. 77, 7: on τινες see Plato, *Theaetetus* 152 E and *Cratylus* 402 B. I, p. 77, 12: It is wrong to stop the quotation here (983 B 33) for 984 A 2-3 shows that Aristotle's information about Thales is uncertain (Θαλῆς μέντοι λέγεται οὕτως ἀποφῆναι . . .) and the next sentence (Ἰππωνία γὰρ . . .) indicates that he himself is aware that some of what is really Hippo's may have been transferred to Thales; with p. 77, 6 cf. *De Anima* 405 B 3. I, p. 79, 27: cf. 22 A 9. Add under Thales: Iamblichus, *In Nicom. Arith. Introd.*, p. 10, 8-10 (Pistelli). ANAXIMANDER: I, p. 82, 10: cf. Heidel, "Anaximander's Book, . . ." (*Proc. Am. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, LVI [April, 1921], pp. 239-288); Kranz reprints the note of Diels refuted by Heidel, *op. cit.*, p. 242, n. 9. I, p. 85, 9: The excerpt will not construe without the preceding φανερόν ὅτι here omitted. I, p. 82, 35: for or. 36 read or. 26. I, p. 86, 5, note: "Verwechslung m. Anaxagoras"; this is hardly credible, for Anaxagoras in the original is treated only four lines below (cf. also Heidel, *Class. Phil.*, VII [1912], p. 230, n. 3). I, p. 88, 33: ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον μεταβιῶναι, corrected in ed. 3, is printed here, but the false reading of eds. 1 and 2 (ἐπ' ὀλίγον μεταβιῶναι) is reprinted in the index (III, p. 277 B 19) from the index of 1910. I, p. 90, 8 ff.: cf. Heidel, "Anaximander's Book, . . .," pp. 255-260. ANAXIMENES: I, p. 93, 26: Heath's suggestion, ἐνίοις for ἐνιοί (*Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 42) should be mentioned. I, p. 94, 36-37: For the whole sentence

and Galen's criticism cf. I, p. 124, 20 ff.; the sentence of Hippocrates, *De Nat. Hom.* I, on which this is a commentary, runs: οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πᾶμπαν ἡέρα λέγω τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι οὔτε πῦρ οὔτε ὕδωρ οὔτε γῆν οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδέν, ὅτι μὴ φανερόν ἐστιν ἐνεδν ἐν τῷ ἄνθρώπῳ.¹ The last sentence of § 1 is printed in 30 A 6 but all of § 1 at least should be printed somewhere. I, p. 95, 11: cf. also Aristotle, *Meteorology* 367 A 33-B 4. XENOPHANES: I, p. 122, 38: cf. Aristotle, *Meteorology* 357 A 15-18. I, p. 123, 16-17: cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 984 A 29-31. I, p. 124, 25: to the reference "Arist. *Metaph.* 989 A 5" add: but contrast 1014 B 33. HERACLITUS: I, p. 145, 32-33: add Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1062 A 31-35. I, p. 146, 17: It is misleading to quote only ὥσπερ Ἡ. φησιν ἅπαντα γίνεσθαι ποτε πῦρ, for this is not even the whole sentence; it is intelligible only if read in context (*Physics* 204 B 30 ff.). Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 480, 30 ff. should be cited to show how he understood the sentence. I, p. 146, 18: for 94 read 294. I, p. 147, 24: de Anima 405 A 24 should be 405 A 25 and the quotation should not stop where it does, for lines 26-29 belong to Aristotle's report of Heraclitus. I, p. 148, 34: cf. Sextus, *Adv. Math.*, VII, 349. I, p. 154, 6: It should be noted that Bywater ascribed καὶ ψυχὰι . . . ἀναθιμῶνται to Zeno. I, p. 156, 2: place question mark after καλεῖ. I, p. 157, 3-4: Heidel's suggestion, δοκούντων (δ or ἀ) ὁ δοκιμώτατος γινώσκει φυλάσσειν, should have been recorded. I, p. 161, 16: All the desperate conjectures concerning θεὸν δίκαιον are listed but not Heidel's correct note that it comes from Plato's *Cratylus* 412 C-413 D. I, p. 165, 8-11: Reference to Heidel's treatment of B 67 should not have been omitted (*Proc. Am. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XLVIII [1913], pp. 704-708); his <μῦρον> is certainly better than Diels' <πῦρ>. I, p. 166, 12-14: Did Heraclitus say ἀεκέα· ἄκεα? Cf. the pun μαινόμενοι· μαλίνεσθαι in frag. B 5. I, p. 168, 4-10: On B 76 see A. J. P., LVI (1935), p. 415. I, p. 181, 1: ἐποίησατο ἑαυτοῦ can mean only "claimed as his own" (cf. Herodotus, I, 129, 2), not "machte er sich daraus eine eigene Weisheit." I, p. 181, 1 (note): for Ion 35 B 4 read 36 B 4. EPICHRMUS: I, p. 191, 23: for V. P. 226 read V. P. 266. I, p. 198, 5: On Diogenes Laertius, III, 15 the old reference, *Phaedo* 96 B, is given; there is no such argument for the ideas there or elsewhere in the dialogues, but cf. Alexander, *Metaph.*, p. 78, 15. ALOMARON: I, p. 212, 14-15: cf. Hartung's note in his edition of White's *Natural History of Selborne*, p. 52, n. 1. I, p. 213, 28: cf. [Aristotle], *Problem.* 897 B 25-26; Plato, *Timaeus*, 91 A-B and 73 C-D. I, p. 214, 10: cf. Hippocrates, *περὶ φύσιος παιδίων* § 30 (VII, p. 536 L.). I, p. 215, 4-6: cf. Philo, *De Opificio Mundi* 44 (I, p. 14, 1-2 CW). I, p. 215, 11 ff.: cf. Aristotle, *Topics* 145 B 7-8; Plato, *Timaeus*

¹ The passage was called to my attention by Dr. L. Edelstein.

82 A-B. Iocuss: I, p. 216, 17-20: For Plato, *Laws* 839 E-840 A the text of Burnet or England (neither of which is mentioned) is better than that of Hermann here printed. PARMENIDES: I, p. 218, 10: for B 1, 34-36 (which is Diels' old reference) read B 7, 3-5. I, p. 222, 2-3: Here should be compared not Alexander, *Metaph.*, p. 45, 2 but Aristotle, *De Generatione* 318 B 2-7 which explains Aristotle's equation of fire with $\delta\nu$ and cold (earth) with $\mu\eta\delta\nu$. I, p. 222, 40 ff.: Why print this fragment of Eudemus without even mentioning Aristotle, *Physics* 186 A 22-32 on which it is based? I, p. 223, 12-14: The *Timaeus* reference should be 37 E-38 A, that to the *Parmenides*, 140 E ff. I, p. 223, 38-41: *De Generatione* 336 A 3-6 should not be printed under Parmenides without a reference to Philoponus, *De Gen.*, p. 287, 25-26; the passage, however, is not really a reference to Parmenides at all (cf. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy*, p. 229, n. 48). It is amazing that Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 984 B 1-4 is not printed under A 35 (or anywhere else), although it is the ultimate source of the notion that Parmenides made fire the efficient cause and earth the material cause. I, p. 224, 18: <modi> should *not* be added; cf. Mayor and Plasberg, *ad loc.* I, p. 225, 20: Kranz retains without comment Diels' note on $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\pi\pi\rho\nu\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\beta\omicron\nu$: "das pythagoreische Zentralf Feuer vergleicht sich mit der $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\delta\eta\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ in der Mitte des P.schen Kosmos A 37." Diels read $\iota\phi'\ \tilde{\phi}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu\ \pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\delta\eta\varsigma$ in that passage and so had a central $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\delta\eta\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$; but Kranz reads $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \delta$, which eliminates any such central fiery ring, and moreover expressly says (p. 224, 3 note) that he follows Fränkel who denies this feature to Parmenides' cosmos. I, p. 226, 28: for $\delta\acute{\omicron}\xi$ read $\delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\eta$. I, p. 227, 1-6: Cf. Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 765 B 18-26 which probably represents Parmenides' reasoning more accurately than does the passage from *De Part. Animal.* I, p. 234, 28: close quotation after $\gamma\eta\nu$. I, p. 240, 3-4: $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\alpha$ Kranz translates: "auch jenes für sich gerade entgegengesetzt"; but he keeps Diels' note ($\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$ Apposition zum Adverbium), in which case "für sich" cannot be right. ZENO: I, p. 251, 25: Why is this printed under "Apophtegmatik" while the rest of the passage is given under "Lehre" (p. 252, 9 ff.)? It is the introduction to Zeno's aporia concerning multiplicity. I, p. 252, 11: instead of $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\ \tau\nu$ read $\mu\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ as in the parallel passage (Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 139, 1). I, p. 252, 13: The preceding lines of Simplicius (*Phys.*, p. 99, 7-10) should have been quoted and also *Phys.*, p. 139, 3-5, since here with regard to this same quotation from Eudemus Simplicius practically admits the falsity of his interpretation as against that of Alexander. I, p. 254, 9: $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ A should be excised as $\alpha\pi\acute{o}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$ shows (line 10), and this whether the traditional interpretation or that of Lachelier and Ross be adopted (cf. Lee, *Zeno of Elea*, pp. 89-90). I, p. 254, 13: $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\epsilon$ B makes no sense; read $\tau\acute{o}\ \delta\epsilon$ B (cf.

τὸ Γ in line 12 and Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 92). I, p. 254, 14: Instead of τὰ B read τὸ πρῶτον B with Cornford, Lee, and Ross; not τὰ B but only the first has passed *all* the gammas. I, p. 254, 16: ἴσον χρόνον . . . ὥς φησι should be omitted as a gloss (so Lee and Ross). I, p. 257, 5 (frag. B 3): Diels in the *Nachtrag* to edition 4 contended that the argument ascribed by Porphyry to Parmenides but by Simplicius and Alexander to Zeno (Simplicius, *Phys.*, pp. 139, 27-140, 6) must be the same as frag. B 3 because Simplicius quotes this fragment to prove that the argument cited by Porphyry belonged to Zeno and not to Parmenides. This reason is not cogent, for the subject of ὅτε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ φέρεται τῷ τοῦ Ζήνωνος συγγράμματι is ἡ ἐκ τῆς διχοτομίας ἀπορία (cf. Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 140, 24) and there may have been several *different* applications of the διχοτομία in Zeno's book. Anyway, the argument of B 3 is obviously *not* the same as that of pp. 139, 27-140, 6. It is the more surprising that Kranz does not print the passage in question, because in his note reproducing Diels' statement he does print Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 116, 8-18 which gives an argument ascribed by Porphyry to Parmenides and which was cited by Diels in comparison with the passage of Porphyry in pp. 139-140. This passage is not a διχοτομία at all. Our passage ought, then, to have been printed, as also Philoponus, *Phys.*, pp. 80, 23-81, 7 and Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 139, 21-22 (a quotation from Themistius). I, p. 257, 5 note: In the text of Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 116 in line 7 from the bottom of the page ἀλλ' οὔτε τῷ μὴ εἶναι is a misprint for ἀλλ' οὔτε τῷ εἶναι. MELISSUS: I, p. 259, 30: This sentence should not be printed as if it ended with εἶναι τὸ ὄν, for it continues: καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ τὰ ὄντα, ταῦτα δέ ἐστι τὰ αἰσθητά. I, p. 266, 13: for 589 B 25 read 986 B 25. I, p. 269, 2 and 3: Kranz reads γινόμενον in both places as did Diels, against which cf. Calogero, *Studi sull' Eleatismo*, p. 64, n. 1. I, p. 275, 1-2: ἐκ τοῦ ἐκάστοτε ὁρωμένου Kranz translates "auf Grund des jedesmal Gesehenen" (Diels: "auf Grund des einzelnen Wahrnehmung"); but the phrase goes with μεταπίπτειν: "appears to change from what is seen at any given time" (cf. p. 274, 8: ὁ τι ἦν καὶ ὁ νῦν οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον εἶναι parallel with ἑτεροιοῦσθαι as here). EMPEDOCLES: I, p. 284, 25: for ἀκηκοὺς read ἀκηκοός. I, p. 288, 20: After A 29 add Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 996 A 5-8 and 1001 A 9-15. I, p. 290, 27: What is printed here is only part of a sentence; the quotation ought to begin from *Physics* 252 A 3, else the whole construction is changed and there is no way of knowing that Aristotle's sentence is meant to show that for Empedocles πέφυκεν οὕτως or ἀνάγκη is the real ἀρχή. So Capelle, taking just the part printed by Diels and Kranz, translates (*Die Vorsokratiker*, p. 198): "Empedokles scheint zu behaupten dass zufolge der Notwendigkeit die Liebe und der Streit abwech-

selnd die Dinge beherrschen . . .," whereas Aristotle really says: "It seems that Empedocles would mean that 'such is the nature of things' is the principle when he says that . . ." (cf. Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 1183, 24 ff.). I, p. 290, 38: add *Metaphysics* 988 A 14-16. I, p. 290, 39-41: Why quote *De Gen. et Corr.* 333 B 19, which says that the στοιχεῖα were naturally prior to the θεός (i. e. the Sphere), and not 315 A 19-25, where Aristotle says that it is unclear whether Sphere or elements are prior, or *Metaphysics* 1091 B 10-12, where he contends that Love was the primary στοιχεῖον? I, p. 291, 1-7: It is strange that Philoponus on *De Gen. et Corr.* 315 A 3 is printed but not Aristotle's own words (315 A 3-25) when Philoponus has nothing that the Aristotelian passage has not and lacks much that it has. I, p. 292, 27: In the Zusätze (II, p. 424, 13-16) Kranz adds Aristotle, *De Caelo* 284 A 24-26. Here he follows Jaeger in inserting (line 25) διὰ before τῆς οἰκίας δοτῆς. This is a mistake, for the theory as represented by Aristotle is that the heavenly bodies remain because their motion is swifter than their tendency to fall (cf. *Metaphysics* 1050 B 22-24 and [Alexander], *Metaph.*, p. 592, 31-32, not cited by Kranz). I, p. 298, 6: for 648 A 5 read 648 A 25. I, p. 299, 23: add Aristotle, *Physics* 194 A 20-21. I, p. 300, 9: add [Philoponus], *De Gen. Animal.*, p. 166, 24-167, 13. I, p. 301, 36: Diels' <ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων> cannot be right, for Empedocles obviously held that there is fire and water in all eyes; it is better with Stratton to follow Taylor in excising τὰς δ'. I, p. 303, 40: The subject of ποιοῦσι is not "Empedocles and Anaxagoras" (so Diels and Kranz) nor yet "those who held views like Empedocles's" (Taylor *apud* Stratton) but the sensible objects; the plural is used under the influence of the plural in the verse just quoted. Cf. εἰ . . . ποιεῖ τὴν ἡδονήν (line 41). I, p. 309, 2 (B 2, 3): Scaliger's ζωῆς ἀβίου, accepted by Burnet and Bignone, is not even mentioned. I, p. 311, 15 (note on ῥέλωμα): for 57 B 15 read 58 B 15. I, p. 312, 10 (note): for 28 B 18, 38 read 28 B 8, 38. I, p. 318, 20 (B 20, 3): σῶμα is surely subject of λέλογχε, not object as Kranz and Diels take it. I, p. 337, 5: If Diels' text be kept with Kranz, the fact that Aristotle tries to refute Empedocles' theory of the influence of heat on sex by pointing out (*De Gen. Animal.* 764 A 33-B 3) that twins of which one is male and the other female have been found ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μέρει τῆς ὑστέρας would argue for Burnet's interpretation: "for in its warmer part the womb brings forth males." I, p. 338, 11-12: Kranz follows Bignone in reading εἶδεα in place of Diels' ἰδεα, but he takes it with ποικιλονόσα. This is a late construction, and a better sense is obtained by taking εἶδεα as object of ἐδίηεν. I, p. 341, 4 ff. (note): for 31 C 1 (I, 374, 17 ff.) read 80 O 1 (II, 269, 8 ff.). I, p. 355, 2-3 (B 112, 7-8): Kranz prints τοῖσιν † αὐμ' † ἀν . . . κατλ. but translates: "wenn ich zu ihnen

komme . . . zu den Männern und Frauen." Bignone, however, was surely right in taking τοῖσιν as referring to ταῖνας . . . στέφουσιν τε θαλείοις. Then ἄμα must govern it (cf. Pindar, *Nem.* IX, 46 and 52-53): "When with these I come to flourishing cities"; and ἀνδράσιν ἡδὲ γυναῖξι depends upon σεβίζομαι: "I am revered by men and women." I, p. 370: in the translation, for 127 read 147. I, p. 372: in the translation, for 154 b read 154 a. MENESTOR: I, p. 376, 17: cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 66 A: . . . τῶν προλεπτυσμένων ὑπὸ σηπεδόνας (in the account of flavors). PHILOLAUS: I, p. 400, 33: . . . ἀφ' ἐαυτῆς (ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμῶν νομισάντων ἢ ὡς ἔτυχε) θεμέλιον ὑπάρχουσιν . . . : Diels' θεμέλιον is accepted by De Falco also; but ὡς ἔτυχε θεμένων of the majority of MSS is certainly right (cf. Nicomachus, *Introd. Arith.*, p. 50, 22 and p. 109, 16 Hoche). The slighter change of ἀφ' to ἐφ' heals the passage. I, p. 403, 2-7: see Sieveking's new text in the Teubner *Moralia*, vol. II. I, p. 404, 4-9: cf. Empedocles A 56 and see Burnet, *E. G. P.*³, pp. 238-239, 298 and n. 1. I, p. 405, 3: for c. 47 read c. 49. I, p. 408, 2: Kranz repeats Diels' statement that γνωσούμενον as "Subjekt der Erkenntnis" is "sachlich unmöglich"; but cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 440 B: εἰ δ' αἰ μεταπίπτει, αἰ οὐκ ἂν εἴη γνώσις καὶ . . . οὔτε τὸ γνωσόμενον οὔτε τὸ γνωσθήσόμενον ἂν εἴη. ARCHYTAS: I, p. 426, 5: for Δ'ΑΑ read ΔΑΑ. I, p. 429, 29-30: cf. Aristotle, *De Sensu* 448 A 19-22; Xenocrates, frag. 9 (Heinze); Simplicius, *De Caelo*, p. 661, 11-12. I, p. 430, 8-12: cf. also Theo Smyrn., p. 50, 4-21; Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 786 B 25-31. OCELLUS: I, p. 440, 28-29: for πᾶνι τη read πάντη and for περ- read περὶ. I, p. 441, 5-8: cf. I, p. 455, 18-20. SIMUS ET AL.: I, p. 445, 4: for αἰ read οἱ. I, p. 445, 7: for προφιλοτεχνηθείσας read προσφιλοτεχνηθείσας. PYTHAGOREANS: I, p. 450, 26: for τὰ read τὰς. I, p. 457, 18-19: τοῦ μὲν οὖν περιττοῦ . . . γενέσεως does not belong here; it refers not to Pythagoreans but to Platonists (cf. *Metaphysics* 1091 A 20: . . . ἐκ δὲ τῆς νῦν ἀφείναι μεθόδου). I, p. 471, 33: for Διοι read Διο-. I, p. 471, 35: for κας read καὶ. ANAXAGORAS: II, p. 10, 5: cf. 68 A 15. II, p. 18, 29 (note): cf. *Class. Phil.*, XVII (1922), p. 350 where Shorey remarks that Plato, *Protagoras* 329 D-E is presumptive evidence against the use of the term ὁμοιομερῆ by Anaxagoras. II, p. 19, 6: add Aristotle, *Physics* 265 B 22: καὶ τὸν νοῦν δέ φησιν Ἀναξαγόρας διακρίνειν τὸν κινῆσαντα πρῶτον. II, p. 19, 7-28: The important passage, Plato, *Laws* 967 B 4 ff., should have been printed here. II, p. 21, 2: Kranz retains Diels' translation "man hat Grund von H. anzunehmen"; but αἰτίαν δ' ἔχει κτλ. can mean only: "but H. is reputed to have expressed them before." II, p. 21, 8-10: cf. Aristotle, *Physics* 251 A 23-28. II, p. 29, 22: καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος: cf. A 58 (II, p. 21, 2). II, p. 44, 3-5: cf. 24 A 16 (I, p. 214, 7-12). DIOGENES: II, p. 57, 21: cf. also Hippocrates, *περὶ σαρκῶν* § 6 (VIII, p. 592 L.). II, p. 67, 12-13: τὸ μὲν . . .

φύσα καλέεται: cf. Plato, *Republic* 405 D. II, p. 68: in notes for 31 read 36. CRATYLUS: II, pp. 69-70: To the passages from Plato's dialogue should certainly be added 440 D-E: Κρ. εὐ μέντοι ἴσθι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὐδὲ νυνὶ ἀσκέπτως ἔχω ἀλλὰ μοι σκοποῦμένῃ καὶ πράγματα ἔχοντι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκείνως φαίνεται ἔχειν ὡς Ἡράκλειτος λέγει. LEUCIPPUS: II, p. 71, 17: < . . . τὴν δὲ λόξωσιν . . . γενέσθαι >, Diels' conjecture, is retained with his note of defense against H. Gomperz; but cf. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 122, n. 3. II, p. 72, 22 and 30: on ῥυσμός = σχῆμα cf. Aristotle's own use of ἀρρυθμότης (*Metaphysics* 1014 B 26-28, *Physics* 193 A 11). II, p. 73, 4-8: Here should be quoted Aristotle, *Physics* 187 A 1-3, which is printed in part under Zeno (I, p. 252, 35-37) and which certainly refers to the Atomists (cf. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy*, p. 75, n. 303 and Ross, *Aristotle's Physics*, pp. 480-481). II, p. 73, 11-12: cf. 68 A 42. II, p. 79, 4-6: cf. also Aristotle, *De Sensu* 439 B 19-22 and 440 A 20-23. II, p. 80, 4: τοὺς ἀστέραις ζῆα εἶναι: so Alcmaeon A 12 (I, p. 213, 17-27). DEMOCRITUS: II, p. 81, 18 = II, p. 134, 9: cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 409 A-B (cf. Covotti, *I Presocratici*, p. 288). II, p. 82, 34-35: cf. *Voll. Herc.*, coll. alt. III, 197-199, frag. 5 (Crönert, *Kolot. und Mened.*, p. 128), cited by Alfieri, *Gli Atomisti*, p. 48, n. 29. II, p. 87, 38 ff.: cf. Lucian, *Demonax* § 25. II, p. 95, 1-3: With line 2 cf. *De Generatione* 320 B 23: σῶμα γὰρ κοινὸν οὐδὲν and *Metaphysics* 1069 A 28-30: οἱ δὲ πάλαι τὰ καθ' ἑκάστον (scil. οὐσίας τιθέασιν) ἄλλ' οὐ τὸ κοινόν, σῶμα. So the punctuation of line 2 here should be . . . αὐτῷ (not αὐτῶν, *pace* Diels) τὸ κοινόν, σῶμα, πάντων ἐστὶν ἀρχή. The passage is an attempt to reduce the doctrines of Anaxagoras and Democritus to identity and to represent both as essentially the same as that of the "material monists." II, p. 95, 4-7: cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1001 A 17-19; for the οἱ πλείω τὰ στοιχεῖα τιθέμενοι in that passage as inclusive of Democritus cf. *Physics* 203 A 19 ff. (59 A 45) to which reference should be made in 68 A 41 (p. 95, 1-3). II, p. 99, 5 (*Metaphysics* 1069 B 22): The correct punctuation given by Ross abolishes this impossible assertion (impossible not merely as a "citation" but even as an "interpretation" of Aristotle's) and leaves as a reference to Democritus only ὡς Δημόκριτός φησιν parallel to Ἐμπειδοκλέους τὸ μίγμα καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρον. II, p. 99, 6-7: The quotation should not stop with λέγουσιν, for the sentence continues τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδεμίαν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων οἰοῦνται· αὐξάνεσθαι γὰρ καὶ φθίνειν καὶ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι συγκρινόμενων καὶ διακρινόμενων τῶν ἀτόμων σωμάτων φασίν. II, p. 99, 19-20: This is an example of the danger of printing part of a sentence, for out of its context it seems to say that each atom has weight directly proportionate to its magnitude (cf. e.g. Alfieri, *Gli Atomisti*, p. 101, n. 236). In context it is an argument to show that Democritus, having asserted that each atom has

relative weight when compared with any other although none has weight absolutely, must *a fortiori* admit, since he ascribes absolute heat to some atoms, that *all* have heat relatively to one another (cf. *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy*, pp. 97-99 and notes 412, 413, 414). II, p. 107, 8: for 365 A 1 read 365 B 1 (same error in Index, III, p. 582). II, p. 109, 10-11: cf. *Metaphysics* 1009 B 28-31 where this interpretation of Homer is introduced by *φασί*. II, p. 119, 31-32: Theophrastus is copying the argument of Aristotle, *De Generatione* 325 B 34-326 A 14 (cf. note on p. 99, 19-20 *supra*); Diels' supposition that *τιθέασιν* (line 32) refers to "Leute wie Parmenides" is therefore superfluous. Similarly p. 120, 2-4 derives from *De Caelo* 275 B 29-276 A 6. II, p. 121, 3-4: cf. Theophrastus, *De Igne* § 31: . . . ἡ τῶν χλωρῶν ἐρυθροτέρα φλὸξ ἢ τῶν ξηρῶν (cited by Stratton). II, p. 122, 10: Kranz keeps *ζῶων*, Usener's change adopted by Diels; but the reference to Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 785 A 21 does not explain the strange statement resulting from this change. II, p. 123, 8: At this point Alfieri (*Gli Atomisti*, p. 161) adds two passages from Diogenes of Oenoanda (frag. 5, col. 2 [p. 10, William], frag. 6, col. 2 [p. 11, William]), which have apparently escaped Kranz's notice. II, p. 136, 25: for c. 27, 5 read I, 7, 5. II, p. 136, 41-44: *φύονται . . . τινες ὑμένης εὐκοῦτες πομφόλυξιν αἱ . . . τὰ ξῆα ἀπέτεκον*. Cf. Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 762 A 22-24: *ἐμπεριλαμβάνεται (scil. θερμότης ψυχική) δὲ καὶ γίγνεται θερμαινομένων τῶν σωματικῶν ὑγρῶν οἷον ἀφρώδης πομφόλυξ*. II, p. 136, 46-137, 4: cf. Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 762 A 18-20. As for the intervening lines, p. 136, 44-46, the notion here contained that male and female differ by being warmer and colder respectively is in contradiction to what Aristotle says of Democritus' theory (*De Gen. Animal.* 764 A 6-11) and nothing like it occurs in the Diodorus passage; it is, however, in perfect accord with Aristotle's own theory, particularly in linking the greater heat of the male with a higher degree of concoction (cf. *De Gen. Animal.* 765 B 8-766 A 22). II, p. 137, 12-15: Similarly this "paradoxical" classification of plants of which it is here said (p. 136, 25-29) that it "erinnert an ähnlichen Metaphern des Empedokles dessen Theorie Demokrit benutzt zu haben scheint" is the common Aristotelian comparison (cf. especially *De Incessu Animal.* 706 B 3-6, 705 B 6-8; *Parva Nat.* 467 B 2). II, p. 138, 25: The reference here to A 135 § 63 ff., carried over from edition 4, is wrong (as Alfieri has observed), for "die *ἰδέαι* sich auf die Formen der Atomen beziehen," whereas there the *composite* bodies are in question (n. b. p. 117, 31: τὸ σχῆμα μεταπίπτον and cf. B 139, 139 a). II, p. 141 in footnotes: for 23 read 24, for 24 read 25. II, p. 157, 12 (footnote): after "vgl. *τρόπος*" add: B 61 (II, p. 158, 3) and cf. *δυστροπος* (II, p. 163, 2), which does not mean "unverträglich." II, p. 159, 11-12: cf.

Plato, *Republic* 403 A 7-8. II, p. 181, 1-7: On frags. B 178 and 179 see Shorey, *Class. Phil.*, XIII (1918), pp. 313 f. and cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1339 A 26-31; II, p. 181, 11 ff.: cf. Plato, *Republic* 548 B-C and *Laws* 722 B ff. II, p. 191, 3 (footnote): For the source of Plutarch, *Ages*. 33 quoted as parallel to B 228 cf. Plato, *Republic* 404 A-B. II, p. 201, 3-4: cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1255 B 11-12. METRODORUS: II, p. 233, 15-17: cf. also II, p. 79, 19-21. ALTÈRE SOPHISTIK: II, p. 253, 12: Add Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1026 B 14 ff.: διὸ Πλάτων τὸν οὐ κακῶς τὴν σοφιστικὴν περὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν ἔταξεν (cf. *Sophist* 254 A). εἰσι γὰρ οἱ τῶν σοφιστῶν λόγοι περὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν μάλιστα πάντων, πότερον ἕτερον ἢ ταῦτ' ὄν μουσικὸν καὶ γραμματικόν, καὶ μουσικὸς Κορίσκος καὶ Κορίσκος, καὶ εἰ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ᾗ, μὴ ἀεὶ δέ, γέγονεν, ὥστ' εἰ μουσικὸς ὄν γραμματικὸς γέγονε, καὶ γραμματικὸς ὄν μουσικὸς, καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι τῶν λόγων εἰσὶν. PROTAGORAS: II, p. 258, 21: cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1011 A 17-20. II, p. 259, 5-6: cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 156 E-157 A and 154 B. GORGIAS: II, p. 283, 6: With *De M. X. G.* 980 B 9-17 cf. Aristotle, *De Sensu* 446 B 17-26. II, p. 305, 6-7: This refers not to any work of Gorgias but to *Meno* 71 D-73 C, part of which is printed as B 19 (II, p. 305, 8 ff.). ANTIPHON: II, p. 343, 1: with ἐπαλλάξεις cf. II, p. 93, 34: αἰτιάται τὰς ἐπαλλαγάς. II, p. 356, 31: cf. also Platonic *Definitions* 411 D 8 f. and *Alcibiades* I, 126 C ff. CRITIAS: II, p. 384, 11: cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 405 C-D. ΔΙΟΣΚΟΙ Δόγοι: II, p. 413, 19-21: cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 432 A-B; Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1043 B 36-38; Posidonius *apud* Stobaeus, *Ecl.* I, 20, 7 (I, p. 178, 10-13 Wachsmuth). ΖΗΣΙΑΣ: II, p. 422, 37-38: for III, 19 W read III, 48 W. II, p. 422, 45: for 34 read 36. II, p. 424, 13: for Suppl. 31 read Suppl. 21. II, p. 425, 30 ff.: Cf. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 3rd series, 1933, pp. 148-151. III, p. 653, 41: for 59 B 2 read 59 B 21.

HAROLD CHERNISS.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

STERLING DOW. *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors (Hesperia, Supplement I)*. Athens, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1937. Pp. 259. \$3.00.

The editors of *Hesperia* have initiated with this volume a series of occasional monographs of independent character and devoted to single topics which will be published as supplementary volumes to that journal. The results of this first volume are admirable. Dow has culled from the inscriptions excavated in the Agora before August, 1935, all which relate to the prytaneis.

Hitherto unpublished documents comprise over half of the 121 inscriptions in this volume; the remainder consists of prytany decrees from the *editio minor* of the Attic Corpus and those from earlier *Hesperia* numbers, although the texts of these previously published inscriptions are not always reproduced. The most praiseworthy features of this work are the careful transcription of texts and the prudent restoration of epigraphical formulae. The advance that Dow has made is more apparent in a comparison of his texts with those of earlier editors. By limiting himself to one type of document, the author has been enabled to make a definitive study of all phrases which occur in prytany decrees and of all officials honored therein. The results of this study have been included in the first thirty pages of the volume and this section is of importance to any student of Athens of the post-325 B. C. period. Prosopographical items in particular are copiously handled and a complete index is affixed. The photographs are of the same excellent quality as in previous *Hesperia* publications. There is appended a chapter in which are described eleven Athenian allotment machines in use about the middle of the second century B. C. with an interpretation of pertinent literary passages in Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*.

For the sake of final publications, the following corrections in texts are noted: *Περρεῖδαι* in line 11 of no. 3, *Χολλεῖδαι* on pages 58 and 253, *Λεωχάρον* in no. 29, line 1, and *Προ | στατηρίω* for *Προσ | στατηρίω* in lines 11-12 of the same inscription, *ἐπεψήφισεν* in no. 46, line 17, *δίδεσται* in line 3 of no. 121, *Φλωτ-* in line 34, and *καθὼς προέγραπται* for *καθὼς προέγραπται* in line 25. The final letters of line 7 of no. 36 are on the stone and should be transcribed as in Kirchner's text in *I. G.*, II^a, 848. The text of line 1 of no. 96 is incorrect and, in fact, what is read as a beta unmistakably appears on the squeeze as an epsilon. Two of the other letters of this line are uncertain. On page 46 there is no *ΕΙΣ* in line 16 of no. 9.

In addition to these minor corrections, there are alternative solutions to several problems raised by Dow, the majority of which are at present unsolvable. In line 19 of no. 3 it may be questioned whether the letters [O] Ϟρ are part of a demotic. I note no other example in Dow's photographs in which the initial letters of the demotics differ in the various columns in regard to their alignment with the left *στοίχος* of names. In this inscription it is known from line 11 that the demotics were inscribed to the left of the initial letters of the names. Therefore, the letters in line 19 may well be part of a *nomen*. It is also to be noted that the assignment of the demotic *Περρεῖδαι* and of all the inscribed names to the tribe Oineis, as well as the date for the stone, rests primarily on the identification of two prosopographical items, *Νικόστρατος Πυθοδώρου* and *Νικίας Ἐχεστράτου*.

This is solid evidence, but in view of the quotation from Nikandros' *Περὶ τῶν δῆμων* that this deme was from Aiantis (Harpocration *s. v.* *Θυργωνίδα*; cf. W. Wrede, *R.-E.*, *s. v.* *Perrhidai*), a source which normally would not be called in question, a final decision may require additional testimony. Dow has published as no. 9 the inscription which Ferguson (*A. J. P.*, LV, 1934, p. 319) and Meritt (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 581; cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 135) forecast would prove the existence of a second archon Euboulos in the first half of the third century; the first dated in 272/1 B. C. and the second in 259/8 B. C. A difference of thirteen years does not give conclusive validity to Dow's arguments on the basis of lettering and prosopography (pp. 46-52), and by disposing of the theory of *rasura* in line 15 of no. 10 (*I. G.*, II², 678) Dow and Ferguson have eliminated one of the arguments for a second Euboulos. Therefore, the determining argument must depend upon the restoration of *μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* in line 5. This disregards the possibility of *δοῦναι τοὺς* (see *I. G.*, II², 710) and in the elimination of *μερίσαι τοὺς* may give undue reliance upon restoration in an inscription whose lines vary from 44 to 46 or 47 letters, particularly since there are eight iotas in the line in question. The inscription is incorrectly labelled stoichedon 46; the normal line has 45 letters. In regard to the well-known decree which honors the pro-Macedonian Phaidros of Sphettos (*I. G.*, II², 682), the theory of a second Euboulos disposed of the necessity for assuming a lapse of at least ten years between the last public service of Phaidros and the date of the passage of the decree. This lapse has been interpreted by Dinsmoor (*Archons*, pp. 77-78, 82-84) as being due to the dominance of the anti-Macedonian party until after the Chremonidean War. Concerning no. 14 it may be suggested that restorations with other stoichedon lines are possible. Assuming that the lambda in the second letter space of line 2 is on the stone, [*τὴν πόλιν τῆς στή*]*λη*[*ς καὶ ἀνάθεσιν*] or [*τὴν πόλιν τῆς στή*]*λη*[*ς καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν*] may be restored equally well on the analogy of *I. G.*, II², 786 and 792. Either the omission or the inclusion of the third article is possible. The expansion of the purpose clause is more characteristic of the latter part of the third century than of the middle.

Dow's statement (p. 17) that the Herald and the Flutist were the only officials of those honored in prytany decrees to hold office longer than a year might be expanded to include for the early period the Priest of the Eponymos. The identical priest, *Θράσιππος Γαργήτιος*, is assigned to nos. 60 and 64, which are dated in different years, and Thrasippos is now known to have been Priest in a third prytany inscription, recently discovered in the Agora. On the basis of the identical demotic (*Ποτάμος*) in nos. 31 and 36, the same priest, Euboulides, may have func-

tioned in the period 215-211 B. C. In connection with this official, Dow gave conclusive evidence (p. 16) that the Priest need not be a member of the tribe honored before *ca.* 169 B. C. Contradictorily, in his commentary on no. 28 he substantiates a date before the creation of the tribe Ptolemais for the inscription on the assumption that the deme of the Priest (Aphidna) must belong to the tribe honored (Aiantis), not to Ptolemais. Important to students of Attic *Staatskunde* would be Dow's conclusions (pp. 22 and 76) that the heading to the citations in the middle of the two decrees affords evidence that the first decree was sometimes probouleumatic and that the second decree was sometimes passed by the demos. But where the stones which Dow uses as evidence are preserved complete, the heading ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμος is preceded by a first decree in which the formula ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ - - - δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ occurs (see no. 29)—an unmistakable characteristic of a *populi scitum*. Similarly, in no. 84 both decrees were passed by the boule, but the phrase ὁ δῆμος occurs in the heading. Τῷ δήμῳ must be restored in place of τεῖ βουλῇ in line 14 of no. 79. In view of Dow's commentary to no. 41 the assignment in Meritt's table (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 137) of the archonship of Euthykritos to the year 222/1 B. C. must be queried. Dow, assigning his no. 88 (*I. G.*, II², 977) to the year 131/0 B. C., states that the secretary's demotic must be restored as either 'A[γρυλῆθεν] or 'A[ναγυράσιος]. Both of these demes are from Erechtheis (I), but the secretary's tribal cycle requires a deme of Pandionis (III) for this year (see Kirchner, *I. G.*, II², IV, p. 20 and Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 31). Therefore, 'A[γγελῆθεν] is the only demotic which may be restored.

These criticisms are concerned mostly with details and do not affect the substantial value of this work, which is noteworthy no less for the industry bestowed upon it than for the thoroughness and acumen of its author. We now look forward eagerly to the publication of new bouleutai-lists and a study of the representation of Attic demes which Dow promises (pp. 2 and 28) will be forthcoming shortly.

KENDRICK PRITCHETT.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY.

Plutarque. Sur les Oracles de la Pythie. Texte et Traduction avec une Introduction et des Notes par ROBERT FLACELIÈRE. (Annales de l'Université de Lyon: Lettres. Troisième Série, Fascicule 4.) Paris, Société d'Éditions *Les Belles Lettres*, 1937. Pp. 179; 1 plate.

Flacelière has made a worthy addition to the excellent list of books on Delphic subjects that French scholars have been

turning out in the last few years. In plan and purpose it is similar to Georges Daux's *Pausanias à Delphes*. In both the Greek text is faced by a translation into French; but whereas Daux's archaeological commentary upon Pausanias' *Delphica* forms the body of his book, Flacelière's discussion of the content of *De Pythiae Oraculis* is merely the introduction to an edition and translation of Plutarch's dialogue.

The long introduction is divided into seven sections. The first is a brief outline of the dialogue. The second deals with the date of composition. The editor accepts Hirzel's thesis that this dialogue is later than the other two Delphic essays. He places its date in the last years of Plutarch's life, since he holds plausibly that the *καθηγεμών* of chapter 29 is the Emperor Hadrian.

In the third section Flacelière discusses the literary qualities of *De Pythiae Oraculis*. He shows that Plato influenced the form and style of Plutarch's writings as well as their philosophic content. Plato's influence is clearly seen in Plutarch's choice of the dialogue form, in the way in which the dialogue is introduced and in which the scene of the dialogue is linked to the subject of it, and in the touches by which the characters of the interlocutors are portrayed. But Plato's influence, the editor shows, is most evident in the lighter portions of the dialogue; in the exposition of abstract and complicated thought Plutarch's writing becomes more careless, labored, and loosely organised. But, as the editor says, despite Plutarch's uneven literary skill the essay is on the whole pleasant reading.

In the second part of this section Flacelière discusses the persons of the dialogue. He demonstrates conclusively that Theon is Plutarch himself, and that Philinus also speaks for Plutarch, though with less authority than Theon. Diogenianus is *πατήρ τοῦ λόγου*, the dialogue being written in his honor; while Serapion and Boethus are spokesmen for Stoicism and Epicureanism respectively.

As for Plutarch's language, Flacelière indicates that Plutarch, who scoffed at strict Atticists, was very much an Atticist in practice, though he sprinkled his vocabulary with occasional words from the *koinē* and from the poetic diction with which his wide reading had made him familiar.

The fourth section is a discussion of the philosophic and religious ideas found in this dialogue. Under this head Flacelière treats Plutarch's theory of prophetic inspiration, his attack upon Epicureans and Stoics, and his religious faith as Apollo's priest. Here Platonism is everywhere in evidence, though peripatetic elements enter Plutarch's argument in chapter 21. Perhaps none of the *Moralia* displays better the main lines of Plutarch's religious thought.

In the fifth section the editor traces the course of the inter-

locutors through the Delphic sanctuary, states what is known about the various monuments referred to in the dialogue, and discusses the Hadrianic renaissance of Delphi that Plutarch eulogises in chapter 29. Several passages in *De Pythiae Oraculis* are of great interest to the archaeologist, and this section serves the same useful function as Daux's *Pausanias à Delphes*, since Flacelière makes use of the results of the French excavations at Delphi in discussing Plutarch's topographical statements. He upholds Bourguet's identification of the foundation to the east of the Deinomenid tripod with the Acanthian treasury.

The short sixth section expresses the editor's final judgment upon the dialogue. He disagrees with Croiset that there is something childish about it, and sees in it "moins de puérilités que de pensées sérieuses, graves et élevées." He notes the uneasiness that underlies Plutarch's assurance that the oracle's prestige and prosperity will endure. For *De Pythiae Oraculis* is essentially a defense of the oracle against its detractors in an age when enthusiasm for the traditional religion was on the wane.

The final section of the introduction discusses the text of the dialogue. Flacelière has made a recension of the two manuscripts. His text is the same as that of the latest Teubner edition except that he has corrected a few minor errors, made a very few emendations, and found it possible to retain the reading of the manuscripts in a few places where previous editors have made emendations. The text is equipped with a satisfactory critical apparatus.

In both text and translation there is little to quarrel with. But it seems to me that in 394 E the manuscript reading *ὑπούλους* must be wrong. Flacelière translates *λόγους . . . ὑπούλους καὶ πολεμικούς* "des propos gros de controverses." But the exact meaning of *ὑπούλος* is "festering or rotten underneath," and Philinus hardly means to imply that the statements made were in an extremely unhealthy state because they provoked argument. In 395C "plus ingénieuse" is too mild for *πανουργέστερον*. In 403C *καὶ τοῦτό σοι*, Pohlenz should be followed in deleting *σοι*. Its retention makes a very difficult and awkward, if not impossible, construction. Flacelière's own restorations of lacunae are not always fortunate. In 406A the *ἀν* of *<ἀποφαίνων ἀν μόνην>* can hardly be right. In 408C *<οὐδὲν τοῦτο>* would be superior to *<οὐδὲν αὐτῷ γ'>* if there is to be a balance with *ἐκείνη*. Emenders should beware of inserting particles in restorations and emendations.

On page 11, note 2, Flacelière cites two books for discussion of the influence of Plato upon Plutarch's thought. It was a great oversight not to have mentioned Roger Jones' *The Platonism of Plutarch* (Chicago, 1916).

JOSEPH E. FONTENROSE.

ARMAND PITTET. *Vocabulaire philosophique de Sénèque*. 1^{er} Livraison. Paris, Société d'Éditions "Les Belles Lettres," 1935. Pp. xviii + 215.

The need of a comprehensive study of the development of the Latin philosophic vocabulary has been often remarked,¹ and in such a work the parts played by Lucretius, Cicero, and Seneca would naturally be very large. But the time for trustworthy generalizations has had to await the completion of specialized studies in different parts of the extensive field, such as those of Katharine C. Reiley and F. Peters on Lucretius and Cicero, those of Font, Laurand, Lebreton, Lişcu, Monnanteuil, Stang, and others on Cicero alone, that of R. Fischer on Cicero and Seneca, and some partial studies of Seneca alone.

The present volume begins with a bibliography of editions, lexica, and works on the philosophic and lexicographic aspects of Seneca and Cicero. The titles chosen are almost solely French and German, save for the name of Miss Reiley. Then follows a sketch in twenty-nine pages of the growth of the Latin philosophic vocabulary from its origins through Ennius, Lucretius, Varro, Cicero, and lesser figures, to Seneca, with a fuller discussion of Seneca himself, especially in his relation to Cicero. The author concludes that Cicero's terminology has been enriched by additions from the poetic and popular language of Seneca, yet without any profound modifications.

Most of this volume, as presumably all of those to follow, is occupied by a detailed study of the individual philosophic terms, arranged alphabetically, each being defined and illustrated by instances in Seneca, Cicero, and elsewhere, often with an attempt to suggest a Greek term which the Latin renders. If subsequent volumes employ the same scale—as it is to be hoped they may—the entire work should reach nearly a thousand pages. Under the letter A alone I note 15 main captions discussed also by R. Fischer, *De Usu Vocabulorum apud Ciceronem et Senecam Graecae Philosophiae Interpretes* (1914), but 164 not listed in Fischer's index. This may show the relative fulness of the two works, though it must be said that Pittet has been extremely inclusive in his selection of "philosophic" terms, since many would hardly so regard such words as *abominari*, *absurdus*, *abunde*, *accusare*, *acidus*, *admonere*, *adulari*, *aegrotare*, etc. Fischer, on the other hand, has relatively more to say about the original Greek terms than has Pittet, and his table of *notiones* (pp. 105-112) puts more concisely before the reader the Ciceronian and Senecan uses and their differences.

Misprints (such as the heading of p. 48), wrong Greek accents (e. g., six cases on p. 199), incorrect titles (e. g., of Hirzel's work

¹ E. g., by Ernout in *Rev. de Philol.*, LX (1934), p. 317.

on p. 197), and misspellings of proper names (on p. xvi for 'Biekel' read 'Bickel'; on p. xvii for 'Reily' read 'Reiley') are occasional, but usually so obvious as to diminish but slightly the usefulness of a respectable and unhurried piece of work.

ARTHUR STANLEY PRAESE.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

GUNNAR SÖRBOM. *Variatio Sermonis Tacitei aliaque apud eum Quaestiones Selectae*. Upsala, Almqvist and Wiksell, 1935. Pp. xv + 190.

Variatio is the subject of the first and by far the longest chapter of this book (pp. 1-136). It is defined as "studium scriptoris parvo interiecto intervallo idem verbum, idem genus dicendi, eandem verborum collocationem evitandi" (p. 2). Among *genera dicendi* are included tense, mood, voice, number, case, degree, abstractness and concreteness. Except that Sörbom reserves for possible future study the question whether Tacitus' use of *variatio* follows the curve which Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II, pp. 282 ff., established for the development of his style (pp. 135-6), the present treatise, by reason of its scope, its thoroughness, and its acumen, would seem to be definitive. Sörbom proves that Tacitus' variation of vocabulary is very often motivated by his wish to avoid awkward repetitions (pp. 16-49) and that his changes of forms are sometimes due to a striving after euphony (p. 66 n. 1). Six examples cited on pages 133-134 are very interesting as showing one of the ways by which Tacitus achieves compression of style, namely, the use, in contrast, of words which are not opposites but which suggest each other's opposites; e. g., *Hist.*, IV, 69, 4 f., *sapientissimum* quemque reverentia fideque, *iuniores* periculo ac metu continuit.

The remaining chapters are: II *De mutatione subiecti*; III *De verbi esse ellipsi*, in which it is demonstrated that Tacitus uses this ellipsis even more freely than Nipperdey and others have supposed; IV *Ad varios locos adnotationes*. Preface, Table of Contents, Bibliography, *Index rerum et verborum*, and *Index locorum* complete the book.

Textual criticisms, illuminating because of the author's familiarity with the style of Tacitus, are scattered throughout the volume. Sörbom restores a considerable number of readings that are generally "emended." An instance is *Dial.*, XXX, 27 f., *neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur* (p. 76). (The *Dialogus* especially has suffered from "emendation," for the reason that editors strive to conform it to Ciceronian usage [p. 135].) An example of Sörbom's own emendations is *Ann.*, XI, 35, 10 f.:

Admotusque Silius tribunali non defensionem, non moras temptavit, precatus ut mors acceleraretur. Eadem constantiâ et illustres equites Romani (sc. egerunt vel fuerunt), <eadem> cupido maturae necis (sc. iis) fuit (pp. 175-6). Incidentally, Sörbom defends, against the editors, manuscript readings in Curtius, Livy, and Seneca the Younger.

Hardly anything in this book would one wish to have changed. There is one passage listed under *variatio* (p. 99) which does not fit Sörbom's definition: *Hist.*, I, 76, 7 ff., Eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores. The fear, Tacitus tells us, spread from the Aquitanians to the Narbonians, who lived *next* to them and were *stronger* than they. The coupling of superlative and comparative is necessary to the expression of the thought and hence is not due to a desire "idem genus dicendi . . . evitandi."

For his examples of *variatio* in the use of personal names Sörbom cites parallels from Livy and Columella (p. 3). One might add Cicero, *Cato Maior*, VII, 25 ff., where the same writer is called first Statius and then Caecilius.

ALICE F. BRAUNLICH.

GOUCHER COLLEGE.

Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, Vol. V. Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea, by C. W. M. COX and A. CAMERON. Manchester University Press, 1937. Pp. xlv + 201; 64 photographic plates.

The fifth volume of this valuable series is concerned with a portion of the territories of the cities of Dorylaeum (Eski Şehir) and Nacolea (Seyit Gazi), and is intended as a contribution to a survey of Phrygia Epictetus, other portions of which have already been studied by the editors. The volume brings important additions to our knowledge of northern Phrygia. Of the 367 monuments regularly catalogued 321 are new and the rest are improved or confirmed by fresh observations; 323 have been discovered and verified by the editors themselves, the rest are published from the notebooks of Ramsay, Schönewolff, Körte, and Brandenburg. The descriptions of the documents and the annotations reveal diligent and thorough observation, the use of a wide range of comparative material in spite of the brevity imposed by the plan of the series, and the careful balancing of probable interpretations in each case. The result is a harvest both of documents and interpretative material of great value to students of several branches of classical studies.

The impression gained from other sources that Phrygia Epictetus reached its full development rather late in the Roman

imperial period receives striking confirmation: "Not more than half a dozen texts have been found that can be confidently dated earlier than the reign of Trajan." A boundary stone (no. 60) almost certainly proves that the territory of Dorylaeum was coterminous with that of Nicaea and casts a ray of light on the obscure history of Bithynia under the Romans. Other stones identify the sites of several villages, notably Tricomia (no. 87), and yield some other names besides. Students of municipal organization will note the possibility that the village of Tricomia had a *gerousia* (no. 86), and the first epigraphical evidence regarding the tribes and the tribal and city magistracies of Nacolea (nos. 202, 204, 205). The number of references to imperial slaves and freedmen is noteworthy, even though the fact that so many of them were natives or citizens of Nacolea somewhat vitiates their value as evidence for imperial estates there. Whether no. 201 implies an estate belonging to Germanicus Caesar depends on the uncertain question whether a bit of the original edge still remains on the left side of the stone. The estate of Cornelia Gaiane (no. 185) should be added to my list in *Economic Survey of the Roman Empire*, Vol. IV, p. 671 (cf. also nos. 184, 218, 219). The evidence, both epigraphical and artistic, regarding native cults is very important indeed. The rarity and lateness of Christian monuments form a contrast with the region to the south. The area was the home and centre of diffusion of the cult of Zeus Bronton; the editors have given a list of all the documents referring to this deity. The volume contains a significant number of examples in which epitaphs are explicitly combined with dedications, but the editors rightly maintain an attitude of suspense toward the further question whether the deceased was himself considered a deity and offer the interesting suggestion that in the absence of the regular formulae mentioning fines or a curse this was a way of placing the tomb under divine protection (cf., however, no. 232). Noteworthy too are several instances of the use of the vine and a cluster of grapes as indubitably pagan symbols, and the material on other cults both of a local and a general character: Apollo Lykios, Meter Tetrprosopos, etc. The large collection of door tombs and their ornamentation serves to emphasize the interest of these, pointed out long ago by Noack and Körte. One should mention also the representation of a clamp (?; no. 40) resembling the "ceremonial clamp" found in the Thames, and the note on the pottery observed.

Previous volumes of the series have been criticized for showing insufficient regard for the relationship between the documents that they contained and a corpus of the inscriptions of the regions that they covered. A full epigraphical bibliography meets this criticism and provides a welcome aid which students who cannot go to Vienna would wish extended to other regions

too. The plates are full and excellent and provide a means of testing the editors' work which is all the more remarkable in that they were compelled to attack a region for which they had not originally prepared and had to endure inclement weather during most of their journey. The indices are complete. The editors are to be congratulated upon an excellent volume.

T. R. S. BROUGHTON.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

ΚΟΛΟΚΟΤΣΑΣ, Ε. Δ. Τὸ Πρωτογενὲς Σατυρικὸν Δρᾶμα τῶν Ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων. Τὸ Σατυρικὸν Δρᾶμα "Ἀγὴν." Athens, privately printed, 1938. Pp. 57.

The first part of this digraph is a painstaking and somewhat laborious scholarly essay on primitive satyr-drama. The author collects the ancient evidence as to the etymology of "satyr" and the nature of satyrs and of the drama named after them; he concludes that "primitive satyr-drama arose from various rites, festivals, and religious gatherings throughout the cities of Greece. . . . In Athens, the satyr-drama began in very early times, before the seventh century B. C., and was preserved, in its primitive form and wholly jesting and purely satyric state up to the time of Pratinas, who added the emotional, or tragic (in the modern sense) element." The author insists that in primitive satyr-drama there could be nothing serious, or approaching the heroic, since satyrs were incapable of the least moral strength; similarly, early satyr-drama could not be satiric or critical, as comedy was from the beginning, since again ethical standards would be implied, and satyrs had none. The content, then, of primitive satyr-drama was pure joking, jeering, buffoonery, and animal, not to say bestial, spirits. This seems to the reviewer an interesting hypothesis, with very little evidence for it, and none against.

The second part is an extended commentary, with a meticulous review of the scholarly literature, on the "Agen," a satyr-play satirizing Harpalus. Subjects included in the commentary are: the significance of the name, the probable contents of the play, place and time of production, the career of Harpalus, and the author Python; a text, as revised by Dr. Kolokotsas, of the large fragment preserved by Athenaeus, and notes thereon, conclude the discussion.

An index and a list of most of the corrigenda are included. Although the style has occasionally a super-Thucydidean, or

more probably Teutonic, complexity, the Greek is so thoroughly on the ancient pattern that it may be read by anyone with the slightest acquaintance with the modern tongue.

HERMANN KLEINKNECHT. Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike.
(Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 28.)
Stuttgart-Berlin, Kohlhammer, 1937. Pp. 220.

This is an enlarged and revised dissertation. The term "parody" is carefully defined at the outset as a representation, ostensibly accurate but actually distorted, of a literary passage, or of views, customs, practices, or persons, which reveals the essential nature of the object of parody, for the purpose of either pure humor or criticism and castigation. The term "Gebet" is made to include all addresses to and invocations of the gods. The author proceeds to investigate parodies of prayers, hymns, oaths, etc., throughout ancient literature. Aristophanes is the chief source, as might be expected; also of especial interest are Plato (though here the treatment seems far-fetched), Lucian, Plautus, and Horace. Whenever possible, parallels to the parodic passages are adduced from hymns, such as the Homeric or Orphic, and from tragedy and other serious literature. The parody is, of course, directed at the conventional phrasing and customary manner of religious practice, rather than at any specific literary passage. The author shows the utmost thoroughness in searching the ancient sources, as well as in citing modern works, including those of a general literary and philosophical nature (Miss McCarthy's "Lucian and Menippus," *Yale Classical Studies*, IV, would have been a valuable addition to the list, as a corrective for the views of Lucian's dependence on Menippus). Kleinknecht does not confine himself to cataloguing parodies, but discusses briefly the nature and value of parody, and the relation of religion to parody of ritual. In this connection a summarizing statement demands quotation: "*Gebetsparodie* means speaking of God, or dealing with the divine, as if God could take a joke." Kleinknecht's work is a special study of excellent technique and comprehensive scope, and will be of considerable interest to scholars working with any of the numerous authors mentioned.

ALFRED CARY SCHLESINGER.

OBERLIN COLLEGE.

S. BLOMGREN. *De Sermone Ammiani Quaestiones Variæ.*
(Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 6, 1937.) Uppsala, A. B.
Lundequist, 1937. Pp. 185. 5.75 Kr.

A thorough acquaintance with the language of a Latin writer is most helpful in establishing his text and determining its interpretation. This is especially true of a writer like Ammianus, to whose diction numerous scholars, listed in Blomgren's *Index Librorum*, along with others mentioned below only by name, have devoted their attention. To these his own monograph, which is a model of clarity and arrangement, is an important addition, made convenient also by *Indices Rerum, Verborum*, and *Locorum*, of which the last-named consists of a long list of passages of which he discusses the text and proposes emendations, a goodly number of which support the readings of the codex Fuldensis (V).

It is quite impossible in a brief review to give a full conspectus of his 173 pages; only a few interesting points can be touched upon. Under the head of *De bimembri dissoluto* he finds that asyndeton is frequent in many of the writers imitated by Ammianus, and he adds a large number of examples from Ammianus himself, not a few of which the editors of his text have disguised by the insertion of a copula; e.g. *Emissa Damascus* (xiv, 8, 9) and *Verus Severus* (xxiii, 5, 17), where the omission of *et* makes an effective homoeoteluton, a subject to which he devotes one of his chapters. In *patris patruique collega* (xxvii, 6, 12) *-que* is an addition of the editors which is called for by Ammianus' usual metrical structure, but Blomgren finds a considerable number of instances of three unaccented syllables between two with accents (e.g. *ipse arbiter perspexit*, xxiv, 6, 16; *quæ Gallus egerat coniunxque*, xiv, 10, 2), some of which Clark, and perhaps Ammianus, overlooked or allowed to stand. Blomgren is inclined to recognize this as a somewhat rare, but legitimate cursus, which should not be allowed to interfere with a good conjecture; he also believes that the regular cursus should not be permitted to separate words which obviously belong together, or to obscure the sense of a passage; e.g. *minuto numero*, xix, 6, 11; *Arsaci formidabiles reges*, xxiii, 6, 55. See his pp. 9, 12, 14, 89, note 2, 113, note 1, in which he gives a number of instances in which Clark has wrongly inserted a comma. In not a few of these I had omitted the comma in my translation in the L. C. L., was inclined to omit more in Vol. II, and still more in Vol. III (see Prefaces to those volumes). I regret that I received Blomgren's monograph too late to make full use of it; he quotes his examples with commendable fulness, which adds to their clarity, but this cannot be done in a brief review.

Blomgren discusses at length Ammianus' various methods of

connecting sentences. One feature is that in connecting groups of three or more words he uses *-que* with the last word, and sometimes *et*, contrary to the usage of the best Latin writers. Blomgren treats inconcinnity, adding some examples to Hagendahl's *Studia Ammianea*, ch. iv; he finds that the ellipsis of *esse* is frequent, but that the word is often wrongly inserted by Clark and the earlier editors.

Especially interesting chapters are those on Personification and on *Lusus Verborum*. Under the former head he adds a large number of examples to the ten or so given by Hassenstein, and maintains that it is a characteristic feature of Ammianus' style. He excludes from genuine personification those instances in which an abstract substantive qualified by a genitive or by an adjective is substituted for a personal word: e. g. *luti glutinosa mollities*, xx, 11, 25; *amat benignitas numinis*, xxi, 1, 9; and classes as doubtful cases like *ubi desudat nobilitas omnis et splendor*, xxiii, 6, 83, and some others. This brief summary does scant justice to a most interesting chapter, which must be read in full to be appreciated.

On *De lusibus verborum*, of which Hagendahl noted a few instances, Blomgren has thirty pages, with a great number of examples. This is in part because he includes instances of *adnominatio*, such as *ruente fluente, nocentes et innocentes*, and the like; but he also finds a number of examples of irony, such as in xviii, 7, 7, where Sabinianus is called *lectissimus moderator belli internecivi* (cf. xviii, 5, 5). The irony escaped Petschenig, who proposed *abiectissimus*, and Kellerbauer who favored *inertissimus*, and some others; but see my note in the L. C. L. edition. My note on Vol. I, Introd., p. xxxvi, needs some qualification; but *posuit* also is sarcastic, and I am inclined to stand by that emendation of Damsté. A sure example of irony is *Valentis ceteras laudes*, as the following context shows. *Ut e celsiore scopulo caderet* (xxx, 5, 10) is such a common idea that it seems doubtful whether it is irony, and I should be inclined to substitute xxxi, 4, 5, *navabatur opera diligens, ne qui Romanam rem eversurus relinqueretur*, which Blomgren does not list. It is a difficult subject, which perhaps calls for further investigation, but on the whole irony, and still more humor, seems rare in Ammianus.

In his final chapter (p. 134) Blomgren discusses a score of disputed passages with good judgment and eminent fairness; his emendations are usually in favor of the readings of V. It may be added that his footnotes sometimes contain interesting obiter dicta; e. g. on p. 103, where he says that while Ammianus often uses adjectives in *-osus*, he very rarely employs the comparative of such words, never the superlative.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. LX, 3

WHOLE No. 239

TENNEY FRANK.

Tenney Frank, Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University since 1919, died after a brief illness at Oxford, England, on April 3rd in the sixty-third year of his age. At the time of his death he was incumbent of the chair established by the late George Eastman for a visiting American professor.

When I met Frank for the first time in 1901 he was a handsome young man of the Scandinavian type, with a copious head of blond hair. His parentage was Swedish on both sides. An ancestor had been assigned the name of Frank in the Swedish army and chose to retain it upon his discharge.

He was born near Clay Center, Kansas, on May 19th, 1876. Of his boyhood he was accustomed to speak with a curious appreciation and gratitude. It seemed to him a precious personal asset that he had been permitted to grow up in a genuinely American small town and rural community, where pioneer standards of conduct continued strong. In the course of time the conviction grew upon him also that some experience of farm life is essential to historians, especially historians of Greece and Rome, dealing, as they must, with countries and races whose economy in the main was agricultural. It gave him similar satisfaction to have enjoyed some acquaintance with mercantile employment in Kansas City and Chicago during high school and college vacations, especially with the Swift Packing Company. His mind was both receptive and retentive, and few will doubt that this casual training of his youth became a fructifying influence in later years.

His secondary schooling in Kansas City proved pivotal for his choice of a calling. He there attracted the notice of a forceful,

eccentric, and somewhat theatrical teacher of German birth and education, by name, von Minckwitz. It was this man who aroused Frank's pride in himself and made him conscious of the challenge that lies in classical studies to the lad of parts. This predilection was not negated by his association with Professor A. T. Walker of the University of Kansas, from which he won the degree of A. B. in 1897 with the highest distinction and the Phi Beta Kappa key. He received his A. M. the following year.

Professor Walker interested Frank in syntactical investigations, which were then at the height of their vogue. It was not unnatural therefore that he should apply for a fellowship in the University of Chicago, where the outstanding reputation of William Gardner Hale was exercising a powerful attraction. Frank speedily won a place among Hale's preferred pupils and a renewal of his fellowship at the end of the first year; subsequently he was Instructor in Latin for three years. He received his Ph. D. in 1903, his dissertation being entitled *Attraction of Mood in Early Latin*. This was followed, after his appointment to Bryn Mawr College in 1904, by syntactical articles in *Classical Philology* and the *American Journal of Philology*, which included one entitled "The Use of the Optative in the Edda."

His mentality, however, was too robust to be permanently employed with the metaphysics of moods and tenses, nor was Hale, nor any of the other distinguished scholars under whom he studied in Chicago—Hendrickson, Abbott, Capps, Shorey, Buck—destined to give definite direction to his researches. It was at Bryn Mawr that he began to discover his proper field and interest as history. Already in 1909 an essay treating of Roman imperialism in Greece, published in *Classical Philology*, pointed the way to his true north. His first sabbatical leave took him to Göttingen and Berlin, where he listened to distinguished historians. To their teaching, however, he reacted negatively; he discovered among them a distinctly mid-European point of view, which seemed altogether too disingenuous and suspicious to account satisfactorily for the behavior of unsophisticated Roman statesmen, who were ignorant of balance of power and of the tensions and pressures that prevail in the crowded center of a modern continent. His judgments on these European scholars are briefly recorded in the preface to his *Roman Imperialism*, published in 1914.

The promptness with which this, his first volume, won recognition may well seem remarkable, because due recognition more often lags. In England it was especially well received and it laid the foundation of the author's reputation, which, enhanced by later publications, grew steadily to the last. I may be singular in believing this to be his best and most original work. The exposition is clear and cogent, the style keeps pace with the theme, and the general effect is satisfying and convincing. It is the most amply documented of all his writings. He was breaking new ground and very conscious of his departure from types of interpretation prevailing in Europe. He was really looking at Roman History from the point of view of one whose early conditioning was distinctively American. Kansas and the Middle West had furnished the background. Frank would not have been more genuinely American had he been descended from the Pilgrim Fathers.

The historian works always under the disadvantage of being compelled to discover his own frontiers. Frank had chosen the hard way—"intellectual pioneering," he called it—and he continued with incessant labor to break one frontier after another. A year spent in Rome as the annual professor in the American School, 1916-17, afforded him opportunity to familiarize himself with the physical surroundings of Rome and Latium, excursions which contributed much to the *Economic History of Rome*, published in 1920. This was to have been followed by a second volume, but the need of it was forestalled by the publication of Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. This mischance, which left Frank's volume incomplete, he had opportunity to repair by the addition of five chapters on the imperial period when a second edition appeared in 1927. This is a most perspicuous work and highly esteemed both within and beyond the domain of classical scholarship.

In 1923 the harvest of a dozen years of economic and political studies was condensed for the benefit of the college student and the general reader in the volume modestly entitled *A History of Rome*, which combines the characteristic clarity and freshness of treatment with the usual sanity and self-restraint. In many universities it continues to be deservedly preferred as a textbook. The volume entitled *Roman Buildings of the Republic*, 1924, was the fruit of two years spent in Rome as professor in charge

of the School of Classical Studies in the American Academy. Although expert assistance was secured for the preparation of this work, he did not lack special qualifications for it himself; in the University of Kansas he had once been offered a fellowship in the department of geology. His findings aroused controversy (archaeologists are quick to leap into argument), but there is no denying that the dating of ancient buildings has been greatly facilitated by the data he unearthed and compiled. An extremely useful collection of specimens of building stones is preserved in the School under his name.

The two volumes entitled *Vergil, A Biography*, 1922, and *Catullus and Horace, Two Poets in Their Environment*, 1928, exhibit no less the originality that is incidental to the continuous progress toward new frontiers. The writer regards his problems from the firm footing of sound and extensive historical knowledge. One is reminded of the principle laid down by Epicurus that the student must refrain from turning his attention to the particulars of truth before he has mastered the view of the whole. In popularity these volumes possibly surpass the rest of his writings, as the frequency of citation would indicate. The biography of Vergil, however, is more often cited abroad, and is regarded as marking a substantial advance in our knowledge of the poet and his environment.

It has been objected from time to time that Frank's books might well have been more abundantly documented. This criticism is raised here for the purpose of pointing out that he never engaged in the game of bibliographical chess, which has deflected not a few from the true objectives of scholarship. No one could have been more conscientious in ascertaining pertinent facts, but, once these were assembled, his care was focused upon the reasonableness of his interpretation, the truth or falsity of which no footnote could establish. As an excellent illustration of this attitude may be mentioned the chapter on "The Roman Family" in his *Aspects of Social Behavior in Ancient Rome*. This lecture fills thirty-four pages, supported by half a page of notes, but it is a consistent picture of the real power and influence of Roman matrons within the framework of a theoretically absolute *patria potestas*, such as the reader would vainly seek in a fat volume of Friedländer. The value depends primarily upon the argumentation.

If the authorities of Johns Hopkins believed they were making a fair speculation by engaging Frank's services in 1919, it became clear before many years that the fair speculation had developed into a sound investment. Universities need prestige, and only a capable staff can bring and maintain real prestige. Apart from the deserved reputation won by the publications already mentioned, Frank was the recipient of many honors. He was made professor in charge of the School of Classical Studies in the American Academy in Rome in 1922-23 and again in 1924-25. In the latter year he was American delegate to the Union Académique Internationale. He was elected a fellow of the British Academy, of the Swedish Royal Society of Letters, of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a member of the American Philosophical Society; and he was given the degree of L. H. D. by Union College in 1938. His numerous briefer writings were welcomed by learned periodicals of both America and Europe. He was invited to accept appointments to the staffs of universities more amply endowed than Johns Hopkins, though he chose to remain loyal to the institution which, after Bryn Mawr, had given him his first opportunity for a scholarly career. Such decisions, of course, are the resultant of mixed emotional forces, but gratitude and loyalty were paramount in this instance.

In the other pan of the scale, over against the honor, must always be weighed the toil:

Nil sine magno
vita labore dedit mortalibus.

When the strain of protracted labor at the desk began to exact a visible toll in the middle nineteen-twenties, medical advice encountered a somewhat rebellious patient. Even the one who had his health, happiness, and welfare most at heart persuaded him with difficulty to be content with a less arduous program of work. It is especially irksome for a vigorous man to diminish his pace. "You know," Frank had said to me more than once, "I am strong." With great reluctance he consented to the retreat, devoting more of his time to the study of migratory birds and of wild flowers, especially native ferns, of which he assembled a notable collection in his Baltimore garden.

Even so he continued to accomplish the work of a robust man.

At the same time new honors began to claim their quantum of time, thought and energy. He was invited to become a contributor to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, in which his first chapters appeared in 1928. In the same year he became President of the American Philological Association. In 1929 he delivered the Horace White Lectures at Bryn Mawr College, which, with Johns Hopkins, shared his loyalty at all times. He gave the Sather Lectures at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1929-30; these were published under the title *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic*, 1930. In the same year appeared his contribution to the translation of Cornelius van Bynkershoek's *Quaestiones Iuris Publici*. In the following year was published *Aspects of Social Behavior in Ancient Rome*, the five Martin Classical Lectures, delivered at Oberlin College. In June, 1932, he was invited by the British Academy to deliver under the Henriette Hertz trust the annual lecture on a master mind, for which he chose Cicero. Throughout these years the Latin Seminary at Johns Hopkins had demanded an increasing share of his attention and to these duties was added in 1936 the editorship of the *American Journal of Philology*.

These successive indications of the esteem and confidence with which he was regarded by his co-workers in no way undermined Frank's quiet and native humility. He was equally modest in his age and in his youth. It might have seemed to those who knew him longest and best that he was rather driven by an inborn energy than lured by the external prizes of success in his chosen calling. He lacked the vanity that turns some aside from serious purposes. It would never have occurred to him, for example, that he might claim to be a linguist, although he was bilingual from childhood, extended his knowledge of Swedish to include Norwegian and Old Norse, acquired French and German at an early age, and later became fluent in Italian. Languages were to him only tools. His experiences as a traveler in Europe, many of them diverting, some unpleasant, and a few dangerous—once in Sicily he was threatened with arrest as a German spy, on account of his Nordic mien—might justifiably have produced a *raconteur*, but few of his friends heard of his adventures. In conversation he would turn to music or domestic politics or foreign affairs, concerning which he held positive opinions, based upon sound knowledge and inveterate habits of observation and reflection.

He was not merely indifferent to the temptations of vanity; he was positively hostile toward them. The suggestion that his portrait be painted as a token of the esteem of former pupils aroused his anger, and the genuineness of his veto was not mistakable. At the same time he placed a just value upon himself and keenly appreciated recognition, but upon grounds of merit alone and from those who knew. He desired to leave as his monument the devotion of well-trained students and a certain concrete thing, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. From the time that he first found his true field of labor while in Bryn Mawr College, he had conceived a passion for finishing the task in hand. Toward each new frontier in turn he labored with single-minded and pertinacious industry. The project most at his heart had been the *Economic History* of 1920. The revised and enlarged edition of 1927 did not entirely satisfy him. He felt its incompleteness to be a challenge. A survey of the whole Empire was to be his true *magnum opus*, his monument.

Toward the attainment of this last and chief objective Frank marshaled and conserved his whole available energy; and before he left Baltimore for his year as Eastman Professor at Oxford he enjoyed the deep satisfaction of seeing four volumes upon the shelves and the whole undertaking, apart from the Rockefeller grant which had helped in the publication, on its way to becoming a self-liquidating investment. The first volume, which appeared in 1933, was written by himself. The following three are by eminent American, British, German, and French collaborators, two of them former pupils of Frank, T. R. S. Broughton and R. M. Haywood. The fifth and last volume, like the first, by himself, was fortunately almost complete at the time of his death.

Mrs. Frank was Grace Edith Mayer, whom he married in 1907. This marriage was a genuine partnership. A scholar in her own right, she shared all her husband's labors and diversions alike, and he esteemed her criticisms. The inconspicuous *G. F.* on the dedication page of his *Roman Imperialism* and the *To Grace Frank* of his *Catullus and Horace* were more than gestures of gallantry. No less unison was evident in their social life than in their vocations and amusements; and students and friends of more equal age will recall with like regret and with touching memory the genial, cultured, and unaffected atmosphere of friendliness that prevailed in their home.

When a man has died, there is scant consolation in recalling that he lived a rounded life, practiced the four virtues, attempted much, accomplished much, and all but finished his appointed tasks. As one grows older it becomes no easier through use to contemplate the chiseling of the black theta above the name of a particularly beloved friend. Tenney Frank was a reincarnated Quintilius:

Cui Pudor et Iustitiae soror,
incompacta Fides, nudaque Veritas
quando ullum inveniet parem?

NORMAN W. DEWITT.

VICTORIA COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

The death of Tenney Frank is a heavy loss to many enterprises and associations, to each in a special way, for each had special need of him; to all alike it means the removal of a companion whose integrity of heart, steadfastness of purpose, and unfaltering willingness of effort made of his wisdom a living instrument for the common good. No friends or fellow workers can feel this deprivation more than do his associates on the editorial board of the *American Journal of Philology*; yet we know that the only tribute he would wish, the only meet tribute to the conscientious toil of his own editorial direction, is the ever-present memory of his lofty standards in the continuation of the work of this *Journal* for which he gave so much of himself.

It is peculiarly appropriate to print here in chronological order the titles of his writings, for the list is a mirror in which are reflected the ever-widening circles of his interest and knowledge, a pattern of the integrated development of a great scholar. The reflection is of two dimensions only but fortunately the sovereign third, the depth of Tenney Frank's understanding, lies faithfully preserved behind these titles to be felt by all who read the works themselves.

1903

"A Stichometric Scholium to the *Medea* of Euripides, with remarks on the Text of Didymus." *The Decennial Publications*, Chicago University, vi, 63-68.

1904

Attraction of Mood in Early Latin. Univ. of Chicago; pp. 59.

"The Influence of the Infinitive upon Verbs Subordinated to it." *A. J. P.* xxv, 428-446.

1906

"The Use of the Optative in the Edda." *A. J. P.* xxvii, 1-32.

1907

"Latin vs. Germanic Modal Conceptions." *A. J. P.* xxviii, 273-286.

"A Question of Poetic Diction in Latin Verse." *C. J.* ii, 323-329.

"The Semantics of Modal Constructions." *C. P.* ii, 163-186.

"Caesar at the Rubicon." *C. Q.* i, 223-225.

1908

"The Semantics of Modal Constructions, II." *C. P.* iii, 1-21.

"Claudius and the Pavian Inscription." *C. Q.* ii, 89-92.

"On Constructions of Indirect Discourse in Early Germanic Dialects." *J. Eng. Germ. Phil.* vii, 64-80.

1909

"Classical Scholarship in Medieval Iceland." *A. J. P.* xxx, 139-152.

"Some Classical Quotations from the Middle Ages." *C. P.* iv, 82-83.

"A Chapter in the Story of Roman Imperialism." *C. P.* iv, 118-138.

"Emendation of *De Civ. Dei*, II, 27." *C. P.* iv, 436-437.

1910

"Commercialism and Roman Territorial Expansion." *C. J.* v, 99-110.

"The Diplomacy of Q. Marcius in 169 B. C." *C. P.* v, 358-361.

"Notes on Latin Word-Accent." *C. Q.* iv, 35-37.

1911

"On Rome's Conquest of Sabinum, Picenum and Etruria." *Klio*, xi, 367-381.

1912

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HORACE AND THE THEORY OF IMITATION.

In the commentary of Kiessling and Heinze, Horace's single reference to the (dramatic) poet as *imitator*¹ is interpreted as implying that the Horatian poetic was founded upon the thesis that all poetry is imitation (*μίμησις*).² And though there has been some criticism of the commentary at this place,³ this fundamental assumption has not, so far as I know, been systematically questioned.⁴ Yet it is noteworthy that students of Horatian theory rarely find it necessary to trouble themselves explicitly about the "Aristotelian" doctrine of imitation, and it is significant that to support his annotation Professor Heinze used, not another statement of Horace, but a passage out of Strabo.⁵ The fact is that there was no statement in the works of Horace which would have served the purpose. Horace nowhere says that "*alle Poesie ist μίμησις*." And I think it can be shown that he did not think it was. For actually, far from being essential to Horace's conception of the nature of poetry, the idea of *μίμησις* does not appear to have entered into the composition of that concept at all.

We shall find the Horatian statements which are most relevant to this matter not in one of the literary epistles, but in the fourth satire of Horace's first book. In a famous passage of that satire, Horace refuses the title of poetry to his own satires and those of Lucilius, and the reasons he gives for this refusal imply an attitude concerning the relation of *μίμησις* to poetry which is

¹ *Ars poetica*, 318.

² Q. Horatius Flaccus, erkl. v. A. Kiessling, III (*Briefe*; 4te Aufl., bearb. v. R. Heinze, Berlin, 1914), p. 344: ". . . *imitator*—denn alle Poesie ist *μίμησις*," etc.

³ W. Kroll, *Sokrates*, VI (1918), p. 94, n. 2; C. Jensen, *Philodemos über die Gedichte V* (Berlin, 1923), p. 120, n.; O. Immisch, *Horasens Epistel über die Dichtkunst* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 179.

⁴ See however J. W. H. Atkins, *Literary criticism in antiquity* (Cambridge, 1934), II, p. 75.

⁵ *Geog.*, I, 2, 5; p. 17 Cas. Precious as Strabo's literary bits remain, it is a good deal clearer today than in 1914 that their illumination of Horatian doctrine is at best oblique; the surer our generalisations concerning Stoic and other ancient sectarian literary opinions become, the less warrant appears for applying any of them without modification to the theory of Horace.

quite the opposite of Strabo's. "Neque, siqui scribat uti nos *sermoni propiora*," Horace says,

. . . neque, siqui scribat uti nos
sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.
ingenium cui sit, cui mens diuinior atque os
magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.⁶

In this passage the word *sermoni* has often been translated by our word *prose*. This is not strictly a mistranslation, since everyday speech is in fact normally in prose form. But it is not to its prose form, but to its commonplace character, that Horace primarily refers. "Sermo," says the author of the treatise *Ad Herennium*, "est oratio remissa et finitima cotidiana locutioni."⁷ And Cicero says, "Sermo in circulis, disputationibus, congressionibus familiarium uersetur, sequatur etiam conuiuia."⁸ As the context plainly shows, especially by its reference to the extraordinary style of Ennius, it is in allusion to the qualities of conversation which are emphasized by these descriptions, and to the established rhetorical distinction between *sermo* and *contentio*,⁹ that Horace uses the word in the verses I have quoted; and his *sermoni* is best translated, in a language which lacks precise terms for that rhetorical opposition, by some such phrase as *ordinary conversation*. In any case it is well to

⁶ *Sat.*, 1, 4, 41-44.

⁷ *Ad Herennium*, 3, 13 (23); ed. F. Marx, p. 272, l. 19.

⁸ *De officiis*, 1, 132. Both authors are distinguishing *sermo* from *contentio*, elaborate public oratory; the fact that the author *Ad Herennium* is treating of delivery rather than composition does not make his words less significant as a gloss to Horace. Cf. Cicero, *Orator*, 109, where *sermo* and *contentio* are again contrasted and, as in Horace's fourth satire (60-61), Ennius is cited as exemplifying the higher style.

⁹ Cicero's most extended discussion of this distinction (*De officiis*, 1, 132-137) is derived from a work of Panaetius, and so from a Greek source older than the treatise *Ad Herennium*, in which the dichotomy first appears in Latin; and the opposition, which is a very natural one, is in some form very old. Cf. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 3, 7, 4; Plato, *Phaedrus*, 261B, *Gorgias*, 456B; *Sophist*, 222C-D (and *ibid.*, 225B-C); *Rhet. ad Alexandrum*, 1421b14-20 (and D. A. G. Hinks, *C. Q.*, XXX [1936], pp. 170-171). *Contentio* came usually to be associated, and even identified, with the grand style (e.g. Cicero, *Brutus*, 202; thus too *contentio* designates the tragic or heroic style, as in Cicero, *Orator*, 109), and *sermo* was identified with the plain style (Cicero, *De officiis*, 1, 133; *De oratore*, 1, 255).

avoid the subtle ambiguity of the word *prose*, which we use more often to designate a kind of form than to refer to a quality or mode,¹⁰ and which might suggest that there is in Horace's statement a tautology which would vitiate its logic. It is not because his satires are formally close to prose that Horace says they are not poetry, but because they are close to common talk. The question is entirely one of what we call *style*. Since the commentators have failed to make this explicit, it is of some importance to insist that Horace does not say that the verse of his work in hexameters is an approximation to the form of prose.¹¹ It is precisely the fact that the form of his satires is not like prose form that necessitates Horace's caution against their being mistaken for poetry. But with the form of prose, or of poetry, in itself Horace is not concerned. He is interested in what will be left if the form of a composition be destroyed,

eripias si
tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine uerbumst
posterius facias, praeponens ultima primis.¹²

The whole argument of *Sat.*, 1, 4, 39-65 is directed toward disengaging the definition of poetry from the distinction between prose form and verse.

Horace was not, of course, the first to attempt this separation. Aristotle, though he neglected it in his *Rhetoric*,¹³ insisted upon it in his *Poetics*.¹⁴ In the first century before Christ it is implied or asserted by several writers. Cicero, for example, in a passage

¹⁰ "There are two very simple but insuperable difficulties in any definition of 'prose' and 'poetry.' One is that we have three terms where we need four: we have 'verse' and 'poetry' on the one side, and only 'prose' on the other" (T. S. Eliot, *Anabasis, a poem by St.-J. Perse, with a translation*, London, 1930, p. 9).

¹¹ On the contrary, he makes it clear that he requires even in the versified *sermo* a relatively polished verse; for, he says in *Sat.*, 1, 10, though one may argue that the *rerum dura . . . natura* of Lucilius forbade *uerstoulos . . . magis factos et cunctis mollius* (57-59), nevertheless if Lucilius were writing in the Augustan age he would have to take greater care in turning his verses, as Horace himself did (67-73).

¹² *Sat.*, 1, 4, 57-59.

¹³ In *Rhet.*, 3, 4, 3 (1406b), and especially 3, 8, 3 (1408b), poetry and verse are so closely associated as to suggest their identification; so Plato, whose opinion Aristotle is here probably following without reflection, had related the two in *Republic*, 601B and *Gorgias*, 502C.

¹⁴ *Post.*, 1447b.

full of interest for us, suggests that Plato and Democritus might well be called poets, though they wrote in prose. "Video uisum esse non nullis," he says, "Platonis et Democriti locutionem, etsi absit a uersu, tamen quod incitatus feratur et clarissimis uerborum luminibus utatur, potius poema putandum quam comicorum poetarum; apud quos, nisi quod uersiculi sunt, nihil est aliud cotidiani dissimile sermonis."¹⁵

Just so Horace introduces this problem of comedy into the passage we are examining:

idcirco quidam, comoedia necne poema
esset, quaesiuerunt, quod acer spiritus ac uis
nec uerbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo
differt sermoni, sermo merus.¹⁶

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that in both these statements the primary reference is again to *style*. Cicero's distinction is between writing which "incitatus feratur et clarissimis uerborum luminibus utatur" on the one hand and *sermo* on the other; Horace contrasts *sermo* with "acer spiritus ac uis."¹⁷ The doubts which they report as to the status of comedy as poetry were prompted solely by a consideration of the plainness of comic style.¹⁸ Because comedy displays no *mens*

¹⁵ *Orator*, 87.

¹⁶ *Sat.*, 1, 4, 45-48. This sentence is so close an abbreviated reproduction of the one I have just quoted from Cicero (even to the parallel in *quidam* . . . *quaesiuerunt* of the cautious *uisum* . . . *non nullis*) that it is hard to avoid suspecting that the latter served as its model.

¹⁷ Each of Horace's three words had an almost technical use in application to the grand or high style. *Spiritus*, of course, is the usual term for reference to inspiration (cf. esp. Cicero's use of the word, best shown by the collection of sentences in A. Delatte, *Les conceptions de l'enthousiasme chez les philosophes présocratiques*, Paris, 1934, pp. 28-31); *uis*, which is also common in references to inspiration (e. g., Cicero, *De div.*, 1, 38, 80; *Pro Arch.*, 8, 17-18; *Tusc. disp.*, 1, 26, 64), often denotes the characteristic quality of the grand style and Cicero, *De oratore*, 1, 255, makes a hendiadys of *uis et contentio*; the rhetorical use of *acer* is well exhibited by *Ad Herennium*, 3, 13 (23), "Contentio est oratio acris . . ." There is a good treatment of these and similar verbal associations in M. A. Grant, *The ancient rhetorical theories of the laughable* (Madison, 1924), pp. 132-138.

¹⁸ This association of plain style with comedy (and of grand style with tragedy and epic) was itself a commonplace of later ancient criticism. So e. g. the "Tractatus Coislinianus," *κωμική ἐστὶ λῆξις κοινή*

divinior or *os magna sonaturum*, because apart from its verse it is almost exactly like ordinary conversation, it is doubtful whether it is poetry. Neither Cicero nor Horace alludes at all to the possibility of using the idea of imitation as a criterion for determining the poetic. The only *differentia* of poetry implied in what they say is one of style.

This must have been true also of the original statements of the *quidam* and *non nulli* to whom they refer. The nearest approach to these which I have found among the remains of the grammarians occurs in a description of the style of middle comedy. "The poets of the middle comedy," says the anonymous writer, "did not concern themselves about poetic style; keeping to ordinary language, they have the virtues proper to prose; so that it is rarely that the character of their style is poetic."¹⁹

καὶ δημώδης, etc. (G. Kaibel, *Comicoorum graecorum fragmenta*, I, i, Berlin, 1889, p. 52). But many distinctions were drawn among the styles of the older comic writers, and a lofty style was often attributed to the Old Comedy in general (Tzetzes has ἡ δὲ παλαιὰ [κωμῳδία] ἔχει τὸ δεινὸν καὶ ὑψηλὸν τοῦ λόγου; Kaibel, p. 18; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 6-10 and p. 81, sec. 9). Professor Hendrickson has suggested that Horace intended some such distinction to be understood in the statements of his fourth satire (*A. J. P.*, XXI [1900], pp. 129-30; cf. Ullman, *T. A. P. A.*, XLVIII [1917], pp. 115-116); but, though it is clear that Horace refers primarily to the new comedy, it is likely that he takes this as the type of all comedy. And we are not really warranted by the little, and ambiguous, evidence we have to conclude that those who made a distinction between the style of old and of later comedy did not include both in a single larger category which they would have agreed to place below tragedy and epic; the distinction may be relative. Or it may be simply historical; Strabo, who remarks that the first writers of prose used a poetic style because they had only poets to imitate, observes that there is an analogy to this in the development of comic style, and in fact there may have been. If the critics who distinguished comic styles were only pointing out this historical accident, their statements mean simply that the old comedy formed an exception to the comic rule. In any case, when Strabo wrote his first book the rule was generally recognised, and he concludes the sentence to which I have referred by characterising comic style as λογοειδὲς *νυνὶ* καλούμενον (I, 2, 6; p. 18 Cas.).

¹⁹ τῆς δὲ μέσης κωμῳδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ πλάσματος μὲν οὐχ ἦσαν ποιητικοῦ, διὰ δὲ τῆς συνήθους ἰόντες λαλιᾶς λογικὰς ἔχουσι τὰς ἀρετάς, ὥστε σπάνιον ποιητικὸν εἶναι χαρακτῆρα παρ' αὐτοῖς (Kaibel, *op. cit.*, p. 8. Whatever source this writer is using, it is not likely to be Proclus, whom Kaibel [p. 6, n.] suggests; for according to Photius [*Bibliotheca*, ed. Bekker, II, 318b 24-26] Proclus expressly repudiated the classification of ἀρεταί

Here, whatever the critic's intention was, there is no explicit denial that the work of these writers is poetry; it is only that their style is not poetic. It is not probable, indeed, that this critic envisaged the possibility of poetry written in a style unlike that which had come to be regarded as "poetic"; but his words do not exclude this possibility, and his use of *ποιηταί* to designate these comic writers, insignificant as it is in itself, perhaps forbids us to press his declaration to strict conformity with the opinions of Horace's *quidam*. It is evident, nevertheless, that this description of comic style is a reproduction of one which the men referred to by Cicero and Horace would have approved and perhaps had written.

From other assertions of the grammarians we learn, what without them it would not be impossible to divine, the precise relation of this unpoetic style to the imitative process. The definitions which occur in the grammatical treatises agree in describing comedy as a representation of the life of ordinary, undistinguished, "private" persons.²⁰ It was expected that the comic plot should be a fiction (*πλάσμα*); but imaginative invention was restricted to the pattern of the plot. Unlike tragedy, which might and indeed normally did draw its matter from the famous histories of the past, comedy was required to construct its arguments out of the materials offered by actual contemporary life at its average level. *Διαφέρει δὲ κωμῳδία τραγῳδίας*, runs the grammatical commonplace, *ὅτι ἡ μὲν τραγῳδία ἱστορίαν ἔχει καὶ ἀπαγγελίαν πράξεων γενομένων, ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία πλάσματα περιέχει βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων*.²¹ The material of comedy was the *βιωτικὸν πράγμα*. It came, in fact, to be almost a proverb that comedy

implicit here: *ἐν μὲν τῷ α' λέγει ὡς αἱ αὐταὶ εἰσιν ἀρεταὶ λόγου καὶ ποιήματος, παραλλάσσουσι δὲ ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον*).

²⁰ Kaibel, *op. cit.*, *passim*; in contrast, tragedy is a representation of the life of heroic personages, *βίων καὶ λόγων ἡρωικῶν μίμησις* (*Biologium magnum*; Kaibel, p. 16).

²¹ A. Hilgard, *Scholion in Dionysii Thracis artem grammaticam* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 173; cf. *ibid.*, p. 306, ll. 24-26; p. 307, ll. 1-3; p. 475. Evanthius, in paraphrasing this, by omitting the equivalent of *βιωτικός* eliminates the complex, chiastic pattern of the Greek contrast. "Omnis comoedia," he says simply, "de fictis est argumentis, tragoedia saepe de historica fide petitur" (Kaibel, p. 66); but this contrast of tragedy as history and comedy as fiction is subtly crossed in the Greeks with the opposing contrast between the remoteness of tragic history and the actuality of comic fiction.

was a direct, faithful reflection of average life.²² And of course this reflection could not be confined to the action; the universally respected laws of the *πρέπον* required that every aspect of the composition and of its production must be conformably faithful to life. From the stock character types to the very elocution of the actors, or of the reader, comedy must be *βωτική*. The words I have just quoted upon this commonplace come from a scholium upon the sentence of Dionysius Thrax, in the section of his great *τέχνη* devoted to *ἀνάγνωσις καθ' ὑπόκρισιν*,²³ which prescribes that (as tragedy is to be read *ἡρωικῶς*²⁴ and the other kinds of poetry in other ways appropriate to the nature of each), comedy must be read *βωτικῶς*. The same scholiast also writes, *δεῖ . . . ἀναγνώσκειν . . . τὰ δὲ βωτικά, τουτέστι τὰ κωμικά, ὡς ἐν τῷ βίῳ . . .*²⁵ It is clear, then, why the speeches of the comic characters had to be composed in the plain style. The style of comedy was to be, as the scholiasts say its delivery was to be, *βωτικ[ῇ] κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ βίου*.²⁶ Comic style is *sermo* because its ideal is the

²² So Lucilius refers to the work of a comic poet as "*ea quae speciem uitae esse putamus*" (XXX, 1029, ed. Marx; cf. for similar utterances Marx' commentary on this line, *O. Lucilii carminum reliquiae*, II, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 329-330), and Donatus says, "*comoediam esse Cicero ait imitationem uitae, speculum consuetudinis, imaginem ueritatis . . . comoedia autem, quia poema sub imitatione uitae atque morum similitudine compositum est [etc.] . . . aitque esse comoediam cotidianae uitae speculum, nec iniuria; nam ut intenti speculo ueritatis linamenta facile per imaginem colligimus, ita lectione comoediae imitationem uitae consuetudinisque non aegerrime animaduertimus*" (Kaibel, p. 67). It is now generally agreed that these notions are the best foundation for any commentary upon Horace, *Ars poetica*, 317-318 (the lines with which we began); cf. note 3 above.

²³ We should say "dramatic reading." *ὑπόκρισις δὲ ἐστὶ μίμησις*, says the scholiast (Hilgard, *op. cit.*, p. 474; cf. pp. 16, 305, etc.); Donatus considered that this was of peculiar importance for comedy because of its very mimetic character: "*comoedia autem, quia poema sub imitatione uitae atque morum similitudine compositum est, in gestu et pronuntiatione consistit*" (Kaibel, p. 67).

²⁴ *Τουτέστι*, says a scholiast, *μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ μετὰ πολλῆς σεμνότητος καὶ ὀγκου*, etc. (Hilgard, p. 17).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16. He continues, *τουτέστι μιμουμένους γυναῖκας νέας ἢ γραιδας ἢ δεδοικότες ἢ ὀργιζομένους ἄνδρας* [e. g., Horace's *pater ardens*, *Sat.*, I, 4, 48 ff. 1], etc. This too is of course a commonplace; cf. Hilgard, pp. 20, 172-173, 306-307, 475, 569.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 306. See above, n. 18. The universal plainness might extend to the versification, so that there was also formal approxi-

reproduction of the common speech of ordinary life. Comedy is not only an imitation of life, but the most exact copy of life possible, not only *μίμησις*, but *μίμησις par excellence*. And of the mimetic process the comic style is the chief instrument. As process and instrument are inseparably related, it is impossible to separate the plain style of comedy from the idea of imitation.

Horace does not attempt to separate the two; and we need no more than the passage we are examining in his fourth satire to establish that all the conventional theory I have summarized was familiar and acceptable to him. His comic father, he says, is a figure out of life; the qualities of the *sermo* to which he draws attention are those which the grammarians describe by the words *συνήθης* and *βιωτικός*. If Horace does not give an extended account of the relevant theory, that is because in his time it was familiar and obvious to everyone.

mation to the prose of actual conversation: τὸν γὰρ βίον οὗτοι μιμούμενοι, says the scholiast on Hephaestion of the comic poets, θέλουσι δοκεῖν διαλελυμένως διαλέγεσθαι. Cf. Cicero, *Orator*, 67. Horace in denying that comedy and his satire are poetry does not, however, allude to this extreme of casualness. As we have seen, his denial abstracts from all purely formal considerations, and he in fact required that *sermones* be put into careful verse, considering that this did not essentially modify their pedestrian character. It should perhaps further be noted that in any case the plainness of style which Horace accepted for the *sermo* did not involve roughness or carelessness. Of the two varieties of plain style distinguished by Cicero (*Orator*, 20) it was the elegant rather than the unpolished that Horace approved for both comedy (*Epist.*, 2, 1, 168-170) and satire (*Sat.*, 1, 4, 8-13; 1, 10, 1-72). Yet, though the writer of *sermones* must at times use the devices of the poet and the orator ("modo rhetoris atque poetae," *Sat.*, 1, 10, 12), this does not, as Professor Immisch (*op. cit.*, p. 42) has well said, make him a poet any more than it makes him a public speaker. Horace's own practise in this regard has nevertheless been urged to minimise the sincerity (E. E. Sikes, *Roman poetry*, London, 1923, p. 49) or the accuracy (P. H. Edwards, *The poetic element in the satires and epistles of Horace*, Baltimore, 1905, esp. pp. 4-12) of what Horace says in *Sat.*, 1, 4, 39 ff.; and Professor Lejay actually conjectured that Horace inserted his description of the perfect poet into this passage in order to indicate the method he was himself following in an effort to make poetry of a hitherto unpoetic *genre*. "La satire deviendra poétique," says M. Lejay, "en revêtant quelques ornements des genres supérieurs. Horace ne dit pas que tel est son but, mais le cours uni et simple de sa causerie est parsemé de véritables élégances. . . . Il obtient ainsi la variété, mais surtout il donne à la satire les qualités qui la font remonter dans

But if the style of comedy is plain because comedy is imitation of plain life, it is evident that one who argues that comedy is not poetry because its style is plain does not adhere to the doctrine that imitation is the *differentia* of poetry. For this is as much as to say that there is at least one kind of imitation which by its nature is unpoetic.

I do not expect that any reader will make the specious objection that Horace does not by reporting the view of his *quidam* commit himself to it. For though it is indeed presented with characteristic diffidence, the doubt of the critics is offered as serious and considerable; and it may certainly in any case be fairly said that to ignore the notion of *μίμνησις* at this point was crucial. If he reported it at all, one who believed that *μίμνησις* was the *differentia* of poetry should have dismissed the sceptical exclusion of comedy at once with a reference to that idea; here if anywhere was the place to apply the doctrine.²⁷ So even the

l'échelle des genres. Ce dessein n'est avoué nulle part" (Horace, *Satires*, ed. Paul Lejay, Paris, 1911, p. 103). The imagined design of making satire heroic is not confessed, indeed, and there is nothing to suggest it existed; but the design of giving satire an elegance which the work of Lucilius lacked is plainly enough avowed. The *élégances* of which the distinguished editor speaks are proper enough to the plain style; the *ornements* which Horace borrows from poet and orator are those *lumina quae non erunt uehementer inlustria* which Cicero explicitly assigns to it (*Orator*, 85). Occasional ascent even to the grand, however, was not denied by ancient rhetoric to a discourse in the plain style. The *χαρακτήρες* were distinguished in part that they might be combined (S. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, 4, 51); Horace acknowledges that purple passages occur in comedy (*Sat.*, 1, 4, 48 ff.; *Ars poet.*, 89-94), as they do in life. On the other hand, the question whether *all* satire must necessarily be *sermo* is never opened by Horace. What he says is not that satire cannot be heroic, but that his satires and those of Lucilius are not. (In *Sat.*, 1, 4, 65, the reference of *genus hoc scribendi* is particular to just this extent; the words mean "writing like this of mine or Lucilius".) It may conceivably be that Horace had a possible Juvenal in mind, and chose the vague phrase advisedly; perhaps the possibility of a heroic satire is one of the questions he would have discussed in the further treatment he promised in line 63. On the precise nature of Horace's criticism of Lucilius and his conception of the proper style for satire and comedy, see H. R. Fairclough, *A. J. P.*, XXXIV [1913], pp. 183-193, and the articles of Hendrickson there referred to.)

²⁷ It may be objected that one who held the "Aristotelian" theory of imitation might on the other hand require that the work of art bear in

confused Dryden solved the problem when it confronted him.²⁸ But this seems not to have occurred to Horace. He ignores the doctrine that poetry is imitation, and the *quidam* who held it in his time and before. It is only of style that he speaks as *differentia*, and from what he says and what he omits we must, I believe, conclude that for Horace, as for Cicero, the primary requisite of poetry was not *imitatio* but *incitatio*.²⁹

But before we leave this matter, it will be well to look at the few more positive allusions which Horace makes to the idea of imitation. These are not important, and I will treat them briefly.

There is little in Horace's use of such words as *imitari* and *repraesentare* that is significant in this connection. The words do not occur often, and the usage when they occur is casual and conventional.³⁰ Twice, in referring to the imitative process of sculpture, Horace chooses *exprimere*.³¹ In *Ars poet.*, 134, and

itself clear evidence of its relation to the reality imitated, and that too close a copy would hardly be an imitation at all since it failed thus to indicate its ontological status. This is a most serious objection; but I have discovered nothing which suggests either that a contemporary of Horace might have urged it, or that it might have entered into Horace's thought.

²⁸ *Essays*, ed. Ker (Oxford [1900], 1926), II, p. 132 ("Comedy . . . by that means ["representation"] creeps into the nature of poetry, and is a kind of juniper . . .").

²⁹ I should perhaps earlier have referred explicitly to Horace's refusal to consider the mimes of Laberius poetry (*Sat.*, 1, 10, 6); for though it is not his *comœdia*, the mime is a comic form (and treated so by the Latin grammarians); Horace's reason for excluding it is again stylistic (cf. too the phrase of Evanthius for the style of the mime, "*mimica uilitas*"; Kaibel, p. 65); and the mime of course was mimetic in the extreme (cf. Evanthius' etymology, "*mimos ab diuturna imitatione ullum rerum ac leuium personarum*"; *ibid.*, p. 66).

³⁰ So Horace's single use of *repraesentare*, *Epist.*, 1, 19, 14 (*reproduce, recreate*). *Simulare*, used of aping or pretense in *Sat.*, 2, 7, 56 and *Epist.*, 1, 19, 13, refers to imitative (plastic or graphic) art in *Epist.*, 2, 1, 241 and *Ars poet.*, 20. *Imitari* and its cognates refer to imitative behavior, copying or aping, in *Sat.*, 2, 2, 64, *Sat.*, 2, 3, 308, and *Epist.*, 1, 19, 17 and 19 (cf. *Ars poet.*, 134); to *acting* in *Sat.*, 2, 3, 180. In *Carm.*, 2, 2, 42, *imitaris* means *take the form of*; related to this is Horace's interesting occasional use of *imitari* simply as the equivalent of *like* in constructing a simile (*Sat.*, 1, 4, 21; *Epist.*, 2, 1, 207; *Carm.*, 4, 2, 57).

³¹ *Epist.*, 2, 1, 248; *Ars poet.*, 33. The word occurs only once again in Horace (*Sat.*, 1, 7, 29).

Sat., 1, 10, 17, *imitator* and *imitandi* refer to the imitation of models or predecessors in art.³² In *Epist.*, 2, 2, 8 (*imitaberis uda*), and in *Ars poet.*, 33 (*imitabitur aere*), there are references to the *μῦθος* of the sculptor; and *imitator*, as we noted in setting out, is used in *Ars poet.*, 318, to designate the dramatic poet.

Throughout his treatment of the drama in the *Ars poetica* Horace assumes, naturally enough, that the drama is imitation. So far as the epic is discussed in the *Ars*, it is also regarded as imitative; and there is an allusion to epic imitation in a passage of the *Epistle to Augustus*:

nec magis expressi uoltus per aenea signa
quam per uatis opus mores animique uirorum
clarorum apparent.³³

Here, indeed, *mores animique* is a fair parallel to the ἦθη καὶ πᾶθος of Aristotle;³⁴ and the great matters referred to in the following lines, which can all be subsumed in the *res gestae* of the next, sufficiently represent *πράξεις*, the third and greatest of Aristotle's three divisions of the subject-matter of the poetic imitator.

The passage which includes these lines in the *Epistle to Augustus* has a further interest for us. Horace is contrasting the grandeur of the epic, represented by Virgil and Varius, with the plainness of his own *sermones*; and it is significant that though he introduces this oblique allusion to the *μῦθος* of epic, the contrast is not primarily that of an imitative form with one which is not imitative, but of the different stylistic characters of the two forms. This difference is the result, it is true, of the fact that the epic poet imitates, as a sculptor might, the *mores* and *animos* and the heroic actions of superior men (*uirorum clarorum*), whereas the *sermo* is the actual conversation or correspondence of ordinary men. But it is not with this fact, but with the resultant difference itself, that Horace is concerned. This he makes clear by referring to his *sermones* not as lacking

³² On Horace's treatment of this kind of *μῦθος* see Immisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff. and 167 ff.

³³ *Epist.*, 2, 1, 248-250.

³⁴ *Poet.*, 1447a 28. Cf. Horace, *Epist.*, 1, 2, 62, where *animus* = *πάθος* (*ira, furor, etc.*).

imitation but as *repentis per humum*,³⁵ and by insisting that, such is his own incapacity for the heroic, even if he tried the epic he could only produce a work in his habitual humble style, a *paruum carmen* which would not suit the majesty of the emperor whose acts it rehearsed.³⁶ The notion of imitation is introduced only incidentally, to explain the grand style of the epic. It is the heroic quality itself, not its occasion, to which attention is directed. The treatment is exactly like that of the style of comedy in the fourth satire.

These references to the idea of imitation put it beyond doubt that Horace regarded the drama and the epic as *μῦθος*. But we are not to see in this fact any implication that he so regarded the other forms of poetry, or that even if we ignore the statement of the fourth satire it may legitimately be supposed that Horace's general theory included the thesis that all poetry is imitation. For it is possible and indeed easy to fit all that Horace says into a scheme of the grammarians which involves no such thesis. The distinction between *μῦθος* and *διήγησις* (narrative or exposition spoken by the poet in his own person), which first appears in Plato,³⁷ and is assimilated by Aristotle into his theory,³⁸ becomes in the grammarians the common principle of classification for all poetry.³⁹ The schemes vary and ramify to much detail; but they agree generally in a preliminary division of all poetry into the mimetic and the non-mimetic (usually recognizing a third class which combines the two). There are unmistakable suggestions of a systematic classification of this kind in Horace's *Ars poetica*, in lines 73-82 (where, moreover, Horace refers to the *grammatici*), and again in line 179. In the list of kinds in *Ars poet.*, 73-85, all those mentioned except epic and drama (*res gestae*, 73; *res agenda*, 82) are presented as if Horace regarded them as the personal, non-imitative utterance of the poet; this is true equally of the reference to the dithyramb in *Carm.*, 4, 2, 10-11.⁴⁰ Horace's scheme, so far as it is appar-

³⁵ *Epist.*, 2, 1, 251.

³⁶ *Rep.*, 394 B-C.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 257-259.

³⁸ *Post.*, 1448a 19-24.

³⁹ See G. Kaibel, *Die Prolegomena πρὸς κωμῳδίας* (*Abhandlungen d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., n. F., II, no. 4; Berlin, 1898), pp. 28-30; O. Immisch, *Festschrift Theodor Gompers* (Vienna, 1902), pp. 257 ff.; J. Kayser, *De veterum arte poetica quaestiones selectae* (Leipzig, 1906), *passim*.

⁴⁰ Cf. Plato, *Rep.*, 394 C. There is no conflict in either with Aristotle, *Post.*, 1447a 14, since after Pindar the dithyramb became dramatic.

ent, has been identified with that of Proclus and the grammarians who accord with him;⁴¹ but since in their system the epic was classified with the elegy, iambic poetry, and the lyric among εἶδη τοῦ διηγηματικοῦ, this cannot be correct. It is doubtful whether Horace's authority would have used the term διηγηματικός as a designation for one of his two primary divisions of poetry. The distinction between μίμησις and διήγησις in *Ars poet.*, 179 is not the one which constituted the primary division; it requires, as does that of Aristotle in *Poet.*, 1448a, that both of these be taken as subdivisions of μίμησις in a larger sense. A division prior to this is suggested, in which we should have a pure διήγησις (such as that of lyric poetry) distinguished from the μίμησις which included this subordinate μίμησις and διήγησις.⁴² And precisely such a division we find in the *Tractatus Coislinianus*, which opens with a dual classification of all poetry as either ἀμύμητος or μμητ[ικ]ή, dividing the latter into τὸ ἀπαγγελτικόν (epic) and τὸ δραματικὸν καὶ πρακτικόν.⁴³ Into this scheme Horace's will fit neatly and without residue. And it is not likely that this is an accident.

CRAIG LA DRIÈRE.

THE SOCIETY OF FELLOWS,
HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

⁴¹ Kayser, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴² This is suggested, of course, as much by Aristotle's words as by Horace's; to this problem of the Aristotelian theory I intend to return in another study.

⁴³ The full text is in Kaibel, *Com. gr. frag.*, p. 50, and in Kayser, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Kaibel's argument (*Prolegomena* π. κωμ., pp. 63-65) that the division called ἀμύμητος represents *prose*, is quite unacceptable; the best analytic account of what is included in this division is that of Immisch, *loc. cit.*

GNOMONICA IN AULUS GELLIUS.

In discussing the curriculum of the Pythagoreans, Aulus Gellius states (1, 9, 6) that students of the second grade were called *μαθηματικοί*, *ab his scilicet artibus, quas iam discere atque meditari inceptaverant: quoniam geometriam, gnomonicam,¹ musicam, ceterasque item disciplinas altiores μαθήματα veteres Graeci appellabant.* The latest editor of Book I of the *Noctes Atticae*,² in a note on *gnomonicam* in our passage, explains at some length the nature of the science of the sun-dial, and concludes, "Inasmuch as it involved considerable astronomical and mathematical knowledge as well as practical skill, it is not surprising to find it mentioned here as a special science side by side with music and geometry." On the contrary, it is just because *gnomonica* is so special a science that it seems to me most surprising to find it mentioned between, and apparently on a par with, the major Greek mathematical studies of geometry and music. It is the purpose of this note first to show that the inclusion of *gnomonica* is very strange, and then to suggest a possible explanation for its mention.

Which were the *disciplinæ altiores* to which the *veteres Graeci* gave the name of *μαθήματα*? In the strict sense of the word, of course, any subject of instruction might be called *μάθημα*, but Gellius is evidently using the word in the technical sense from which our own use of "mathematics" is derived. Though this special use of *μαθήματα* and *μαθηματικός* did not become current until Aristotle's time,³ it was among the Pythagoreans them-

¹ According to the edition of C. Hosius (Leipzig, Teubner, 1903), p. 59, the *codex Busildanus*, a much-interpolated MS (see *ibid.*, pp. x-xii), here reads *geometriam, gnomonicam, astrologiam, musicam*. The reading *astrologiam* is obviously an instance of interpolation; its insertion here seems to have been intended to bring our passage into greater conformity with the mediaeval mathematical Quadrivium, comprising arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy: see M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1907), I, pp. 578, 823.

² H. M. Horneby, *A. Gelli Nootium Atticarum Liber I* (Dublin, Hodges Figgis and Co., 1938), pp. 115-116.

³ Cantor, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 216-217; Sir Thomas Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1921), I, p. 10. See Heath's entire section (pp. 10-18) on "Meaning and classification of mathematics," to which I am greatly indebted.

selves, those pioneers in mathematical investigation, that it apparently originated.⁴ Tradition is unanimous in ascribing to the Pythagoreans a list of four *μαθήματα*: geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music; in making this division, they were probably influenced by their well-known veneration for the number four.⁵ The list as I have given it appears in a fragment of the Pythagorean Archytas,⁶ of the fourth century B. C., and is confirmed by citations in Proclus,⁷ and in the *Theologumena Arithmeticae* attributed to Iamblichus.⁸ It is doubtless because of the commanding position of the Pythagoreans in the field of mathematics that their quadripartite division became canonical.⁹

In Plato's nearest approach to the use of *μαθήματα* in the technical sense, he lists three studies: arithmetic, geometry (plane and solid), and astronomy.¹⁰ In another passage, he repeats these, and adds the subject of music, with express mention of the Pythagoreans, and with what seems to be a reference to the very passage of Archytas cited above.¹¹

Aristotle lists (plane) geometry, stereometry (or solid geometry), arithmetic, and astronomy as the basic studies upon which optics, mechanics, harmonics, and phenomenology (*τὰ φαινόμενα*) respectively depend.¹² Now in another passage¹³ he calls optics, harmonics, and astronomy¹⁴ *τὰ φυσικώτερα τῶν μαθημάτων*; that he is here using *μαθήματα* in its technical sense is proved by the

⁴ Heath, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵ See A. Delatte, *Études sur la Littérature Pythagoricienne* (Paris, Champlon, 1915), pp. 249-268, on "La Tétractys Pythagoricienne."

⁶ H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (5th ed., Berlin, Weidmann, 1934), I, p. 432, lines 6-7: *περὶ γεμετρίας καὶ ἀριθμῶν καὶ σφαιρικᾶς καὶ . . . μουσικᾶς*. Astronomy is referred to by the term *σφαιρικά* (see Heath, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12).

⁷ In *Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii* (ed. G. Friedlein, Leipzig, Teubner, 1873), p. 35, line 21—p. 36, line 3; p. 38, lines 1-2.

⁸ *Theologumena Arithmeticae* (ed. V. de Falco, Leipzig, Teubner, 1922), p. 20, line 12—p. 21, line 13 (Ast, p. 17), especially p. 21, lines 7-10.

⁹ Cantor, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 216-217.

¹⁰ *Laws* 817 e; see Heath, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹¹ *Republic* 525 a-531 c, especially 530 d; cf. Diels, *op. cit.*, I, p. 432, line 8 and footnote.

¹² *Posterior Analytics* 78 b 35-39 (Bekker).

¹³ *Physics* 194 a 7-8.

¹⁴ Obviously *ἀστρολογία ἡ ναυτική* is meant in 194 a 8; see 78 b 40-79 a 1.

distinction which he draws in the same passage between the *γραμμαὶ φυσικῇ* and the *γραμμαὶ μαθηματικῇ*.¹⁵ It is to be noted that he omits music from his list of basic *μαθήματα*; later in the passage first cited, however, he mentions *ἁρμονικὴ ἢ μαθηματικῇ*.¹⁶ In the main, therefore, both Plato and Aristotle follow the Pythagorean tradition.

In a passage expressly devoted to the division of mathematics into its component parts, Proclus¹⁷ first mentions the fourfold division of the Pythagoreans. After discussing this in detail, he goes on¹⁸ to say that there are those who divide mathematics differently; he cites as the main proponent of this divergent view the mathematician Geminus, who is assigned to the first century B. C. at the earliest.¹⁹ In the classification of Geminus, mathematics is first analyzed as follows:

- A. Branches concerned with non-sensibles (*τὰ νοητά*)
 - 1. Arithmetic
 - 2. Geometry
- B. Branches concerned with sensibles (*τὰ αἰσθητά*)
 - 1. Mechanics
 - 2. Astronomy
 - 3. Optics
 - 4. Geodesy
 - 5. Canonics
 - 6. Logistics

This is followed by a further division into subtopics, in the course of which *γνομονικῇ* appears as one of the three subdivisions of astronomy. This classification, which has been called the most elaborate found in the ancient authors,²⁰ evidently did not meet with favor, for it was the Pythagorean fourfold division which survived to form the mediaeval Quadrivium.²¹

Three factors make it clear that, in our passage, Gellius follows the older, Pythagorean tradition: (1) the use of the words *veteres Graeci*, for, as we have seen, the classification of Geminus is a later development; (2) the mention of *musica*, which is not included in Geminus' list; (3) the fact that our passage appears

¹⁵ 194 a 10-12.

¹⁶ 79 a 1.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* (note 7, above), p. 35, line 17—p. 42, line 8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38, line 1—p. 42, line 8.

¹⁹ Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, VII, 1027, line 56—1029, line 9.

²⁰ Heath, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

²¹ Cantor, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 578, 823.

in a chapter largely devoted to the Pythagoreans. Now *gnomonica* does not appear in the Pythagorean canon, nor is there any evidence that Pythagoras or his followers paid any particular attention to it; even Geminus lists it merely as a subtopic of the third order. Among the Romans, Vitruvius names *gnomonice* as one of the three subdivisions of architecture!²² Thus Gellius' inclusion of *gnomonica* in the list of *μᾶθημα* between geometry and music, far from being "not surprising,"²³ is, in fact, extremely peculiar. Especially is this so in view of his omission of arithmetic, that "elder sister of music," as Proclus²⁴ calls it. I believe that a single explanation may account both for the inclusion of the one and the omission of the other.

The word *gnomonica* in the sense "science of the sun-dial"²⁵ is of course derived from *gnomon* in its most usual meaning. But the word *gnomon*, in addition to being the common name for the sun-dial, is also a mathematical *terminus technicus*. The mathematical use of the word seems to have had the following development:²⁶ because the stylus of the sun-dial was perpendicular to its base, the term *gnomon* was used with reference to a perpendicular; it was then applied to the carpenter's square with which a perpendicular may be drawn, and then to a geometrical figure shaped like a carpenter's square. Now it was observed that such a figure will result when a smaller square is cut out of the corner of a larger, as in Fig. 1, and, conversely, that if such a figure be applied to a square so that the arms be coextensive with the sides of the square, the area of the square is enlarged, but the shape is unchanged²⁷ (this is plain if we regard the shaded portion of Fig. 1 as the original square, the unshaded portion as the added *gnomon*). Now if to a unit square there be successively added *gnomones* composed of 3, 5, 7, 9 . . . unit squares, the results will be successive squares of 4, 9, 16, 25 . . . units (Fig. 2). This provides a graphic illustration of the familiar formula

$$1 + 3 + 5 + 7 + 9 + \dots + (2n - 1) = n^2,$$

²² Vitruvius, I, 3, 1; cf. 9, 7 and 9, 8.

²³ See note 2, above.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* (note 7, above), p. 36, line 24.

²⁵ See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s. v.

²⁶ See Heath, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79; Cantor, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 161-162.

²⁷ Cf. Aristotle, *Categories* 15 a 30-32.

expressing the summation of a series of consecutive odd integers starting with 1. Thus the term *gnomon* in the sense of a figure shaped like a carpenter's square, or a number corresponding to such a figure,²⁸ plays a not unimportant rôle in the theory of numbers. It was precisely in this sense that the word was current among the Pythagoreans!²⁹

Here, then, we have, in my opinion, the clue to the solution

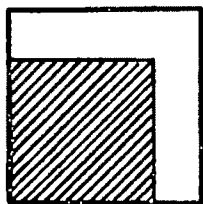


Fig. 1.

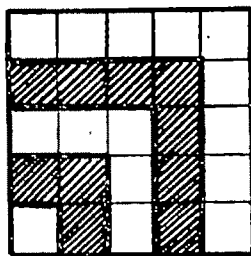


Fig. 2.

of our problem. That Gellius could misinterpret a Greek technical term is demonstrated by his mistake in a neighboring passage of the *Noctes Atticae*,³⁰ where his words *feminas etiam tibicinas . . . habuit* show how completely he misunderstood Herodotus' words *ἐπὶ . . . αὐλοῦ γυναικῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν*, "to the music of the clarinet, both treble and bass."³¹ In a compiler who is capable of such an egregious error, the failure to comprehend the esoteric mathematical significance of a Greek word

²⁸ For the later, more strictly numerical development of the term *gnomon*, see the references cited in note 26, above; see also M. L. D'Ooge, *Nicomachus of Gerasa, Introduction to Arithmetic* (New York, Macmillan, 1926), p. 197, note 3.

²⁹ Cantor, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161, after defining *gnomon* as "das, was von einem Quadrat übrig blieb, wenn aus dessen einer Ecke ein kleineres Quadrat herausgeschnitten wurde," says, "Diese Bedeutung des Wortes war bei den Pythagoräern gang und gebe." As an *unerträglicher Beweis dafür* he cites a fragment of Philolaus (Diels, *op. cit.*, I, p. 411, line 18—p. 412, line 3). I have not been able to gain access to A. Boeckh, *Philolaus des Pythagoreers Lehren*, which he also cites; but see W. R. Newbold, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, XIX (1906), pp. 177-199.

³⁰ I, 11, 7.

³¹ Herodotus, I, 17. See the edition of H. Stein (5th ed., Berlin, Weidmann, 1883), pp. 21-22. I am indebted to J. H. Sleeman's edition of Herodotus I (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1927), p. 160, for the notice of Gellius' blunder.

familiar in its common meaning can surely occasion no surprise. The Greek source³² which Gellius is here condensing apparently took up the Pythagorean curriculum in some detail; the *μαθήματα* seem to have been discussed in the order given by Archytas:³³ geometry, arithmetic, astronomy (*σφαρική*), and music. I believe that, reading rapidly, Gellius first made note of the subject geometry; that then, glancing through the section devoted to arithmetic, he was deceived by the mention, perhaps frequent,³⁴ of the *gnomon* (in the mathematical sense, of course), into believing that the subject which he knew as *gnomonica* was being discussed, and accordingly listed it to the exclusion of arithmetic. I believe that he then omitted to mention *σφαρική*, either because he did not recognize astronomy under that title, or because, having already mentioned *gnomonica*, he felt that further reference to a meteorological study was superfluous; that he concluded the list with the familiar *musica*, and that finally, troubled by a sense of omission, he took refuge in the saving phrase *ceterasque item disciplinas altiores*.

I admit that this hypothesis is somewhat far-fetched; yet it seems to me to offer a satisfactory explanation of an otherwise inexplicable phenomenon, Gellius' inclusion of *gnomonica* among the cardinal subjects of ancient mathematics.

HUNTER COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

HARRY L. LEVY.

³² The determination of this source is not essential for the immediate purposes of this note. I believe that L. Ruske, *De A. Gellii . . . Fontibus Quaestiones* (Glaciae, Schirmer, 1883), p. 50, is quite right in naming Calvisius Taurus as Gellius' authority; I believe, however, that he should have listed 1, 9 not under those "quos Gellium praesentem ab illo accepisse in aperto est," but rather among those "quos ex libris a Tauro conscriptis desumptos esse . . . a Gellio ipso . . . minus . . . aperte significatur aut coniectura colligi potest" (*ibid.*, p. 51). For Gellius' habit of citing as an actual conversation with an author what he had really gleaned from that author's writings, see Hosius in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, VII, 995, line 58—996, line 10; cf. Praechter, *ibid.*, V A, 59, lines 1-18. In Gellius 1, 9 the words *haec eadem . . . cum dixisset* (1, 9, 8), and the conclusion of the chapter (1, 9, 12), incline me to believe that Gellius is quoting, in part at least, from a written work of Taurus, rather than from a lecture or *causerie*; but my main hypothesis is perhaps tenable even if the latter view is held: the mistake would then be the result of a misunderstanding of part of Taurus' lecture.

³³ See note 6, above.

³⁴ Cf. Heath, *op. cit.*, p. 77, pp. 79-84.

CICERO'S ACCURACY OF CHARACTERIZATION IN HIS DIALOGUES.

Cicero's requests in his letters for specific factual details necessary to the dialogues he was writing (*Ad Att.*, XII, 20) and his criticism of Curio's anachronism (*Brutus*, 218-219) indicate that he was careful to avoid anachronisms in his dialogues. Nevertheless, convention among the Greeks and Romans did not prescribe accurate characterization of the interlocutors. Hence it has seemed desirable to examine the interlocutors in Cicero's dialogues to see how far they represent the historical characters. We have selected the six dialogues that are most important for our purpose: the *De Senectute*, *De Republica*, and *De Amicitia*, which, as the dialogues with the earliest dramatic dates, afford the best opportunity of observing Cicero's method and historical accuracy; the *De Oratore*, a rhetorical dialogue placed in 91 B. C., the characters of which can be compared with Cicero's criticisms of the orators in the *Brutus*; and the *Brutus* and *Academica*, dialogues in which the dramatic date coincides with the date of composition.

In the *De Republica* Cicero uses a few archaic words and phrases (such as *suaviloquens*, *breviloquentia*, *nuncupo*, *nectier*, *grates*, *sepse*, and *foedifragos Afros*) to suggest the early dramatic date of the dialogue, but he does not employ this method elsewhere. In all the dialogues, however, he is careful not only to give the correct setting but also to avoid anachronisms in the literary and historical references, using only those which men at the time of the dramatic date could have employed.¹ More-

¹ Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa*, following Corrsen, pointed out Posidonius as Cicero's source for the *Somnium* and the *First Tusculan Disputation*. R. M. Jones, "Posidonius and Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, I, 17-81," in *Ol. Phil.*, XVIII (1923), pp. 202 ff., and "Posidonius and Solar Eschatology," in *Ol. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), pp. 113 ff., proved that Posidonius cannot be the source of either writing. That Plato was Cicero's source for the views on the soul expressed in the *Somnium* is shown by R. Harder, "Über Ciceros *Somnium Scipionis*," *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, VI (1929), Heft 3, pp. 115-151. For a partial summary see Rieth, *Grundbegriffe der stoischen Ethik*, p. 169. The point is that

over, there are references in the *De Republica* and *De Amicitia*, especially those about the Gracchi, that show the unsettled condition of the state at the time that the discussions are supposed to have occurred, and in the *De Oratore* references to events in 91 B. C. reflect the feelings of characters of that time.²

Cicero's dialogues can also be trusted for the biographical details of the characters. For example, Cato's career in the *De Senectute* seems accurate; likewise, Scipio's in the *De Republica* and Laelius' in the *De Amicitia*. The accounts of the speeches which Crassus and Antonius are said in the *De Oratore* to have delivered can be accepted. Even in comparatively unimportant details Cicero shows, in every dialogue, an attempt to give a realistic characterization, although this attempt is least evident in the *Academica*. The minor characters, as in the *De Republica* and the *De Oratore*, seem reasonably accurate. It is his interpretation of the major characters that we must examine more closely.

The *De Senectute* has the dramatic date of 150 B. C., the *De Republica* and the *De Amicitia* 129 B. C. In the *De Senectute* Cato, Scipio Aemilianus, and Laelius are the interlocutors; in the *De Republica* Scipio, Laelius, and other members of the Scipionic circle; in the *De Amicitia* Laelius and his two sons-in-law. Since the characters of these dialogues are so interrelated, it has seemed advisable to examine them together.

Cicero's express statement that he had chosen Cato in the *De Senectute* because he was the most suitable character to discuss old age (*De Am.*, 4) indicates that Cicero tried, in some measure, to give accurate characterization. There is no doubt that the historical Cato felt the same admiration for Fabius Maximus that the Cato of the dialogue expresses (*De Sen.*, 10-12, 61), for Cato would have approved of Fabius' conservatism, opposition to Scipio Africanus, and support of the Cincian law.³ Nor is it probable that the Cato of history would have hesitated to

Cicero, in attributing to men in 150 B. C. and 129 B. C. views of the soul that came from Plato and not from Posidonius, is not guilty of anachronism.

² See *De Rep.*, I, 14, 31, 71; II, 67; *De Am.*, 37, 41, 77; *De Or.*, I, 26-27, 29, 164; II, 2, 12; III, 1-6.

³ Plutarch, *Fab. Max.*, 4, 3-5; Livy, XXVIII, 40-44; XXIX, 19; Plutarch, *Fab. Max.*, 24-27; cf. *De Sen.*, 10-12.

criticize Terentius Varro (*De Sen.*, 75), who had opposed Fabius Maximus, for Cato, although a plebeian, was not a democrat.⁴ Cato was probably a friend of Aemilius Paullus (*De Sen.*, 77 and 83), many of whose actions and traits of character he would have admired.⁵ Moreover, Paullus' connections,⁶ as well as what is known of his views, make it probable that he was an independent man⁷ on good terms with members of both political groups. Cicero is at fault, however, in attributing to Cato admiration for Scipio Africanus (*De Sen.*, 13, 19, 61, 82), for their enmity dated from the time of the Second Punic War; and later, after Cato had had charges brought against various representatives of the Scipionic group,⁸ Cato and his policies caused Scipio and his policies to be discredited. It is also improbable that the elder Laelius, of the Scipionic group, was a friend of Cato, as Cicero represents (*De Sen.*, 77 and 83). The friendship of Scipio Aemilianus with Cato, however (*De Sen.* and *De Rep.*, II, 1), should be accepted as genuine. Scipio Aemilianus was the son of Aemilius Paullus adopted into the house of the Scipios. It is natural that he, an Aemilius by birth and early training, on whom the influence of his father must have been great, should have considered Cato rather as a man on good terms with his own father and the father-in-law of his sister than as a foe of his adoptive grandfather, whom he had never seen. When the question of the Achaean was being discussed in 150 B. C., it was Cato to whom Scipio Aemilianus went for, and from whom he received aid (Plutarch, *Cato Maior*, 9, 2). This incident reveals the friendliness that must have existed between them.

From other sources⁹ we know that Cato had a pride in his virtues that developed into boastfulness, and Cicero (*De Sen.*, 82)

⁴ T. Frank, "Rome," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, VIII, p. 369.

⁵ Livy, XXXVIII, 44; XLIV, 34; XLV, 37; Livy, *Ep.*, 46; Polybius, XVIII, 35, 4-6; XXXI, 22; Plutarch, *Aemil. Paul.*, 4; 28, 6; 38, 2.

⁶ Paullus' sister Aemilia married Scipio Africanus, whose son adopted Paullus' son Scipio Aemilianus. Another son was adopted into the house of Fabius Maximus, who had opposed Scipio, while Cato's son married one of Scipio's daughters. Cf. Plutarch, *Aemil. Paul.*, *passim*.

⁷ T. Frank, *loc. cit.*, p. 365. The Aemilii were independent.

⁸ R. M. Haywood, *Studies on Scipio Africanus*, pp. 102-105.

⁹ Livy, XXXIX, 40, 10-11; Malcovati, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, I, pp. 197-199 (Cato, 171-173), pp. 170-171 (Cato, 69-73).

is careful to make him confess this fault. Likewise the words which Cicero attributes to him in disapproval of sensual pleasure (*De Sen.*, 42-44) are in character.¹⁰ However, it is doubtful that Cato would have concerned himself enough with pleasure to discuss it favorably and at such length as Cicero makes the interlocutor do (*De Sen.*, 46-66). That Cato wrote the *De Agri Cultura*, of course, implies that he enjoyed the life of a farmer, as the character in the dialogue claims to do (*De Sen.*, 51-56), and Cato, like all Romans, would have taken pleasure in a political career successfully completed (*De Sen.*, 61-64). Cato's practical character, which we see in his *De Agri Cultura*, in his speech for the Rhodians, and in his lack of sympathy for Galba's appeal, is brought out by Cicero in the dialogue through Cato's practical interpretation of a myth (*De Sen.*, 5) and through his censure of others for their *inconstantia* (*De Sen.*, 4). Cato's harshness, however, Cicero fails to bring out. Since Cato was active in old age, speaking in the senate and writing,¹¹ Cicero has appropriately related Cato's activity at the time of the dialogue (*De Sen.*, 32 and 38). The references in the *De Senectute* to Cato's *De Agri Cultura* (*De Sen.*, 54), *Origines* (*De Sen.*, 75 and 83), and orations (*De Sen.*, 28 and 38) are all in character.

That Cato knew Greek is not proved by the parallels cited by Plutarch (*Cato Maior*, 8 and 24), who, to judge by the parallels he drew in the *Moralia* and *Lives*, would fancy that he saw influence where only slight similarity existed. Nor is a knowledge of Greek proved by Plutarch's statement that Cato used Greek models (*Cato Maior*, 2), because Cato himself, the father of Roman rhetoric, wrote *Rem tene, verba sequentur*;¹² and the *De Agri Cultura*, the only extant work of Cato except the fragments, certainly shows no Greek learning. Cato's references to the *Odyssey* (Plutarch, *Cato Maior*, 9 and 27) do not prove a knowledge of Greek in the original, for they could have come from Livius Andronicus' translation. Many ancient writers¹³

¹⁰ Cf. Malcovati, *op. cit.*, I, p. 188 (Cato, 149); Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*, I, p. 90 (Cato, 119); Jordan, *M. Catonis praeter Librum de Re Rustica Quae Extant*, p. 83, *Oarmen de Moribus*, 2.

¹¹ Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, I, pp. 186 ff.

¹² Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 80, 15.

¹³ Cicero, *De Sen.*, 3 and 26; Nepos, *Cato*, 3; Plutarch, *Cato Maior*, 2; Quintilian, XII, 11, 23; Valerius Maximus, VIII, 7, 1.

state that Cato learned Greek literature first in old age, while Aurelius Victor (*Vir. Ill.*, 47) said that he learned Greek in Sardinia under Ennius, and Plutarch (*Cato Maior*, 12) said that Cato could have spoken to the Athenians in 191 B. C. without an interpreter. These accounts are not, however, mutually exclusive. Cato, like many of our diplomats, might have acquired a speaking knowledge of the language for official use and yet not have read the literature until late in life. Cato had several opportunities for acquiring a speaking knowledge of Greek: he was quaestor in 204 B. C. in Sicily; he brought Ennius from Sardinia to Rome; in 191-190 B. C. he was in Greece, fighting and traveling, for fourteen months.¹⁴ His own words prove that he spent much time at Athens and learned much about the Greeks when he was there.¹⁵ The probability, then, is that Cato could have expressed himself in Greek by 190 B. C. The belief that he studied Greek in old age arose from his reading of the historians (who had written in Greek) for his *Origines*, the latter part of which was written in his old age.

There is proof, however, that Cato's reading of history written in Greek did not mean a change in his attitude to the Greeks. The harshness of the senatorial order to the Greek states when Cato was in control at Rome indicates his attitude to the Greeks before he had read much Greek.¹⁶ That these measures reflect Cato's own opinion is shown by the similarity of their tone to quotations from Cato, in one of which he voiced his strong disapproval of a thorough mastery of Greek literature.¹⁷ His opposition to the Athenian philosophers who came to Rome in 155 B. C. (Plutarch, *Cato Maior*, 22) and his contemptuous words about the Greeks (Plutarch, *Cato Maior*, 9) in 150 B. C., the year before he died and the dramatic date of the dialogue, show that Cato's attitude to the Greeks did not change in old age.

Of course, the historical Cato might have used some Greek references either without first-hand knowledge of them, or such as he had gained from reading Greek historians for his *Ori-*

¹⁴ Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 4; Livy, XXXVI, 3, 14; 20, 1; 21, 2; 30, 5; XXXVII, 4, 1.

¹⁵ Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 77, 1.

¹⁶ T. Frank, *loc. cit.*, p. 370. Cf. Polybius, XXII, and XXIII, *passim*.

¹⁷ Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 77, 1.

gines.¹⁸ Such references may be in character. Certain views are also expressed in the dialogue¹⁹ which may be paralleled by Stoic tenets,²⁰ but this similarity does not denote influence. Cato, with his shrewd common sense and his emphasis on morality, could have thought out these opinions without the aid of professional philosophers. However, all those comments put into Cato's mouth by Cicero which denote an enthusiasm for Greek literature and philosophy—and there are many of them²¹—are obviously inappropriate. In these instances Cicero is expressing his own views in the mouth of Cato. That Cicero did not merely misapprehend Cato is evident, because Cicero, a good historical critic in the use of sources,²² had read, before he wrote the dialogue, one hundred and fifty of Cato's orations (*Brutus*, 65) and apparently both the *De Agri Cultura* and the *Origines*. Chance references from Cicero's works written earlier than the *De Senectute* show that this conclusion is correct.²³

In one of his letters (*Ad Quint. Fr.* III, 5, 1-2) Cicero showed that the views expressed in the *De Republica*, especially in the two books he had thus far written, were his own by his willingness to change the date to his time and to assume the principal rôle himself. Cicero's attitude to the politics of his day proves that this assumption is correct. He did not adhere entirely to the aristocracy, democracy, or tyranny;²⁴ his political ideal was the union of all three elements in a *concordia ordinum* such as he had attained in 62 B. C. It is also evident that the view expressed in Book III, that law is natural and that a state cannot exist without justice (*De Rep.*, III, 33-41), although

¹⁸ See *De Sen.*, 8, 13, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 47, 50, 63, 72, 73.

¹⁹ See *De Sen.*, 5, 71, 72, 4, 9, 72.

²⁰ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, pp. 282 and 292.

²¹ See *De Sen.*, 22-23, 24, 26, 31, 54, 59, 78.

²² Cf. Cicero, *De Rep.*, II, 28-29; *Brutus*, 72-73.

²³ From other works of Cicero, all antedating the *De Senectute*, we learn that Cato had many enemies (*Verr.*, *Actio Secunda*, V, 180), that he preferred activity to tranquility (*De Rep.*, I, 1), and that he had some acquaintance with Greek rather than Greek learning (*De Or.*, III, 135; *Acad.*, II, 5; *De Rep.*, VI, 1). *De Sen.*, 3 reads like an apology; cf. *De Sen.*, 26 and 38.

²⁴ Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*, pp. 99-101; *Ad Fam.*, VII, 3, 5; 30; XV, 12; *Ad Att.*, XIII, 37, 2; XIV, 9, 2; 14, 2.

accepted from Plato, is Cicero's own, since in the *De Legibus* similar opinions are voiced by Cicero himself.²⁵ Furthermore, Cicero's conception of the *rector* accorded with his preference for the mixed constitution.²⁶ His appeal was not, therefore, to Pompey to establish a principate,²⁷ but to all patriots to return to the principles of justice exemplified in the old Roman constitution.

There is an entirely different aspect of this matter, however. In the dialogue Scipio is represented as a statesman well qualified to discuss the state because of his ancestry, his suitability for administration in an ideal state, and his own experience in statecraft (*De Rep.*, I, 34, 37, 71). The historical Scipio was illustrious in ancestry, both by birth and by adoption. His grandfather was Aemilius Paullus the Elder, the Roman consul killed at Cannae; his father, of the same name, conquered Perseus at Pydna; his adoptive grandfather was Scipio Africanus, conqueror of Hannibal. From his ancestry Scipio acquired a respect for law and a feeling for government. Although Polybius (XXXI, 23-30) may exaggerate his virtues, still there is no doubt that he was very highly esteemed. His service as consul and censor, the choice of him by the allies to defend their rights, and his speech *contra legem iudiciariam Ti. Gracchi* (Appian, *B. C.*, I, 19) all show that he had had experience in statecraft.

It is reasonable, then, to think that Scipio had discussed with Polybius and Panaetius the best form of government, as Cicero says (*De Rep.*, I, 34). In these discussions Panaetius would contribute the philosophical notions, Polybius his own experiences and observations, and Scipio the historical development of the Roman state. Although the Romans had evolved the mixed form of government long praised by Greek theorists, they had done this unconsciously. Theories of government were unknown to Scipio, as to other Romans, until they were taught by Greeks like Polybius and Panaetius. It seems that these men introduced the theories of Plato and Dicaearchus to Scipio, influencing him in philosophical matters and telling him that the Ro-

²⁵ Sprey, *De M. Tullii Ciceronis Politica Doctrina*, p. 26.

²⁶ Sprey, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 200, 223; W. W. How, "Cicero's Ideal in His *De Re Publica*," in *J. R. S.*, XX (1930), pp. 40-41.

²⁷ Eduard Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompeius*, pp. 176-191.

man constitution applied the theories of Greek philosophers. There is some basis, therefore, for the views that Cicero attributed to Scipio.

So far as one can tell, Scipio in practice tried to steer a middle course.²⁸ He did not join the ultra-conservative aristocrats; yet as head of the senate at the time of his death he would have certain aristocratic inclinations. Although he opposed the Gracchan revolutionists, he had twice been elected consul and once censor, mainly by the support of the people. Naturally Scipio, in common with other Romans, hated the name of king. History shows, therefore, that Scipio was a moderate, who in practice did not approve of aristocracy, democracy, or monarchy *in toto*, but rather of a mixed form, as Cicero made him say (*De Rep.*, I, 69-70).

It is possible, moreover, that the views of the importance of justice and natural law were also those of Scipio and Laelius. This does not mean that Scipio or Laelius originated the definitions, for nothing that is known of them would lead one to believe that they made any original contribution to philosophy. It does mean, however, that Scipio and Laelius could, and probably did, accept philosophical views which others had formulated if those views agreed with their principles. The personal integrity of Scipio and Laelius would lead one to think that they accepted the opinions that Cicero attributed to them.²⁹

It is also not unreasonable to suppose that Scipio Aemilianus, had he lived, would have held some unofficial position of leadership at Rome such as Cicero's *rector*. At the time of his death Scipio, as *princeps senatus* and as representative of the allies, was growing into a position of importance such as his adoptive grandfather, Scipio Africanus, had had after the Second Punic War and Cato the Censor and Aemilius Lepidus at a somewhat later date. Although Scipio as a moderate conservative might have assumed an unofficial position of this sort, it is improbable that Scipio had thought this out. In attributing such definite

²⁸ Münzer, "Cornelius 335," in *R.-E.*, IV, 1457; Appian, *B. O.*, I, 19.

²⁹ If it is true that Panaetius is Cicero's source, it is natural to think that Scipio and Laelius would accept the philosophical view expressed by their friend when it agreed with their principles. Cf. Sprey, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and 54; Capelle, "Griechische Ethik und römischer Imperialismus," in *Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, XXV (1932), pp. 91 and 94.

ideas about the *rector* to Scipio, Cicero is stretching a point. The term *rector* does not seem to have been used in this sense until Cicero employed it.⁸⁰

Other sources⁸¹ show that references in the *De Amicitia* to Laelius' *sapientia* (6-8, 15) are well founded. *Sapiens*, if we judge from the word *doctrina* that is used in defining it (*De Am.*, 6), refers to the combination of Greek and Roman culture characteristic of the Scipionic circle. It may be noteworthy that in the *De Republica* (III, 5) Cicero, presumably in his own person, states that Laelius possessed Greek learning, whereas in the *De Amicitia* this is only inferred from the use of the word *doctrina*. Elsewhere (*De Or.*, II, 154-155; *De Fin.*, II, 24) one learns of Laelius' interest in the Athenian philosophers who came to Rome in 155 B. C., especially the Stoic Diogenes, and his enthusiasm for Panaetius and Polybius. Nevertheless, there is no reference in the *De Amicitia* to Diogenes, Panaetius, or Polybius. Comparatively few references to Greek literature occur in the dialogue. Some of them (*De Am.*, 7, 42, 59) do not indicate a knowledge of Greek in the original, for they might have come to a Roman through oral reports. Others (*De Am.*, 24, 87-88) are expressed in indefinite terms, the purpose of which seems to have been to feign ignorance of, or indifference to, Greek literature and philosophy. Yet the historical Laelius had with him openly the most learned men of Greece (*De Or.*, II, 154).

In the *De Amicitia* Laelius has expressed the attitude of the typical Roman to the Epicureans (*De Am.*, 32, 45, 46, 86), while other philosophical tenets attributed to him there agree with those held by the Stoics,⁸² but they are not necessarily due to Stoic influence; they may reflect the character of the old Roman. Moreover, Laelius in the dialogue did not follow the Stoics *in toto*; he objected to the older Stoic views, which he interpreted and modified (*De Am.*, 9, 10, 18, 21, 48). Panaetius had also modified the older Stoic teachings.⁸³ In the character

⁸⁰ Sprey, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁸¹ Marx, ed. Lucilius, 1236; Malcovati, *op. cit.*, II, p. 130 (C. Gracchus, 17); *De Fin.*, II, 24; *Tusco.*, IV, 5; *Phil.*, XI, 17.

⁸² *De Am.*, 6, 9, 10, 17, 19, 20, 30, 65; Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-282, 291-292.

⁸³ Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 102; *De Off.*, I, 18; III, 12.

of Laelius, then, one can see both the influence of the less rigid views of Panaetius and the traits of the old Roman character, which made Stoic philosophy more practical.

Laelius is represented as expressing other opinions, besides philosophical ones, that are typical of the old Roman. He admired the ideal Romans who were *firmi, stabiles, constantes*, and *graves* (*De Am.*, 8, 62, 64, 99, 100). He showed unswerving devotion to duty (*De Am.*, 7 and 8). He was concerned over the condition of the state after his death (*De Am.*, 43). He criticized professional philosophers (*De Am.*, 17 and 18) and preferred Cato's deeds to Socrates' words (*De Am.*, 10). Although it is probable that the historical Laelius had some of these qualities, the fact that they stamp him as a type rather than as an individual makes one dubious of accepting every detail as characteristic of him.

Thus, in the matter of Greek learning, a contrast to the *De Senectute* is at once noticeable. In the *De Senectute*, dated in 150 B. C., Cato, the known opponent of Greek culture, is represented as versed in Greek literature and philosophy, while in the *De Amicitia*, which has the dramatic date of 129 B. C., there is no direct statement of Laelius' interest in Greek learning, and the few references to Greek literature and philosophy are couched in indefinite terms. The *De Amicitia*, regarded by Cicero as a companion-piece to the *De Senectute*, was written immediately after it, probably, however, after the latter had been published.³⁴ Enough time probably elapsed between the writing of the two dialogues for Cicero to hear, and, if he wished, to profit by the criticism of his readers. He was peculiarly sensitive to the criticism of his writings, as his constant misgivings about Varro's reaction to the *Academica* show. With these facts in mind, I offer the following suggestion: that some readers of the *De Senectute* whose opinion Cicero valued made the criticism that he had attributed Greek learning to Cato and that, to avoid similar criticism in the *De Amicitia*, which he was then writing, he made Laelius refer but seldom to Greek literature and philosophy, feign an ignorance of Greek learning, and avoid all mention of Diogenes and Panaetius.

³⁴ Schanz-Hosius, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 518 ff.

Next to these dialogues in dramatic date is the *De Oratore*, placed in 91 B. C., with Antonius, Crassus, Cotta, Sulpicius, Scaevola, Catulus, and Caesar Strabo as interlocutors. Cicero's admission in the preface to the dialogue (*De Or.*, I, 4), that he does not remember the details of the conversation he is about to relate, serves the double purpose of preventing the dialogue from seeming purely fictitious and of allowing him freedom to depart from history in some respects. Moreover, in the statement of his purpose in writing many of his dialogues, including the *De Oratore* (*De Div.*, II, 1 and 4), Cicero implies that the views expressed in the *De Oratore* represent, in large measure, his own.⁸⁵ Since in the *Brutus* Cicero expressed his own critical judgment of the various Roman orators, it is evident that, as a historical source, it is more dependable than the *De Oratore*, and can be used to check the correctness of Cicero's portrayal of the characters in the *De Oratore*.

The main characters, to whom we are limiting this discussion, are Antonius and Crassus. Both in the *De Oratore* (II, 216; III, 16; cf. *De Or.*, I, 95, 122; II, 89; III, 189, and *De Or.*, I, 263; II, 124, 185-188, 365; III, 32) and in the *Brutus* (138, 143, 186, 296) they are represented as the foremost orators of the time.

The historical Antonius, according to specific assertions in the *Brutus* (214), was not trained in the arts, knew no poet, had read no orator, and had no knowledge of history or law. Cicero's representation of Antonius in Book I of the *De Oratore* agrees in many respects with this account. In that book Antonius shows a lack of interest in Greek culture (*De Or.*, I, 91), confesses that he never studied law (*De Or.*, I, 248), and agrees that he never learned the arts (*De Or.*, I, 91); he also opposes Crassus' view that wide learning should be required of an orator (*De Or.*, I, 80 and 81), holding that a knowledge of philosophy (*De Or.*, I, 219), law (*De Or.*, I, 234-241), and history (*De Or.*, I, 256) is unnecessary. All these views are consistent with the real Antonius. There is a strong contrast to this attitude in

⁸⁵ See also *De Or.*, III, 16. For a further discussion see Van Veesem, *De M. Tullii Ciceronis De Oratore Libris*, pp. 10-12, 18, 24, 30-66; Van Veesem points out that the *De Oratore* expresses Cicero's view, but he does not emphasize the historical background of the dialogue nor does he examine the views which the interlocutors might have held with probability.

Book II, in which Antonius is portrayed with a knowledge of, and appreciation for, Greek writers, especially orators and historians (*De Or.*, II, 55-58, 59, 60, 61, 93-95, 160). Cicero's arguments to refute the charge that Antonius was unlearned are weak⁸⁶ and are contradicted by a specific statement in the *Brutus* (214).

There are in the *De Oratore* certain suggestions of Antonius' oratorical style, such as natural ability (*De Or.*, I, 172; II, 126), force in speaking (*De Or.*, II, 124), and skill in the arrangement of arguments (*De Or.*, II, 179), which are borne out by statements in the *Brutus* (140, 203, 214, 139). The latter dialogue also shows that Antonius used idiomatic diction, emphasized the practical, was skilled in delivery, and aroused the emotions of his audience, as does the character in the *De Oratore* (*De Or.*, III, 51, 32; II, 128-129, 189, 206; cf. *Brutus*, 140, 215, 144). One would expect of him, whose main characteristic was common sense, the various practical observations attributed to him (*De Or.*, I, 126; II, 30-32, 89-98, 99, 104, 131). It is also appropriate that Antonius, whose speeches showed *inventio*, *compositio*, and *memoria* (*Brutus*, 139), should in the *De Oratore* discuss these three subjects.⁸⁷ However, those parts of the discussion which are rather technical in nature and similar to views in Cicero's *Topica* which were taken from Aristotle are not in character for this practical speaker, who had no scholastic training.

Compared with Antonius, Crassus had wide learning. He associated with a group of literary men that included Coelius Antipater, Archias, and probably certain philosophers,⁸⁸ and was instructed in philosophy, history, and law (*Brutus*, 161), being particularly skilled in the latter (*Brutus*, 143 and 145). In the *De Oratore* also Crassus is credited with wide learning, which included *humanitas* and *doctrina* (*De Or.*, I, 27, 105-106;

⁸⁶ Several interlocutors note the change in attitude (*De Or.*, II, 40, 59, 126, 365). The contention that Antonius gave himself to the most learned men of Athens (*De Or.*, II, 3) is no proof that Antonius was cultured, for Antonius, according to the words attributed to him, stayed at Athens for only several days (*De Or.*, I, 82).

⁸⁷ Wilkins, ed. *De Oratore*, p. 17.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Brutus*, 102; *Pro Archia*, 6; *De Or.*, I, 104; III, 78. Hüpke, "Licinius 55," in *R.-E.*, XIII¹, 264, and Malcovati, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 76-77, accept the statements in *De Oratore*.

II, 126; III, 82), the knowledge he prescribed for the orator (*De Or.*, I, 262; III, 90), and an acquaintance with Greek philosophy (*De Or.*, I, 47; III, 21, 56, 59-73, 109-110, 122), history (*De Or.*, III, 56 and 59), Greek orators (*De Or.*, III, 28, 35-36, 73), Greek literature (*De Or.*, III, 27, 57, 69), Roman poetry and oratory (*De Or.*, III, 27-34), and law (*De Or.*, I, 40, 101, 234; II, 143). Although Cicero's representation of Crassus' learning has a basis of fact, yet he doubtless overstresses this trait in order to have full justice done to some of his own favorite points.

In the *De Oratore* characteristics of Crassus' oratory are given which are also stated or implied in the *Brutus*: his choice of words and of *ornamenta dicendi*, his ability to arouse the emotions of his audience, his lack of redundancy, wealth of illustration, wit, and humor (cf. *De Or.*, II, 122; III, 33; II, 188, 326; III, 82; II, 217-290; *Brutus*, 158, 140, 215, 198, 143-144, 164). One would expect Crassus, who had wide general knowledge, to require of the orator a knowledge of literature, history, law, and philosophy (*De Or.*, I, 67, 71, 158-159, 166-184, 201-203; III, 54, 71, 77). It is appropriate that Crassus should have been chosen to treat the subjects of style: choice of words (*De Or.*, III, 38-42), *ornate dicendi* (*De Or.*, III, 97, 208), adaptation of speech to circumstances (*De Or.*, III, 209-213), and delivery (*De Or.*, III, 214-227), since they were characteristics of his oratory. It does not follow, however, that all the precepts given by the interlocutor are appropriate to the historical Crassus. Crassus may have had a general conception of *ornate dicendi* such as he sets forth in the dialogue (*De Or.*, III, 97-148), but it is improbable that he had as many definite rules for choosing words, arranging combinations of words, producing rhythmic prose, and employing figures of speech and thought as Cicero makes him discuss. The absence of all these details from the discussion of Crassus' oratory in the *Brutus*, except for the single statement that his speech was *perornatus* (*Brutus*, 158), is significant. The fact that the details and divisions of the subject are the same in the *De Oratore*, where Crassus is speaking (III, 149-170), and in the *Orator*, where Cicero is speaking in his own person,³⁰ makes it doubtful, at least, that they represent the

³⁰ For further details cf. *De Or.*, III, 169 = *Or.*, 94; *De Or.*, III, 170 = *Or.*, 92; *De Or.*, III, 171 = *Or.*, 150.

views of Crassus. Almost every statement on the subject of rhythmic prose attributed to Crassus in the *De Oratore* can be paralleled by similar statements from the *Orator*,⁴⁰ where Cicero attempts to analyze his own prose rhythms.⁴¹ Such similarity in highly technical matters makes it certain that Cicero is in both dialogues expressing his own views. Moreover, Crassus' speeches "give no certain illustration of the prose rhythms that Cicero liked to find in a 'mature' style."⁴² The rules in the *De Oratore* are meant to apply to periodic sentences such as Cicero wrote (*De Or.*, III, 174), whereas Crassus seems to have preferred short sentences.⁴³ Likewise, a comparison of figures of thought and of speech in the *De Oratore* (III, 202-205; 206-208) and the *Orator* (135; 137-138)⁴⁴ shows that Cicero is in the *De Oratore* expressing his own opinion rather than that of Crassus.

Cicero's *Brutus*, written early in 46 B. C.,⁴⁵ in which Brutus, Atticus, and Cicero are the interlocutors, represents a conversation on the Roman orators. The dramatic date is approximately the same as the date of composition, since the conversation is supposed to have occurred before Brutus' departure for Cisal-

⁴⁰ In both dialogues it is said that *clausulae* should have rhythm (*De Or.*, III, 173 = *Or.*, 228), that eloquence should have modulation of the voice and periodic arrangement of words (*De Or.*, III, 174 = *Or.*, 178), that the oration should have rhythm but not verse, which is faulty in an oration (*De Or.*, III, 175 = *Or.*, 172); in both Aristotle's rules are quoted (*De Or.*, III, 182 = *Or.*, 189; *De Or.*, III, 183 = *Or.*, 214); in both the rule is given that an oration should be of the right form and length (*De Or.*, III, 190 = *Or.*, 198), that *clausulae* should be varied (*De Or.*, III, 192 = *Or.*, 213), that there should not be an appearance of too studied industry (*De Or.*, III, 193 = *Or.*, 219), and that the ear is the final judge (*De Or.*, III, 185 = *Or.*, 58).

⁴¹ Zielinski, *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden*, has shown that Cicero's analysis does not fit his *clausulae*. Cicero was not a student of style, but a producer of style. It has been suggested that the analysis which Cicero gives in the *Orator*, based on Aristotle, was made by Tyrannio. Cf. *Ad Att.*, XII, 2, 2; 6, 2-3.

⁴² T. Frank, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic*, pp. 150-152.

⁴³ Wilkins, ed. *De Oratore*, p. 13.

⁴⁴ Bauerschmidt, *Ergebnisse einer Vergleichung zwischen Ciceros Schriften De Oratore und Orator*, pp. 39-43.

⁴⁵ Schanz-Hosius, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 464-465.

pine Gaul, to which Caesar had appointed him about the end of 47 B. C.⁴⁶

Cicero has painted the background of the *Brutus* in dark colors. Repeatedly (*Brutus*, 6, 7, 10, 24, 324, 328, 330) he mourns the loss of freedom of speech, which had been practically crushed by the *Lex Pompeia* of 52 B. C., the Civil War of Caesar and Pompey, and Caesar's victory. His correspondence at the time that the *Brutus* was being written shows that this was Cicero's own attitude. Compared with the letters of the previous year,⁴⁷ these letters are more cheerful in tone, but this change is due primarily to the lightening of Cicero's domestic burdens. There are indications that Cicero was often anxious (*Ad Fam.*, IX, 1, 1; 3, 1; 2, 2; 5, 2; VII, 3, 1), and he certainly felt more comfortable with former Pompeians than with the new Caesarian party. During this period Cicero could not speak in the forum or senate (*Ad Fam.*, IX, 2, 5).

The *Brutus* was meant primarily for Marcus Junius Brutus, as its title, the frequent occurrence of his name in the vocative, and Cicero's often expressed concern for Brutus (*Brutus*, 21-22, 329, 332) signify. There are frequent and emphatic references to Brutus' ancestry (*Brutus*, 53, 107, 109, 119, 130, 211, 222, 331); perhaps Cicero hoped that the descendant of Junius Brutus and Servilius Ahala would respond to that appeal, especially since there was a rumor that Brutus was not descended from the Brutus who had expelled the Tarquins (Plutarch, *Brutus*, 1, 4-5; 5, 2). Cicero goes even further; he makes Brutus complain of the silence of eloquence, of the lack of Sulpicius' counsel and Cicero's voice, and of the death of many excellent men slain in the Civil War (*Brutus*, 23, 157, 266).

Let us review Brutus' political relations in order to understand his attitude to the words addressed to him and the remarks attributed to him by Cicero. Although in the Civil War Brutus had joined Pompey, he did not resist Caesar after Pharsalus and even worked with Caesar for several months in the East.⁴⁸ Before Caesar left for the African campaign late in 47 B. C. (Plutarch, *Brutus*, 6, 6), he appointed Brutus over Cisalpine

⁴⁶ Gelzer, "Junius 53," in *R.-E.*, X, 983.

⁴⁷ Tyrrell and Purser, *The Correspondence of Cicero*, IV, 2nd ed., XLVI-LV.

⁴⁸ Gelzer, *loc. cit.*, 981-982.

Gaul for the next year. It is unnecessary to assume that Caesar's attitude to Brutus came from his regard for Servilia (Plutarch, *Brutus*, 5, 1); such an "explanation" evidently arose in gossip and offers no real reason. Caesar's attitude should not be attributed to sincere generosity, since Caesar explicitly wrote that he adopted the policy of generosity to strengthen his position (*Ad Att.*, IX, 7c, 1). Brutus' acceptance of offices from Caesar should not be blamed, as Drumann⁴⁹ thinks. In his letters in 47 B. C., Cicero did not find fault with Brutus' conduct, and in the *Brutus* there is no censure for what Brutus had done, only fear of what might develop. Evidence shows that Brutus was not at this time an out-and-out Caesarian.⁵⁰ There is more truth in the opinion that Caesar recognized the importance of securing Brutus, not only because of his personal integrity, but also because of his position as the best representative, on both sides of his family, of the old Roman aristocracy.⁵¹ The same reasons which later made the conspirators seek Brutus also made Caesar eager to enlist him in his ranks. In fact, after Pharsalus Caesar had few really respectable adherents. Most of the better men, from the standpoint of family tradition and individual merit, had been Pompeians: Cato, Scipio, Domitius Ahenobarbus, the two Marcelli, Cicero, Varro, and Brutus. Curio, Caelius Rufus, and Dolabella, who had followed Caesar, presented a strong contrast.

However, Brutus would naturally feel that Cicero had exceeded the limits of propriety in his frequent references to the "tyranny" of Caesar, and he would certainly object to the lamentations that Cicero attributed to him. The correspondence of Cicero with Brutus does not suggest that Brutus was at this time troubled over Caesar's "tyranny." On the contrary, it appears from a fragment of one of Cicero's lost letters to Brutus (*Quint.*, V, 10, 9) that Brutus had requested Cicero not to transfer to his *Cato* the political allusions of the *Brutus*.⁵² Cicero's

⁴⁹ Drumann-Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*, IV, p. 46.

⁵⁰ Purser, "Marcus Brutus as Caesarian," in *Hermathena*, IX, pp. 369-384.

⁵¹ Gelzer, *loc. cit.*, 982; Boissier, *Cicero and His Friends*, pp. 306-307, who says the respectability of Brutus is felt even by historians of the Empire.

⁵² Purser, *loc. cit.*, pp. 375, citing Schmidt, *Marcus Junius Brutus*, p. 174, n. 4.

reason for doing violence to characterization is plain. Fearing that Brutus would become too friendly with Caesar, he hoped to turn Brutus from this course by assigning to him sentiments that he himself hoped Brutus would have. It is not fantastic to think that Cicero's dialogue, although without immediate effect, made Brutus' mind receptive to thoughts of conspiracy, to which his ancestry, his marriage to Cato's daughter Porcia, and Caesar's later acts led him.

In the *Brutus* Cicero shows his opinion of the Atticists by insinuation, exaggeration, direct criticism of the Atticistic group, and specific criticism of Calidius and Calvus (*Brutus*, 63-69, 89, 167, 276, 285, 289). He also makes Brutus agree in the criticism of the Atticists (*Brutus*, 157, and 292) and express approval of fullness of speech, such as Cicero employed (*Brutus*, 249-251, 254, 279). In contrast to this, Cicero stated in a letter (*Ad Att.*, XIV, 20, 3) that Brutus' oratory showed less ardor than his own and insinuated by a pun that Brutus was inclined to the Atticists. Tacitus (*Dial.*, 18) cites letters of Brutus to Cicero to show that Brutus censured Cicero's style, and, in contrast to Cicero, Brutus disapproved of Isocrates (*Or.*, 40). Not only in the *Orator*, the next dialogue written,⁵⁸ are there numerous references to letters from Brutus requesting Cicero to write on the type of eloquence he preferred (*Or.*, 1-2, 34-35, 52, 146, 238), but also in a letter to Atticus (*Ad Att.*, XIV, 20, 3) Cicero says he was forced to write the *Orator* by Brutus' entreaties. The tone of that work is more conciliatory toward the Atticists than is the *Brutus*: Cicero does not give direct criticism (*Or.*, 81, 84, 87), he apologizes for several of the criticisms directed at the Atticists in the *Brutus*, and at the end he confesses that Brutus' style of oratory is different from his own. After Cicero had completed the *Orator*, Brutus wrote to both Cicero and Atticus that he did not approve of Cicero's oratorical style (*Ad Att.*, XIV, 20, 3). This disapproval indicates also Brutus' opinion of Cicero's stand against the Atticists and of the views attributed to himself in the *Brutus*. Cicero's purpose, to convert Brutus to his own style, biassed his characterization of Brutus.

Cicero is, however, correct in making Brutus sympathetic to Calvus' type of oratory (*Brutus*, 284) and critical of the Asian-

⁵⁸ Schanz-Hosius, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 466-467.

ism of Hortensius (*Brutus*, 327), and in making him approve of choice of words, a dignified delivery (*Brutus*, 250), and the study of rhetoric and philosophy (*Brutus*, 309).

Finally let us examine the *Academica* as an example of the philosophical dialogues. The literary history of its two editions is given in detail in Cicero's letters. On May 13, 45 B. C., the two books of the *Academica*⁵⁴ had been completed (*Ad Att.*, XII, 44, 4). This was the form of the first edition, called the *Academica Priora*, which was in two books with Catulus, Lucullus, Hortensius, and Cicero as interlocutors. Of this edition only Book II, the *Lucullus*, is extant. In spite of a few precautions to prevent the characters from seeming untrue — such as Lucullus' and Catulus' dependence on others for the reports they give (*Acad. Pr.*, 2, 10, 12, 148)—, Cicero's own letters furnish direct evidence that the interlocutors were not historically accurate. Cicero wrote Atticus that the discussion was too technical for them ever to have dreamed of such matters, for they were not literary men nor subtle speakers (*Ad Att.*, XIII, 2, 3; 19, 5).

The second edition, the authorized one,⁵⁵ was written later in the same year. After Cicero had decided to make Cato and Brutus the interlocutors instead of Catulus and Lucullus (*Ad Att.*, XIII, 16, 1), Atticus suggested Varro as an interlocutor in a dialogue (*Ad Att.*, XIII, 2, 3; 16, 1). Cicero thought Varro the most suitable character to expound the views of Antiochus (*Ad Att.*, XIII, 16, 1). However, fearing Varro's reaction, he debated the change with Atticus in a number of letters (*Ad Att.*, XIII, 12, 3; 25, 3; 14; 16; 18; 19). Even after the edition had been copied (*Ad Att.*, XIII, 21, 4; 23, 2) and while the dedicatory epistle to Varro was being written, Cicero told Atticus to substitute Brutus for Varro if Atticus did not approve of the substitution of the latter (*Ad Att.*, XIII, 25, 3). This second edition, called *Academica Posteriora*, was in four books, with Varro, Cicero, and Atticus as interlocutors. Only Book I and a few fragments are extant.

It is obvious that Varro embraced the philosophy of the Old

⁵⁴ Reid, ed. *Academica*, pp. 30-31; Tyrrell and Purser, *op. cit.*, V, commentary *ad loc.*

⁵⁵ *Ad Att.*, XVI, 8, 4; *Tusc. Disp.*, II, 4; *De Nat. Deor.*, I, 11; *De Div.*, II, 1.

Academy since the removal of Catulus, Lucullus, and Hortensius from the rôles assigned them was caused by the impropriety of attributing such philosophical views to them. Both the references to Varro in Cicero's letters (*Ad Att.*, XIII, 16, 1; 19, 5) and the fragments of Varro's *De Philosophia*⁵⁶ show that he followed Antiochus and the Old Academy. It is not to be expected, however, that in a dialogue that had been changed so much there would be a very realistic representation of Varro or of any of the other characters.

Let us summarize Cicero's accuracy of interpretation of the major characters. In the *De Senectute* he has correctly described Cato's relations with Fabius Maximus, Aemilius Paulus, and Scipio Aemilianus; he has adequately brought out Cato's boastfulness, his practical nature, and his political and literary activity; he has idealized Cato's relations with Scipio Africanus, his harsh nature, and his attitude to Greek learning. In the *De Republica* the views on the best form of government and on law and justice, attributed to Scipio, were probably held, but not formulated, by him, but it is unlikely that Scipio had any definite conception of the duties of the *rector*. In the *De Amicitia* Cicero has not given sufficient emphasis to the Greek learning of Laelius; he doubtless has a basis of fact for making Laelius a typical Roman, both in his character and in his philosophy, but he has made Laelius a type rather than an individual. In the *De Oratore* Antonius and Crassus show correct characterization in style of oratory and in many of the views assigned to them; but Cicero has incorrectly attributed to Antonius Greek learning and to Crassus a technical discussion that expresses his own views rather than those of Crassus. In the *Brutus* his portrayal of Brutus is distorted because of his purpose, partly political, partly rhetorical, to convert Brutus to his own views. Cicero's own pen condemned the interlocutors of the first edition of the *Academica*, but he deserves credit for changing the characters, and in the second edition Varro's philosophical views were correctly described.

ROBERT EPES JONES.

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA.

⁵⁶ Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 50, cites the references to and, in part, quotations from Varro's *De Philosophia* in Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, XIX, 1-3.

LUCIUS SEIUS CAESAR, *SOCER AUGUSTI*.

The reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, A. D. 222-235, commands a special interest among students of the Roman Empire not only as the last relatively stable period before the fifty years of anarchy which ended in the absolutism of Diocletian, but especially as the Indian Summer of effective Senatorial participation in the government of the Empire. The latter is all the more remarkable because it represents a direct reversal of the imperial policy of ignoring or degrading the Senate which had obtained ever since the time of Commodus, and above all since the establishment of Septimius Severus' military monarchy. But although the fact of a revival of Senatorial influence under Alexander is well enough established, the poverty and untrustworthiness of the sources for his reign obscure many significant aspects of the reasons for the Emperor's adoption of a different attitude toward the Senate, the means by which the change was effected, and the nature and extent of the Senate's share in the administration.

This is particularly true of an event of the early years of Alexander's rule which may be interpreted either as a factor in the development of a *rapprochement* between Emperor and Senate or as a manifestation of an understanding already attained, that is, Alexander's marriage with a young woman of aristocratic birth and the appointment of her father to the Caesarship. Since Alexander himself was by birth a Syrian, whose father was not even of Senatorial rank, the union thus arranged was well calculated for stabilizing his rule and the government of the empire, both by securing for him the respect and loyalty of the Senatorial aristocracy and by providing for the succession in case Alexander should die before an heir was born or while that heir was a minor. Nevertheless the marriage was prevented from fulfilling this purpose, if it was such. Alexander's mother, Julia Mamaea, who as regent for her son had arranged the matter herself, soon grew jealous of her daughter-in-law and the Caesar because she feared the possible loss of some of her power. In consequence she so insulted and persecuted both of them that the Caesar at length appealed to the Praetorians. He was thereupon arrested and executed, and

his daughter was banished to Libya.¹ From that time forth Mamaea dominated the emperor without opposition until their deaths at the hands of mutinous troops left the Empire, lacking a regularly appointed successor to Alexander, to fall into anarchy. The marriage, then, was a failure, and its potentialities remained unrealized; but interesting problems still exist regarding it, of which one of the most tantalizing is the question of the identities of Alexander's wife and father-in-law. On the one hand, Herodian, the sole contemporary source, whose account was quoted above, mentions no names at all, and furnishes no other clues; while the remaining ancient sources are so divergent in their testimony that modern scholars have long disputed not merely over the identification of the unhappy father and daughter but even whether Alexander was married only once, or twice, or three times.

Up to the present time the best discussion of this question is Jardé's. He may be said to have demonstrated satisfactorily that Alexander had but one wife, and that she was the Gnaea Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orba Orbiana who alone appears as Alexander's wife in the inscriptions and on the coins.² None the less, when both the ancient sources and the modern interpretations disagree so extensively, any corroborative evidence is welcome; and such evidence has recently come to light with the discovery and restoration of the *feriale Duranum*, a papyrus dating from the reign of Severus Alexander, which contains a list of important anniversaries and festivals officially prescribed for celebration by the Roman garrison at Dura-Europos.³

Before discussing the contribution of the new papyrus, how-

¹ Herodian, VI, 1, 9-10. Zonaras, XII, 15, tells essentially the same story, with a few misunderstandings or exaggerations. See Boissevain's Dio Cassius, vol. III, pp. ix-x, 187, and 477.

² A. Jardé, *Études critiques sur la vie et le règne de Sévère Alexandre*, pp. 67-73. For the name Orba see G. F. Hill, *Revue Archéologique*, 1901, p. 291.

³ The whole text will be published shortly, with a commentary, in *Yale Classical Studies*, VII. The circumstances of its discovery and a preliminary account of parts of the document can be found in *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Fifth Season, 1931-32*, pp. 295-96 and pl. XXXI, 2; Rostovtzeff, "Das Militärarchiv von Dura," *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung*, XIX (1934), pp. 358-67; and A. S. Hoey, "Rosaliae Signorum," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXX (1937), pp. 15-35.

ever, it will be useful to review the literary sources and to indicate more explicitly than Jardé has troubled to do exactly what information can be derived from them. First of all, it must be emphasized again that the only contemporary account, that of Herodian, mentions no names at all; and that the coins and inscriptions of Alexander's reign name only Gnaea Seia as Alexander's wife. In the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, however, Alexander's wife is called in one place *Memmia Sulpicii consularis viri filia, Catuli neptis*,⁴ and in another the daughter of a certain Macrinus or Macrianus.⁵ In addition, v. Domaszewski advanced the opinion that Alexander's real father-in-law was to be found in the "Marcellus Caesar" (whom he identifies as L. Aufidius Marcellus, consul with Alexander in A. D. 226) of Polemius Silvius' *Laterculus*:

Antoninus Heliogabalus occisus

*Sub quo Marcellus Caesar et Sallustius Uranius Seleucus atque Taurinus tyranni fuerunt.*⁶

Here Mommsen had already noted correctly that "Marcellus Caesar" meant Alexander himself, and that the rest of the entry belonged under his name rather than that of Elagabal, where it is found;⁷ but in the names of the tyrants Mommsen saw four different individuals. His identifications of Sallustius as the father of Gnaea Seia Herennia Sallustia and of Taurinus as the unwilling choice of the soldiers mentioned in Victor, *Epitome*, 24, are certainly right. Seleucus he described as otherwise unknown; Uranius he conjectured to be the tyrant of Emesa named by Zosimus⁸ and Georgius Syncellus,⁹ and perhaps the

⁴ S. H. A., v. *Alex.*, xx, 3.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, xlix, 3-4. The MSS have both forms of the father's name: see E. Hohl, Teubner ed., 1927.

⁶ Polemius Silvius, *Laterculus*, ll. 30-31, in Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, pp. 520-23. V. Domaszewski, "Die Consulate der röm. Kaiser," *Heidelberger Sitzungsberichte*, IX (1918), no. 6, p. 17.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 521, n. 31. With Victor, *Epitome*, 23, 4, cf. S. H. A., v. *Alex.*, 1, 2, where Alexander is incorrectly called the son of Varius (Varius Marcellus was Elagabal's father: Dio, 79, 30, 2; *O. I. L.*, X, 6569), and v. *Alex.*, 4, 6, which may be an allusion to "Marcellus" as a name for Alexander, and see Jardé, p. 2, n. 10.

⁸ Zosimus, 1, 12.

⁹ Syncellus, p. 674 Bonn, 1, ll. 1-4.

father of the L. Iulius Sulpicius Uranius Antoninus who issued a coinage at Emesa in A. D. 253-54.

As a matter of fact, however, there is no evidence for the existence of any but the latter tyrant Uranius at Emesa;¹⁰ and it must be he whom Zosimus and Syncellus had in mind. For all that, their testimony to the mistaken belief that L. Iulius Sulpicius Uranius lived during the reign of Alexander is valuable. V. Domaszewski has shown that the authors of the *Historia Augusta*, when in need of a name, do not usually invent one, but borrow or adapt the names of historical personages.¹¹ One may add that the names thus borrowed are often those of individuals whose own characters or careers were more or less appropriate to the current narrative.¹² This was clearly the case regarding Alexander's alleged wife Memmia. Groag long since pointed out that the passage in which she is mentioned is taken from Suetonius, who calls the first wife of the Emperor Ser. Sulpicius Galba *Mumia Achaica, neptis Catuli*;¹³ and now the realization that L. Iulius Sulpicius Uranius was supposed to have been a tyrant during the reign of Alexander, whose father-in-law "rebelled" against him, shows precisely why "Memmia Sulpicii" was chosen, ancestry and all, to foist upon Alexander as the aristocratic wife mentioned by Herodian. A similar explanation will account for the "daughter of Macrianus/Macrinus." Although she is presented on the respectable authority of Dexippus of Athens, and some of the facts related may derive from his history, the passage as a whole differs suspiciously from the account of Herodian in ascribing to "Macrianus" a plot to kill Alexander, and in representing Alexander as acting throughout on his own initiative. One may therefore fairly suspect the authenticity of the name, for which there is no other evidence;

¹⁰ See *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*, II, I 125. The only dated coins of Uranius are of the year A. D. 253/54; and the stylistic resemblance of others to coins of Elagabal which led Cohen to assign Uranius to the early years of Alexander's reign (Cohen, IV², pp. 503-04) is sufficiently explained by the fact that they were struck at Emesa.

¹¹ "Die Personennamen bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae," *Heidelberger Sitzungsberichte*, IX (1918), no. 13.

¹² For example Stein in "Tenagino Probus," *Klio*, XXIX (1936), pp. 237-42, has shown how events in the life of a general of Claudius Gothicus were used to pad out the *vita* of the Emperor Probus.

¹³ Groag, *P.-W.*, s. v. "Catulus," cols. 1796-97; Suet., *Galba*, 3, 4.

and in fact v. Domaszewski, accepting Salmasius' reading *Macrinus*, explains that it was employed simply because the real Macrinus, the emperor, had become a stock example of the tyrannical nature, and because he was a native of Africa, whither Alexander's wife was banished.¹⁴ Jardé, however, prefers *Macrianus* as the *lectio difficilior*;¹⁵ and it is likewise capable of a more convincing explanation than *Macrinus* on the basis of v. Domaszewski's own principle; for there were real tyrants (Macrinus was not technically a "tyrant," since he was acknowledged by the Senate and ruled without opposition for nearly a year) named Macrianus, father and son. They were raised to the purple in the Orient; they were nearly contemporary with Sulpicius Uranius; and Quietus, the younger son of the family, was besieged and killed in Emesa¹⁶—circumstances quite sufficient to account for the association of the Macriani with the story of Alexander's marriage as told in the S. H. A.

Uranius' own presence in the tradition then remains to be explained; and the correct explanation seems to be provided by the *feriale Duranum*. Aside from the very valuable information it furnishes concerning official religion in general during the reign of Alexander, it contains in col. i, ll. 11-12 an entry which has been restored

11. [... idus i]anuarias ob natale[m luci sei caesaris soceri aug-
(usti) b(ovem) m(arem) genio] luci [soceri
aug(usti)]
12. [sei c]aesaris¹⁷ (vacat

If this restoration is correct, then these lines reveal the hitherto unknown fact that the *praenomen* of Gnaea Seia's father was Lucius.¹⁸ His full name, accordingly, since it probably resem-

¹⁴ "Die Personennamen," p. 89.

¹⁵ *Études*, p. 68 and n. 5. So too Hohl, Teubner ed. of the S. H. A.

¹⁶ *P. I. R.*, II, F 371, 372, and 374.

¹⁷ For a complete discussion of the reasons for adopting this restoration see *Yale Cl. St.*, VII. It rests largely on Jardé's comments on *C. I. L.*, VIII, 15524 in his *Études*, pp. 71-72. Note that L. SEI suits quite well the traces of the name as they are indicated in the *C. I. L.*

¹⁸ The use of the name Gnaea by his daughter probably indicates that for her it was a *nomen* or *cognomen*. For *praenomina* as *nomina* cf.

bled that of his daughter, may reasonably be supposed to have been L. (?Gnaeus) Seius Herennius Sallustius Barbius Orbus Orbianus. With this, however, one should compare the entry in Silvius' *Laterculus*. It is to be noted that in the series *Marcellus Caesar et Sallustius Uranius Seleucus atque Taurinus* only two conjunctions are employed, dividing the names into three groups, one the name of the Caesar, Marcellus, and the other two those of the tyrants Sallustius Uranius Seleucus and (*atque*) Taurinus. If one then interprets the names of the tyrants in the natural way as those of two individuals instead of Mommsen's four, it becomes evident that the former is a corruption of Sallustius (H)erennius Seius Lucius,¹⁹ and represents one stage in the replacement of Seius by Uranius in the historical tradition. The resemblance of their names, the brevity and obscurity of Seius' career, and the fact that Uranius ruled and coined at Emesa, the native city of Alexander's family, all conspired to cause Seius to be forgotten and the somewhat more successful Uranius to be substituted for him. Since the *Laterculus* used the same sources as Victor's *Epitome*,²⁰ which was composed at the end of the fourth century,²¹ the process of substitution may have begun as early as the middle of that century.

This clarification of the literary tradition contributes materially toward substantiating Jardé's belief that Alexander's only wife was Gnaea Seia, and perhaps justifies the removal from the record of all other persons whose existence as wives or fathers-in-law of Alexander's has been assumed in numerous attempts to reconcile the conflicting testimonies of the ancient sources. One meets with a complete blank, however, on endeavoring to learn more of Lucius Seius' own identity. Herennius and Sallustius were ancient aristocratic names; and Seius is attested as early as the second century B. C.; but of any connection of

e. g. the names of the consuls of A. D. 226 and 235 in Liebenam, *Fastii Consulares*; for *praenomen* as *cognomen* see P.-W., s. v. "Namenwesen," cols. 1861-63.

¹⁹ The order of the names occasions no difficulty, for the distinction between *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen* had long since broken down. See the preceding note. The order of *nomen* and *cognomen* was a matter of unconcern even to Tacitus and Pliny; and the *Laterculus* itself has *Traianus Ulpius* and *Hadrianus Aelius*.

²⁰ Jardé, p. 67, n. 2.

²¹ Schanz, *Geschichte d. röm. Litteratur*, IV², i, pp. 75-77.

Gnaea or her father with known Seii, Herennii, or Sallustii there is no trace. It has been conjectured that the Herennius Orbianus who was a member of the *Fratres Arvales* about the time of Antoninus Pius was a relative;²² and the same might be thought of Seius Fuscianus, a fellow-student of Marcus Aurelius, *praefectus urbi*, and twice consul, and his grandson Seius Carus, executed by Elagabal in 219;²³ but at present these can be no more than surmises. Mamaea appears to have succeeded admirably in finding for her son a wife who possessed blood and breeding, but whose family was without political importance. The story that Seius plotted against Alexander may in all probability be dismissed as fiction; for Seius' very distinctions marked him as a dependent of Mamaea's; and even his death seems to have created no particular stir, as would have been the case if his fall had been accompanied by the widespread investigations and numerous executions which are the usual concomitants of a discovered conspiracy. The fact that Gnaea herself was only banished is sufficient commentary on the insignificance of her father; while the affectionate regard in which the memory of Alexander was afterward held by the aristocracy, and the unwontedly vigorous action of the Senate in its resistance to Maximinus, Alexander's murderer and successor, show that his relations with the Senatorial class as a whole never ceased to be amicable, and that his policy of fostering the Senate was in some degree successful.

ROBERT O. FINK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

²² *P. I. R.*, II, H 81.

²³ *P. I. R.*, III, S 242 and 243. V. Domaszewski's suggestion that the P. Sallustius Sempronius who held an important naval command under Alexander might be related to the imperial house (*Rheinisches Museum*, LVIII [1903], p. 384 and n. 3) is probably to be rejected because it appears that the same Sallustius became procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis after his naval service, and continued in that post even in the reign of Maximinus. But it is hardly possible that a relative of a man who had been executed for treason should be retained in an official position.

A PARACLAUSITHYRON FROM POMPEII:

A STUDY OF *C. I. L.*, IV, SUPPL. 5296.

From several passages in both Greek and Latin literature it appears that the ancient *exclusus amator*, in addition to singing his plaint before his mistress' door, often wrote or hung on the doorway verses which he hoped would impress the girl with his devotion, his sufferings, or—on occasion—his anger.¹ The walls of Pompeii have preserved many such doorway scribbles, some in verse, some in prose, some original, some apposite scraps from various authors.² As a piece of popular literature none of these graffiti is quite so interesting as that which was written on the doorway of a house in the ninth region of the city:

O utinam liceat collo complexa tenere
braciola et teneris / oscula ferre labelis
i nunc ventis tua gaudia pupula crede/
crede mihi levis est natura virorum
5 saepe ego cu(m) media / vigilarem perdita nocte
haec mecum medita(n)s multos / Fortuna quos supstulit alto

¹ Cf. Mel., *A. P.*, 5, 191, 5-8 ἐπὶ προθύροις μαράνας δάκρυσιν ἐκδήσω τοῦς ἱκέτας στεφάνους, ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμῃ: 'Κύπρι, σοὶ Μελέαγρος, ὁ μύστης σῶν κώμων; στοργῆς σκῦλα τὰδ' ἐκρέμασε'; 12, 23, 3-4 καὶ μ' ἐπὶ σοῖς ὁ πταρὸς ἔρωτος προθύροις, Μυλσκε, στήσεν ἐπιγράμῃς 'Σκῦλ' ἀπὸ Σωφροσύνης'; Ps.-Theocr., 23, 46-48 γράψον καὶ τῷδε γράμμα, τὸ σοῖς τοίχοις χαράσσω: 'τοῦτον ἔρωτ' ἔκτεινεν· ὁδοιπόρε, μὴ παροδεύσης, ἀλλὰ στὰς τῷδε λέξον· "ἀκηρέα εἶχεν ἑταῖρον"' ; Plaut., *Merc.*, 409 impleantur elegeorum meae fores carbonibus; Ov., *Am.*, 3, 1, 53-54 vel quotiens foribus duris inlisa pependi (sc. *Elegeia*) non verita a populo praetereunte legi; probably also Prop., 1, 16, 9-10 nec possum infamis dominae defendere noctes nobilis obscenis tradita carminibus: see Rothstein and Butler and Barber, *ad loc.* (*Diæ Elegien des Sex. Propertius* erkl. von Max Rothstein, Berlin, 1920-24; *The Elegies of Propertius*, ed., etc., by H. E. Butler and E. A. Barber, Oxford, 1933).

² Cf. *C. I. L.*, IV, 1645, 1649, 1684, 2310k, 2413h; Suppl. 4239, 4477, 4485, 4491, 5112, 5120-21, 6761. On the general subject of the paraclausithyron see Erich Burck, "Das Paraclausithyron," *Hum. Gym.*, XLIII (1932), pp. 186-200; H. V. Canter, "The Paraclausithyron as a literary theme," *A. J. P.*, XLI (1920), pp. 355-368; H. de la Ville de Mirmont, "Le paraclausithyron dans la littérature latine," *Mél. Havet*, 1909, pp. 571-592.

hos modo proiectos subito / praecipitesque premit
 sic Venus ut subito coiunxit / corpora amantum
 dividit lux et se/

10 ΛΑΡΙΙΙΙΙΣ QVID· ΑΑΑΑ *

This graffito I should like to consider first from the point of view of genre, to determine whether or not it is properly a paraclausithyron. In the second place it must be decided whether the imperfect metre is a perversion of the elegiac distich or the dactylic hexameter; to this end it will be necessary to suggest the genesis of its faults. Finally, I should like to investigate the original nature of the poem from which the graffito was taken and to discuss the question of literary influences upon it.

By way of a preliminary fact it should be noted that the speaker in the verses is a woman.⁴ This is established not only by the grammatical agreement of *perdita* with *ego* (vs. 5), but also by the obviously feminine sentiment of vs. 4: *crede mihi, levis est natura virorum*. Was it, then, a woman who wrote them on the doorway? The possibility that it was a man, who was attempting to quote some passage in which the speaker happened to be a woman, cannot be entirely excluded; yet it seems contrary to human nature to make such a supposition. Moreover, although the greatest number of extant paraclausithyra, as we should expect, are written by men, still there is no doubt that women also sang such songs. Indeed in the very passage of his *Eroticus* in which Plutarch gives the paraclausithyron its name, he speaks, albeit with disapproval, of the singer as a woman;⁵ further one of the best of the popular Greek paraclausithyra, the *Alexandrian Erotic Fragment*, is obviously the song of a woman.⁶ It seems a more natural assumption that a

* *C. I. L.*, IV, Suppl. 5296: Reg. IX Ins. 8, in ostii sexti a septentrione pariete dextro; Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, 1895, no. 950; cf. A. Mau, *Mitth. des kais. deutsch. Arch. Inst. Röm. Abt.*, IV (1889), pp. 122-123; A. Sogliano, *Accad. dei Lincei, Notis. degli Scav. di Antich.*, 1888, p. 519. On the house ("the doctor's house") cf. *ibid.*, p. 516. The writing has since been washed away by rain, but was copied immediately after its discovery by Della Corte: cf. M. Della Corte, "Case e abitanti di Pompeii," *Riv. Ind.-Grec.-It.*, VIII (1924), p. 131.

⁴ Cf. Sogliano, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

⁵ Plut., *Erot.*, 8, 753 B ἐράται γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἢ Δία καὶ κρείται· τίς οὖν δ' κωλύων ἐστὶ κωμάζειν ἐπὶ θύρας, ἄδειν τὸ παρακλαυσίθυρον, κτλ.

⁶ B. P. Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment*, Oxford, 1896;

woman was the writer of these verses, although she was in all probability not their author.⁷ I find it difficult to believe that sentiments appropriate only in the mouth of a woman should have been written by a man.⁸

The identification of this graffito as a paraclausithyron is made difficult by the fact that the term has been applied rather indiscriminately to many different kinds of compositions, from the balcony scene in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*,⁹ through the epigrams of the Palatine Anthology,¹⁰ the broad burlesques of the mime¹¹ and of Plautus,¹² to the elegies of Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid.¹³ It has not yet been determined to which of these heterogeneous types Plutarch meant to apply the name, or whether, indeed, it belongs properly to any of them. But it is generally assumed that the paraclausithyron was a lament, sung, or imagined as sung, by a shut-out lover at the door of his obdurate mistress. This at least is the form adopted by the epigrammatists and the elegists. It begins with a plea for admission, or with some variation on this theme such as a protestation of loneliness or disappointment.¹⁴ The body of the

Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, second series, pp. 209 ff.; J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 177-180.

⁷ See below, pp. 337 f. Another erotic graffito by a woman: *O.I.L.*, IV, Suppl. 8755: Reg. V Ins. 4, inter ostia n. 12 et n. 13 in muri aedium n. 13 podio: OPTATA SECVNDO SVO SALVTEM.

⁸ Della Valle, however, in commenting on this graffito has assigned it to "un ufficialetto sentimentale." He takes no notice of the points I have here raised: Guido della Valle, "L'Amore in Pompeii e nel poema di Lucrezio," *At. e Rom.*, XXXIX (1937), p. 168.

⁹ 952-975.

¹⁰ E.g., Call., *A.P.*, 5, 23; Ascl., *A.P.*, 5, 64; 145; 164; Mel., *A.P.*, 5, 191; 12, 23; 72.

¹¹ E.g. the *Κωμωστής*, J. U. Powell, *Collect. Alex.*, pp. 181-182.

¹² *Curio*, 1-164.

¹³ Tib., 1, 2; Prop., 1, 16; Ov., *Am.*, 1, 6.

¹⁴ E.g., Ascl., *A.P.*, 5, 189, 1-2 νύξ μακρὴ καὶ χεῖμα, μέσση δ' ἐπὶ Πλειάδα δύνει, καὶ γὰρ προθύροις νίσσομαι ὄδμενος; Call., *A.P.*, 12, 118, 1-2 εἰ μὲν ἐκὼν, 'Ἀρχὶν', ἐπεκώμασα, μυρία μέμφου· εἰ δ' ἀέκων ἤκω, τὴν προπέτειαν δρα; Theocr., *Id.*, 3, 6-7 ὦ χαρίεσσ' Ἀμαρυλλί, τί μ' οὐκέτι τοῦτο κατ' ἄντρον παρκύπτουσα καλεῖς; *Alex. Br. Frg.*, 27-28 (beginning of paracl. proper) Κύριε, μὴ μ' ἀφῆς ἀποκεκλειμμένη; Tib., 1, 2, 9 *ianua, iam pateas uni mihi viota querellis*; Prop., 1, 16, 17-18 *ianua vel domina penitus crudelior ipsa, quid mihi tam duris clausa taces foribus?* Ov., *Am.*, 1, 6, 1-2 *ianitor, indignum! dura religate catena, difficilem moto cardine pande*

song dwells on one or several of a group of erotic commonplaces, the girl's heedlessness or cruelty,¹⁶ her fickleness or deceit,¹⁸ the sufferings of the lover himself.¹⁷ These are, to be sure, only the basic elements; they are embellished and varied by the poets with all kinds of artistic devices.

With this pattern the graffito agrees. In its opening lines a pathetic appeal for the joys of love is expressed in the form of a wish.¹⁸ Then follow in order two of the regular commonplaces, the fickleness of the beloved,¹⁹ and the lonely sufferings of the lovelorn.²⁰ The concluding thought of the poem, the instability of the fortunes of love, is not often found in exactly this form in the formal paraclausithyron, but many a serenader has warned his mistress or his rival that in love the tables are likely to be turned.²¹

forem! Nemes., *Hol.*, 4, 14-16 *immitis Merore rapidisque fugacior Euris, cur nostros calamos, cur pastoralia vitas carmina?*

¹⁶ E. g. Call., *A. P.*, 5, 23, 5 γέλτορες οἰκτεροῦσι· σὺ δ' οὐδ' ὄναρ; Theocr., *Id.*, 3, 18 ὦ τὸ καλὸν παθοῦσα, τὸ πᾶν λίθος; 24 ὦ μοι ἐγὼν, τί πάθω, τί δ' δύσσοος; οὐχ ὕπακούεις; 36 ἐπεὶ τὴ μοι ἐνδιαθρύπτῃ; 52 ἀλγέω τὰν κεφαλάν, τιν' δ' οὐ μέλει; Prop., 1, 16, 25-26 *tu sola humanos nunquam miserata dolores respondes tacitis mutua cordinibus*; Ov., *Am.*, 1, 6, 27-28 *ferreus orantem nequiquam, ianitor, audis, roboribus duris ianua fulta riget*.

¹⁷ E. g. Ascl., *A. P.*, 5, 164, 2 Πυθίδς ἢ Νικοῦς, οὔσα φιλεξαπάτης; 5, 189, 3 τρωθεὶς τῆς δολῆς κείνης πόθῃ; *Alex. Br. Frag.*, 18 ὁ φρεναπάτης; Prop., 1, 16, 43 *ante tuos quotiens verti me, perfida, postes*.

¹⁸ This is by far the most common sentiment; there is scarcely a single extant "song by the door" in which it fails to appear: e. g. Arist., *Eccl.*, 956-957 ἄποσις δ' ἔγκεῖται μοι τις πόθος, ὅς με διακνασῶς ἔχει, 972 (= 975) διὰ τοι σὲ πόρους ἔχω; Ascl., *A. P.*, 5, 189, 3-4 τρωθεὶς τῆς δολῆς κείνης πόθῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἔρωτα Κύπρις, ἀνηρὸν δ' ἐκ πυρὸς ἦκε βέλος; Mel., *A. P.*, 5, 191, 5 ἐπὶ προθύροις μαράκας; 12, 72, 5-6 καὶ τὸς ἔρωτος ἔλκος ἔχων ἐπὶ σοῖς δάκρυσι δακρυχέω; Theocr., *Id.*, 3, 12 θυμαλγὲς ἐμὴν ἄχος; Ps.-Theocr., 23, 16 λολασθιον οὐκ ἤνεγκε τόσαμ φλόγα τὰς Κυθερίας; *Alex. Br. Frag.*, 24 καὶ κατακαλομαι καταλειμμένη; 29 ἐπιμανῶς ἐρᾶν μέγαρ ἔχει πόρον; Tib., 1, 2, 1 *adde merum vinoque. novos compesce dolores*; Prop., 1, 16, 21 *nullane finis erit nostro concesso dolori*, 23-24 *me mediae noctes, me sidera plena iacentem, frigidaque Boos me dolet aura gelu*; Ov., *Am.*, 1, 6, 17-18 *adspice (uti videas inmitia claustra relaxa) uda sit ut lacrimis ianua facta meis*.

¹⁹ *O utinam*, etc., vss. 1-2.

²⁰ *Orede mihi*, etc., vs. 4.

²¹ *Saepe ego cum media vigilarem perditā nocte*, vs. 5.

²² Cf. Ps.-Theocr., 23, 33-34 ἤξει καιρὸς ἐκείνος, ὁπανίκα καὶ τὸ φιλάσεις, ἀνίκα τὰν κραδίαν ὀπτεύμενος Ἀλμυρὰ κλαύσεις; Agath. Schol., *A. P.*, 5, 280, 5-6 εὐρήσεις τάχ' ὅμοια, τετὴν δ' ἀμέγαρε παρείῃν ἀθρήσω θαμνοῖς δάκρυσι

Even so, since every lament is not a paraclausithyron, the graffito might be excluded from the genre. It contains no reference to the garland, the torches, the lover's watch by the doorway, nor his gifts. All these are part of the accepted apparatus of such songs and find specific mention in many of them. But the graffito is not a formal composition; it is rather a hasty affair, notice to the man that his unlucky lady has been there. It represents one of the *parts* of the formal paraclausithyron, that part in which the poet proposes to write on his mistress' doorway just such evidence of his presence.²² Such a writing would not need to preserve, indeed in many cases could not preserve, all the words of the singer; it is, so to speak, the gist of his song, the essentials of his paraclausithyron.

In the last analysis, it is the position of the graffito that marks it as a paraclausithyron. It is written on the doorway, in the place which is canonical with the ancient serenader. A great many of the graffiti listed by *C. I. L.* IV as written in or near doorways are of erotic character, and some of them appear to be of the same type as our poem, scraps or portions of paraclausithyra or sentiments which agree with those regularly found in paraclausithyra.²³

It may then reasonably be concluded that this graffito represents the sentiments of a girl shut out from the house of her lover. She writes on his doorway verses whose form is in outline that of the conventional paraclausithyron; the poem is intended, as the paraclausithyron almost invariably was, both to advertise her vigil and to rouse the pity of her obdurate lover.

For the metrical imperfections of the poem the simplest basic explanation is the thesis that the writer was attempting to write from memory a poem or portion of a poem which she could not completely recall. Some verses were clear in her mind: vss. 1, 5, and 8 are without error, and vs. 3 lacks only one syllable, probably the word *et*, to be restored after *nunc*.²⁴ In vss. 2 and 4 she

τρυφῶντες; Hor., *Od.*, 1, 25, 9-10 *invicem moechos anus arrogantis flebis in solo levis angiportu*; Tib., 1, 2, 87-88 *at tu qui laetus rides mala nostra caveto mori tibi: non uni saeviet usque deus*.

²² Cf. the passages cited p. 333, n. 1.

²³ E.g. *C. I. L.*, IV, 1684, 2413h, 4491, 5120-21.

²⁴ So Mau and Buecheler. The latter compares Juv., 12, 57 *i nunc et ventis animam committe*.

has lost but little of her original, but vss. 6 and 7 are confused both metrically and in thought, as if the writer, despairing of remembering the lines, had done her best to reproduce the ideas they contained. What, then, was the metre of the original poem?

Mau and Buecheler both appear to adopt the theory that the original text was elegiac, and that the writer, ignorant of that form but familiar with the hexameter, tried to remodel the lines into the pattern she knew.²⁵ Certain it is that two changes, not at all difficult from the mechanical point of view, will make pentameters of vss. 2 and 7, and it may be assumed that the resulting verses were those which the writer carelessly or ignorantly altered.²⁶ Further, a short amatory piece of this kind would normally have been cast in elegiac distichs.

Before this theory is criticized or any other suggested in its place, it must be recalled that the graffito as a whole is clear and logical in thought except in vss. 6 and 7. In the reconstruction of its original form no violent changes may be accepted, nor is it permissible to assume any large lacunae. Finally it is possible, indeed quite likely, that the graffito does not represent a whole poem, but only a short passage from a longer composition, for it begins and ends abruptly and lacks the unity of thought which we should expect in a poem as brief as this.

In view of these considerations, the theory of Mau and Buecheler will not stand, for in order to arrive at an elegiac original for the graffito many changes must be made. According to the elegiac scheme, vs. 4 should be a pentameter, yet the line as it stands cannot by any means easily conceived be made into one. If, on the other hand, it is properly an hexameter, then a pentameter must have been lost before it. This is quite impossible, since vs. 4 is clearly intended to follow immediately after vs. 3. Even if this were possible, what are we to do with vs. 5, a perfectly correct hexameter? We must either assume the loss of still another pentameter, or else be thrown back on the difficult task of explaining how vs. 4 arose from a pentameter. Again, if vs. 7 was originally a pentameter, at least one line must have been lost before it, for only even-numbered lines may

²⁵ Cf. Buecheler, *O. L. H.*, 950, intro. and notes on vss. 2 and 7; Mau, *O. I. L.*, IV, 5296, *ad loc.*

²⁶ Buecheler, vs. 2: "*labellis pro labris* cf. Prop. 2. 15. 9; 4. 9. 64"; vs. 7: "*demi debuit subito.*" So also Mau.

be pentameters.²⁷ Assuming that this may be remedied by postulating as the original of the badly confused vs. 6 a pentameter plus an hexameter, we are still faced with the problem of vs. 4. The attempt to arrive at an elegiac poem from which the verses as they stand could have been derived inevitably involves either unwarranted textual changes or equally unwarranted assumptions of lacunae.

Sogliano has, I believe, hinted at the proper solution when he says that the verses "were meant to be hexameters."²⁸ If we assume that the poem was originally in hexameters, but that some of the verses were, so to speak, damaged in transit through the writer's memory and hand, relatively little difficulty will be experienced in imagining how they could have attained their present form. The writer's errors arise from nothing more complicated than poor memory and mechanical inaccuracy; no textual changes (except, of course, in vss. 6 and 7) are necessary; no lacunae need be postulated. The faulty lines 2 and 4 are simply hexameters with one, or at most two words missing, and the words have in both cases been lost when the writer went from the end of one *line* (not *verse*) of her text to the beginning of the next. The first line ends with *teneris* (vs. 2); after this a monosyllable (-), dissyllable (~~ or -~), or trisyllable (~~~ or ~~-) is missing.²⁹ Of the second line, the last word is *crede* (vs. 3); after this a dactyl, to begin vs. 4, is lacking.³⁰ The imperfections in these two verses are the result of the writer's failure to keep track of her text as she went from line to line in the space which she was filling solidly with writing.³¹ With vss. 6 and 7 the problem is more difficult, for not only is the metre imperfect but the verses are confused and

²⁷ In any case, the dropping of *subito*, although it produces a pentameter, does violence to the sense of the line, which then reads "these cast down and headlong she oppresses" (*proiectos praecipitesque premit*).

²⁸ "Vorebbero essere esametri," *op. cit.*, p. 519.

²⁹ E. g. *rapta*: cf. Ov., *Ars Am.*, 1, 667 *tantum ne noceant teneris male rapta labellis*; *Am.*, 2, 4, 26 *oscula cantanti rapta dedisse velim*; *Her.*, 15 (Sappho-Phaon), 44 *oscula cantanti tu mihi rapta dabas*.

³⁰ Mau suggests *pupula* (*op. cit.*, *ibid.*). It is of course possible that the syllables were lost elsewhere in the line (e. g. an anapaest or spondee after *est*), but they would be most easily dropped between the two instances of *crede*.

³¹ For vs. 3, see above, p. 337 and n. 24.

crowded, so much so, indeed, that there occur two grammatical irregularities. We should expect a finite verb in place of the participle *meditans*, the form which is undoubtedly required by the *meditas* of the *graffito*.³² Sogliano has suggested *meditaris*,³³ but aside from difficulties metrical and grammatical, the second person is out of place here, for the sentiments of vs. 6 and 7 belong to the girl alone, and vs. 5 is proof enough of the lonely vigil that brought them forth. *Meditans* cannot well be changed; it is better to assume either that the finite verb was lost in the confusion of the lines or that it was simply forgotten. In the second place, *modo* in its present position is awkward. If it modifies *premit*, it must mean "presently," but this is contrary to Latin usage, which requires that when used as a temporal adverb a single *modo* indicate past, not future time.³⁴ If, on the other hand, it be taken with *proiectos* ("just now cast down") it is meaningless and otiose. Perhaps *modo* has been displaced from its proper position with *supstulit*, sc. *multos quos modo supstulit*, etc.; or it may be the second *modo* of the correlation *modo . . . modo*, the first having been carelessly omitted. This latter would give us *multos quos modo supstulit hos modo premit*, a sentence which fails of clarity solely by reason of excess pronouns, for without *quos* and *hos* it is perfectly clear: *multos modo supstulit modo premit*.

Into this scheme the words *proiectos subito praecipitesque* do not easily fit. In reality there seem to be three ideas expressed: *Fortuna multos modo supstulit, modo proiecit, et premit*. With the first two ideas two hexameters can be completed:

³² Omission of nasalized -n is common in the graffiti: cf. *mostrat* for *monstrat*, *C. I. L.*, IV, 1928; *Cresces* for *Crescens*, 4556-4559; cf. C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Chicago, 1933, p. 150.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 519.

³⁴ Ter., *Andr.*, 594 *domum modo ibo* means "I'll just go home": cf. the use of *modo* with the imperative. *Iam modo*, Tib., I, 1, 25, means "Now, at least": cf. Smith and Cartault *ad loc.* (*The Elegies of Albius Tibullus*, ed. K. F. Smith, New York, 1913; A. Cartault, *Tibulle et les auteurs du corpus Tibullianum*, Paris, 1909). The single *modo* used in the second of two clauses by Tacitus, *Ann.*, 4, 50 and 3, 32 is the second member of the common *modo . . . modo* correlation, the first being suppressed: cf. Nipperdey-Andresen on *Ann.*, 4, 50, 12 (P. Cornelius Tacitus, erkl. von K. Nipperdey, Vol. I, elfte verb. Aufl., von G. Andresen, Berlin, 1915). For the normal usage cf. Cat., 73, 6 *quam modo qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit*.

haec mecum meditans: multos modo supstulit alte
 Fors, modo praecipites subito proiecit eosdem.⁸⁵

This purely hypothetical restoration, for which no claims to authenticity are made, shows that even with the substitution of *Fors* for *Fortuna*, and with the deletion of *-que* and *premit*, there is enough to fill two complete hexameters. One further verse, containing *premit* and in all probability a main verb for the sentence, must have been lost; the attempt by the writer to replace the three original verses by two of her own is at the bottom of the confused structure of the passage.

This confusion was augmented and in part occasioned by the same error which broke the metre of vss. 2 and 4, for here too the writer seems to experience difficulty in keeping her metre intact as she passes from one line to the next. Thus vs. 6 is correct to *multos*, where the line ends. The awkward *Fortuna*, obviously misplaced, is the first word of line 5, and deforms vs. 6. Vs. 7, again, is correct as far as *subito*, where the sixth line ends; the metre is destroyed by the phrase *praecipitesque premit* which begins the seventh line. In point of fact the writer appears to abandon any attempt to produce correct verses; she writes all that she can remember, and when memory fails her, fills in with tags and scraps which seem to scan. Hence arose the apparent pentametric hemistich which closes vs. 7 of the modern arrangement of the poem. At this point the writer simply stops and goes on to vs. 8, which was clear in her mind.

In all the faulty verses, then, the metrical errors can be explained as the result of carelessness, poor memory, and the confusion that resulted from failure to divide the poem into verses. The resolution of these errors indicates that the original form of the verses was the dactylic hexameter, not the elegiac distich. Although it is possible that the writer was attempting to quote an entire poem,⁸⁶ it is more likely that her original was a brief passage from some longer composition, in which it was, perhaps, an inserted paraclausithyron.⁸⁷ On the other hand, these few verses may merely have seemed apposite and sufficiently

⁸⁵ Cf. Ov., *Tr.*, 3, 11, 67-68 *humanaeque memor sortis quae tollit eosdem et premit, incertas ipse verere vias*.

⁸⁶ For such short erotic poems in the dactylic hexameter cf. *O. I. L.*, IV, 1520 (*O. L. B.*, 354).

⁸⁷ Cf. the inserted paraclausithyron of Iphis, Ov., *Met.*, 14, 718-732.

close to the accepted form of the paraclausithyron to be used as such.

There remains the question of the sources from which the author of these verses drew his inspiration. The editors have been inclined to allow him little originality, and have agreed in dismissing the graffito as a rather scrappy cento of lines from the erotic elegy. I shall attempt to show that there is in fact little evidence of elegiac influence, and that insofar as the verses were not original, it was rather the complaint of Ariadne in Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis* which chiefly influenced their author, and that this influence was supplemented by other Catullian reminiscences and by one line borrowed from Lucretius.

With the first two lines Buecheler has compared Prop., 2, 15, 9-10:

quam vario amplexu mutamus braccia! quantum
oscula sunt labris nostra morata tuis!

In the two passages the ideas occur in the same order ("embraces—kisses"), and the juxtaposition of Propertius' *oscula . . . labris* suggests the *oscula . . . labelis* of the graffito. But such resemblances are all too likely to be fortuitous, since they represent the natural order of common words and ideas.³⁸ Of the two striking phrases, *mutamus braccia* and *oscula morata*, there is no reflection in the graffito. I find no parallel anywhere in Propertius' elegies for the odd construction, *collo complexa tenere braciola*.³⁹ On the other hand the word *bracchium* suggests Catullus, in whose poems it is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.⁴⁰ *Labellum*, too, is another word much used by Catullus; his fondness for such popular diminutives is well known.⁴¹

In the third line the graffito has given an unusual turn to

³⁸ Cf. Cat., 9, 8-9; Lucr., 4, 1079-1081; 1192-1194 (note esp. *oscula labris*, 1094); Prop., 1, 3, 15-16; Ov., *Am.*, 2, 18, 9-10; Tib., 2, 5, 91-92.

³⁹ No satisfactory parallel has yet been found in any extant author. Sogliano, *loc. cit.*, quotes Stat., *Silo.*, 5, 4, 14-15 *puellae braccia nexa tenens*. Closer perhaps is Lygd., 6 (Ps.-Tib., 3, 6), 45 *pendentia brachia collo*; cf. also Cat., 64, 332 *levia subaternens robusto brachia collo*.

⁴⁰ 61, 181 *mitte brachiolum teres*. Kroll *ad loc.* suggests that the graffito may be imitating Catullus (C. Valerius Catullus, herausg. u. erkl. von Wilhelm Kroll, zweite Aufl., Leipzig-Berlin, 1929).

⁴¹ Cf. 8, 18; 61, 220; 63, 74; 64, 104, 316; 80, 1. Cf. P. de Labriolle, "L'Emploi du diminutif chez Catulle," *R. Ph.*, XXIX (1905), pp. 277-288.

the proverbial "entrusting to the winds" of the words of the faithless. In general this formula has one of two forms: either the speaker "entrusts his words to the winds" (or is said to do so), or his hearer "entrusts those words to the winds."⁴³ A third form is that in which the winds themselves are said to make vain a person's words.⁴³ In all these forms it is the original speaker of the words who is proclaimed faithless. But in the graffito the idea is reversed: here it is the recipient who is marked as unworthy of trust. The speaker bids girls entrust their joys to the winds, since even they can be no more faithless than a man.⁴⁴ Parallels for this variant are relatively infrequent, and none of them is expressed in a way which forcibly recalls the words of the graffito.⁴⁵ It is possibly no mere coincidence that the wind-figure appears in the paraclausithyra of both Propertius and Ovid,⁴⁶ but from the point of view of the manner of expression, a passage from Catullus is much closer to the graffito:

⁴³ Equally common is the variant, "entrusting to the waters": often the two are combined. For examples of the first type mentioned above cf. Mel., *A. P.*, 5, 8, 5 *νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ὀρκιά φησιν ἐν ὕδατι κείνα φέρεσθαι*; Maec., *A. P.*, 5, 133, 4 *ὀρκους δ' εἰς ἀνέμους τίθεμαι*; Cat., 30, 9-10 *idem nuno retrahis te ac tua diota omnia factaque ventos irrita ferre ac nebulas aerias sinis*; 64, 58-59 *immemor at iuuenis fugiens pellit vada remis irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae*; Prop., 2, 28, 7-8 *hoo perdit miseris, hoo perdidit ante puellas: quidquid iurarunt ventus et unda rapit*. For examples of the second type cf. Soph., frg. 741 Nauck (*Paroem. Graec.*, I, p. 379) *ὀρκους ἐγὼ γυναῖκας εἰς ὕδωρ γράφω*; Cat., 70, 3-4 *dicat, sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua*.

⁴⁴ Cf. Cat., 64, 142 *quae cuncta aerii discerpunt irrita venti*. This seems to be the original form of the proverb. Often no faithlessness is implied, the formula expressing merely the vanity of men's promises, hopes, etc.; cf. Hom., *Od.*, 8, 408-409; Theocr., 29, 35; Ap. Rhod., *Arg.*, 1, 1334-1335; Lucr., 4, 1096; Verg., *Aen.*, 10, 652 (quoted by Sogliano, *loc. cit.*); Hor., *Od.*, 1, 26, 1-3; Prop., 4, 7, 21-22; Ov., *Am.*, 2, 16, 45-46.

⁴⁵ By "joys" are to be understood "favors" (*deliciae*: cf. Cat., 45, 23-24; Lucr., 5, 854), with reference to the *oscula* and *complexus* of vss. 1-2.

⁴⁶ Cf. Theocr., 22, 167-168 *τὰ δ' εἰς ὑγρὸν ῥέχεται κύμα προῖχ' ἐχούσ' ἀνέμοιο, χάρις δ' οὐχ ἔσπετο μύθοις*; Cat., 65, 17-18; Prop., 1, 8, 12 *neve inimica meas elevet aura proes*; 1, 16, 34 *at mea nocturno verba cadunt Zephyro*; Ov., *Am.*, 1, 6, 41-42 *lentus es, an somnus, qui te male perdat, amantis verba dat in ventos aure repulsa tua*; 52 *ei mihi, quam longe spem tulit aura meam*.

⁴⁶ Prop., 1, 16, 34; Ov., *Am.*, 1, 6, 41-42.

ne tua dicta vagis nequiquam credita ventis
effluxisse meo forte putes animo.⁴⁷

Here *tua dicta . . . credita ventis* is almost precisely equal to the graffito's *ventis tua gaudia . . . crede*; against the assumption of a coincidence in the use of common words is the fact that the phrase *credere ventis* is peculiar to these two passages; in general some verb other than *credere* is used, e. g. *dare, linquere, tradere; ferre, rapere, cadere*. Catullus, incidentally, is fond of this figure: he uses it in one or another of its forms five times, twice in the *Peleus and Thetis*.⁴⁸

With vs. 3 should be considered vs. 4; they represent the particularized and generalized statement of the same idea. In the warning, *crede mihi, levis est natura virorum*, the author has expressed in rather weak fashion the erotic commonplace of the lover's perfidy, the Ἀφροδίσιος ὄρκος, which is ascribed to men as often as to women (or *pueri delicati*).⁴⁹ The faithlessness of lovers is expressed with weary monotony in the elegy as well as in other forms of poetry, but none of the poets has been content to employ language as blunt and simple as that of the graffito. The author could have borrowed the idea from any of them, but probably did not. In all likelihood he has used a popular form of the commonplace, a form for which no direct source need or can be postulated.

Nevertheless the first four verses taken as a unit have a striking parallel in a short section of Ariadne's complaint in Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis*:

at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti
voce mihi, non haec miserae sperare iubebas,
sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos,
quae cuncta aerii discerpunt irrita venti.

⁴⁷ Cat., 65, 17-18.

⁴⁸ 30, 9-10; 64, 58-59, 142; 65, 17-18; 70, 3-4.

⁴⁹ Cf. (besides the passages quoted above, notes 42, 43, and 45), Plato, *Sym.*, 183 B; Eur., *Med.*, 492-495; Ap. Rhod., *Arg.*, 4, 358-359, 388; Ascl., *A. P.*, 5, 164, 2; Mel., *A. P.*, 5, 184, 3; *Alex. Er. Frg.*, 3-8; Tib., 1, 4, 21-22; 8, 7-8; 8, 63-64; 9, 1-2, 31-38; Prop., 1, 15, 1-2, 25-26, 33-42; 4, 5, 21-28; 7, 21-22; Ov., *Am.*, 1, 8, 85-86; 2, 16, 45-46; 3, 11, 21-22; *Ars Am.*, 1, 631-636, 645-646; 3, 31-32, 455-460, 491-492; *Rem. Am.*, 303-304, 687-690; *Her.*, 2, 25-26; 5, 109-112; 7, 7-8, 17-18, 29-30, 65-70, 81-82; 12, 91-92; *Fast.*, 3, 473-476.

nunc iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat,
 nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles⁵⁰

Ariadne first recounts the joys promised by Theseus; next, she tells of his perfidy under the figure of the winds, and from this proceeds to the generalization that all men are faithless. So in the graffito appear first the longed-for joys of love, then the figure of the winds, and finally the generalization on the faithlessness of men. The two passages agree in ideas, in the order of their expression, and in the use of the wind-figure. No other so striking a parallel for the graffito can be found; the nearest, Ov., *Am.*, 2, 16, 43-46, contains the same ideas, but the manner of expression and the order are quite different.

There are in the lines other elements as well which point to Catullus, although not specifically to the *Peleus and Thetis*. Notice has already been taken of the Catullian words *braciolum* and *labellum*, and of the similarity between vs. 3-4 and Cat., 65, 17-18. To this may now be added the prominence of the verb *credere* in both vs. 3 and 4 and in Cat., 64, 143. The graffito also uses the unusual word *pupula*, a popular diminutive of the type much favored by Catullus, who once uses its masculine counterpart, *pupulus*.⁵¹ Both *pupulus* and *pupula* are rare forms, even in graffiti and inscriptions; no literary instance of the use of *pupula* in the sense of "maiden," "girl" can be found before Apuleius; for *pupulus* in the sense of "boy" Catullus is the only literary authority.⁵² The simple forms *pupus* and *pupa*, on the other hand, are relatively common both in inscriptions and literary works.⁵³ In substituting *pupula* for *pupa* the author of the verses follows a practice characteristic of Catullus, who in many places uses a diminutive form *metri gratia* or with little change in meaning.⁵⁴ This clear instance

⁵⁰ 64, 139-144.

⁵¹ 56, 5.

⁵² *Pupula*: Ap., *Met.*, 6, 16 (*mea pupula*); *Inscr.* (Orell.), 3031 (*a pupula annos veiginti optimi domum omnem*).

⁵³ *Pupus*: *C. I. L.*, IV, Suppl. 4485; Kroll also cites (on Cat., 56, 5) Suet., *Calig.*, 13; Dessau 8473 (*bis*). *Pupa*: *C. I. L.*, IV, 1234; Suppl. 4007; *C. I. L.*, VI, 2254; Mart., 4, 20, 1-2.

⁵⁴ E. g. 2, 12 *aureolum*; 15, 4 *integellum*; 17, 13 *bimuli* (cf. Kroll on vs. 12); 30, 2 *amiculi*; 61, 22 *ramulis*, 92 *hortulo*, 181 *bracchiolum* (see above, p. 342 and n. 40), 220 *labello* (*ibid.*, and n. 41); 63, 35 *lassulae*; 64, 131 *frigidulos*, 331 *languidulos*; 68, 16 *laorimulis*, 63 *uvidulam*; 68, 2 *epistolium*. This partial list is my own. Platner admits some of

of Catullian practice substantiates the belief that *braciolum* and *labellum* (vs. 2) are also the result of borrowing from Catullus or of imitating his use of metrically convenient or euphonious popular diminutives.

The next group of verses contains two commonplaces, a source for which might naturally be sought in the erotic elegy: the wakeful nights of the lover, and the fickleness of Fortune. For the first there are innumerable parallels, since the elegists love to dwell in self-pity on their lonely vigils.⁵⁵ In particular, the graffito uses *perdita* in the technical sense of "lovelorn" so common in the elegy.⁵⁶ But for neither of these is any parallel to be found in the Roman elegists which is close enough to the graffito to suggest imitation. The verse, like vs. 4, is so simple in its expression of a trite idea that it might have any or no particular source.⁵⁷

these, but feels a true diminutive force in others, e.g. *amiculus*, *bracchiolum*, and *ramulus*. He claims that most of the nouns are true diminutives, most of the adjectives not: cf. S. B. Platner, "Diminutives in Catullus," *A. J. P.*, XVI (1895), pp. 186-202. De Labriolle, on the contrary, sees true special force in nearly every Catullian diminutive: *op. cit.*, pp. 283, 286. Without attempting to advance a definitive solution to a difficult and essentially subjective question, I should say that "Catullian practice" is the free use of diminutive forms wherever they are convenient metrically or euphonious or add to the passage some special shade of meaning. Naturally these conditions frequently coincide.

⁵⁵ Cf. Tib., 1, 2, 76 *cum fletu non vigilanda venit*; 2, 4, 11 *nunc et amara dies et noctis amariora umbra est*; Prop., 3, 15, 1-2 *sic ego non illos iam norim in amore tumultus nec veniat sine te non vigilanda mihi*; 1, 1, 33 *in me nostra Venus noctes exerceat amaras*; 11, 5 *memores a! ducere noctes*; Ov., *Ars Am.*, 1, 735 *attenuant iuvenum vigilatas corpora noctes*; *Am.*, 1, 2, 3 *et vacuus somno noctem, quam longa, peregi*. See Smith on Tib., 1, 2, 76 and 2, 4, 11. The commonplace is of course not confined to the erotic elegy: cf. Sapph. frg. 94 Diehl; Mel., *A. P.*, 5, 152, 3; 173; 12, 72, 1-2; Ascl., *A. P.*, 5, 150; *O. I. L.*, IV, 2146 (*Vibius Restitutus hic solus dormivit et urbanam suam desiderabat*); Buecheler, *O. L. B.*, 943

Vis] nulla est animi, non somnus claudit ocellos,
noctes [atque] dies aestuat omnis amor.

⁵⁶ Cf. Tib., 2, 6, 51 *mens . . . perdita*; Prop., 1, 13, 7 *perditus in quadam*; Ov., *Am.*, 3, 6, 80 *atque ita se in rapidas perdita misit aquas*; Her., 7, 61 *perdita ne perdam timeo*; Rem. *Am.*, 533 *complendast sitis ista tibi qua perditus ardes*.

⁵⁷ We do find *perdita* in the required sense in Cat., 64, 70 and 177; it is just possible that the graffito's *perdita* may be a reminiscence of one

For the second commonplace, the fickleness of Fortune, there are also innumerable parallels; again the search for a specific source for the graffito is baffled by the universality of a trite idea.⁵⁸ Closest is Ov., *Tr.*, 3, 11, 67-68:

humanaeque memor sortis quae tollit eosdem
et premit, incertas ipse verere vices.⁵⁹

The almost exact parallel between Ovid's *tollit eosdem et premit* and the graffito's *quos sustulit . . . hos . . . premit* may be an indication of imitation; the chief objection to any such assumption is the fact that almost identical phraseology can be found in other authors as well, e. g. Horace.⁶⁰

Somewhat better substantiated is the postulate of a Catullian reminiscence in the reference to *Fortuna*. It has already been shown how closely the thought of vss. 1-4 of the graffito corresponds to that of Catullus, 64, 139-144.⁶¹ At the conclusion of this part of her plaint, Ariadne is impelled to ascribe her unhappiness to cruel Destiny:

sic nimis insultans extremo tempore saeva
Fors etiam nostris invidit questibus auris.⁶²

So in somewhat different form occurred to our author the thought of fickle Fortune; as in Catullus' lines this idea follows the reflection on the instability of man's affections.⁶³ It is as if the author were epitomizing Ariadne's long speech, following it thought for thought, but compressing the ideas into a shorter space.

or both of these. But the arguments are tenuous at best and the possibility of coincidence in the use of so common a word too great.

⁵⁸ E. g. Hor., *Od.*, 1, 34, 14-16; 35, 1-4; 3, 29, 49-52. Ovid continually reverts to the theme in his poems of exile: cf. *Tr.*, 3, 7, 41-42; 11, 67-68; 5, 8, 7-8; 14, 29-30; *Ep. ex P.*, 3, 6, 21-22; cf. also Tib., 1, 2, 88; 5, 70. For Τόχη in Hellenic and Hellenistic literature see E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 1914², pp. 296-302, especially the notes, pp. 297 and 309 (cf. Kroll on Cat., 64, 169).

⁵⁹ This passage aided me in the conjectural restoration of the lines: see above, p. 341 and n. 35.

⁶⁰ E. g. *Od.*, 1, 34, 15-16 *Fortuna . . . sustulit, . . . posuisse gaudet*; 35, 1-4 *O diva . . . praesens vel . . . tollere . . . vel vertere*, etc.

⁶¹ Above, pp. 344 f.

⁶² 64, 169-170. These lines clearly mark the end of a section.

⁶³ 64, 145-168 merely enlarges on the idea of vss. 142-144.

The sole remaining complete verse of the graffito, vs. 8, is an obvious borrowing from Lucretius:

sic Venus ut subito coiunxit corpora amantum;

cf. Lucr., 5, 962:

et Venus in silvis iungebat corpora amantum.⁶⁴

The last legible words of the graffito were intended to begin another hexameter which was to continue the comparison between *Fortuna* and love. *Dividit* introduces a false quantity; we should expect *divisit*.⁶⁵ *Se-* may be the first letters of *seiunxit*.

The very last line has never been satisfactorily deciphered.⁶⁶ Only the second word, *quid*, can be read with certainty. The first word may be *paries*, but if so the line must have been written by a second hand, for entirely different forms are used for the letters *P* and *A*. The words look like the beginning of some comment on the foregoing verses, perhaps on the order of the well-known graffito:

admiror, paries, te non cecidisse ruina,
qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas.⁶⁷

It may then be concluded that the woman who wrote these verses intended them as a lament in the manner of the paraclausithyron. The faults which her version introduces into the metre are in all cases most satisfactorily resolved if the original form of the verses be supposed to have been the dactylic hexameter, not, as Buecheler and Mau believe, the elegiac distich. This in itself suggests that the graffito does not represent an entire poem, but rather a portion of a longer one, and such an assumption is supported by the fact that the verses as they stand begin and end abruptly and lack essential unity of thought.

Any conjecture as to the nature of this longer poem must rest on a study of the sources and influences discernible in the graffito. One turns naturally to the erotic elegy, but of this there are few traces to be seen. On the other hand the general course of

⁶⁴ *iungebat* of L is certainly correct for *lugebat* of O and *lucebat* of Q.

⁶⁵ or *divellit*: see Buecheler *ad loc.*

⁶⁶ For various attempts see Buecheler *ad loc.*

⁶⁷ *C. I. L.*, IV, 1904; Buecheler, *C. L. B.*, No. 957. For other examples of such added comment cf. *C. I. L.*, IV, 1700, 1837.

thought in the verses is so close to that of Cat., 64, 139-170 as to justify the assertion that their author had the plaint of Ariadne in mind and that Catullus, rather than any of the elegists, was his chief source. Catullan influence is further established by the author's use of diminutives for two of which, *braciolum* and *pupula*, no literary authority other than Catullus can be cited from the period before 79 A. D.; the author's technique in using these diminutives also resembles his. The fact that vs. 8 is an almost direct borrowing from Lucretius suggests, too, that the author's interest was centered on the poets of the Republican period. The poem from which our *exclusa amatrix* endeavored to quote a few lines was certainly in the manner of Catullus' epyllion, and may have been of a like scope and subject.

But in a sense, too, the author was original, for the primary source of much of his trite thought and simple phraseology must have been the popular heritage rather than high literature. The verses we have are no mere cento. To the popular versifier who composed them must be granted that measure of originality which is the due of any writer who tries to apply to the expression of his limited ideas the lessons in style, versification, and vocabulary he has learned from men greater than himself.

FRANK OLIN COPLEY.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

FATE, CHANCE, AND TRAGIC ERROR:

In an earlier paper ¹ I discussed the value of the commentator Alexander's treatise *On Destiny* for the Aristotelian theory of tragic error. I now wish to propose a means by which this and kindred ideas may be so further correlated as to suggest an answer to a question which was only touched upon before, namely: Is there such a thing as a "tragedy of fate"?

Let us begin by representing schematically the classification of harmful acts given in Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I, 1374 B:

a wrong (<i>δίκημα</i>)	{	due to <i>μοχθηρία</i>
an error (<i>ἀμάρτημα</i>)		predictable (i. e., not <i>παράλογον</i>)
a mischance (<i>ἀτύχημα</i>)		{ not due to <i>μοχθηρία</i> unpredictable

By making certain valid substitutions we can illustrate the *ἀμαρτία* of Oedipus, and we can also add a classification of purposive acts, based upon Alexander's *De Fato*: ²

<i>Purposive acts</i>	<i>Harmful acts</i>
A. due to antecedent causes	
a. according to destiny	
b. according to free will	—wrong
	error
B. not due to antecedent causes, but according to chance	—mischance

{	deliberate patricide and incest (G)
	deliberate homicide and marriage (R)
{	accidental patricide and incest (I)
	accidental homicide and marriage* (NR)

For the criteria involved I think it would be fair to adopt the words *guilt* (G) and *innocence* (I), and *responsibility* (R) and its opposite (NR), as indicated in the scheme, because the result so obtained squares exactly, as I shall show, not only with the

¹ See *A. J. P.*, LVIII (1937), pp. 418-436.

² For the complete outline, see *A. J. P.*, LVIII, pp. 418-19.

³ I realize that "accidental marriage" sounds somewhat anomalous, but it has at least a certain theoretical value. "Responsibility" means, of course, responsibility for patricide and incest, incurred through homicide and marriage.

terms of the definition but with all that can be learned from the Oedipus plays about the error of their hero: that is, the fact that he disclaims guilt, but accepts responsibility.

In joining the two halves of our equation: we had no hesitation, I believe, in connecting *mischance* with *acts according to chance*, and wrong with *acts according to free will* (cf. *Rhet.*, I, 10, 1368 B 6-16), but what was to be done with *error*? A second glance at the scheme showed that it had already been disposed of: its element of *responsibility* belongs to *acts according to free will*, and its element of *innocence* to *acts according to chance*. This would appear to bring out the composite nature of error: a combination of free will and chance would seem to dominate the sort of tragedy in which a tragic error is committed. Such would be the logical outline of a "tragedy of chance," and the appropriate apology of Oedipus would be, "I admit that I killed a man and married a woman, knowing well at the time that it was hazardous for me to do so. Yet I did not realize then that the man was my father, the woman my mother. That part of it was purely accidental."

Since the hero's innocence is thus explained by the action of chance rather than of fate, the latter might seem to be left entirely out of consideration, and with it the whole concept of "Schicksalstragödie" might seem to disappear. In my earlier paper, however, I held that this element of innocence "has as its fitting background the ontological fatalism of Aristotle."

A priori and on commonsense grounds it is evident that *either* fate or chance will serve as a warrant of innocence.⁴ Instead of a "tragedy of chance" we may have a "tragedy of fate," and it may be represented in schematic form by changing the order of the harmful acts so as to bring them into relation with A instead of B, and substituting *fatality* for *mischance* and *predestined* for *accidental*.⁵ Oedipus' defense will also need recasting: "I confess that I killed a man and married a woman, knowing full well that I was 'tempting fate' by so doing. But

⁴ For fate, cf. Alexander, *De Fato*, 16, and *A. J. P.*, LVIII, p. 425.

a. destiny — fatality	{	predestined homicide and marriage
error		predestined patricide and incest
b. free will — wrong	{	deliberate homicide and marriage
		deliberate patricide and incest

I did not realize then that I was committing patricide and incest: that was the work of destiny."

Logically there are only these two possibilities, in either of which free will can have but a secondary place,⁶ essential though it may be. If, therefore, we reject the "*Schicksalstragödie*" we shall do so at the cost of accepting in its stead either a "*Zufallstragödie*" or a sort of *genus mixtum* in which both fate and chance would somehow be active. Admittedly, *ἀναγρία* can be interpreted in accidental as well as fatalistic terms, and accidental error offers no contradiction to logic or everyday experience,⁷ whereas the fatalistic sort involves a dilemma, as I showed before. Yet an analysis of that much-studied play, the *Oedipus Rex*, will make it evident that in tragedy there can be no place for accidental error.

Let us begin with the evidence of the oracles. Here we may use to advantage the distinction, stated fully by Servius on *Aeneid*, IV, 696,⁸ between *fatum denuntiativum* and *f. conditionale*. According to the first, the oracle received by Oedipus would take the form, "You will kill your father and wed your mother"; according to the second it would be in the form, "If you kill a man, it will be your father, and if you wed a woman, it will be your mother." Obviously the one is purely fatalistic, leaving no avenue of escape, while the other is only semi-

"In an unadulterated "*Freiwillenstragödie*" there would obviously be no place for *ἀναγρία*, but only for *τομήπια*. The *Orestes* of Euripides is, in some measure, a tragedy of this sort, and it is significant that we find in it that degradation of character which is noted in one of the ancient hypotheses.

The statement, "men often err accidentally," i. e., "it is an observed fact that their acts are often followed by unexpected results," is "experimental," whereas the statement that "men often err because of fate" is "non-experimental" and bears to the first statement the same relation as an enthymeme bears to a syllogism. It is a "derivative" in the sense of Pareto, and its "residue" belongs, like that of *hybris* ("Pride goeth before a fall") to the class of "combinations." The fact that "fatalistic error" is more closely related to the idea of *hybris* than is "accidental error," appears to support my general contention. For these distinctions, see George C. Homans and Charles P. Curtis, Jr., *An Introduction to Pareto* (New York, 1934), especially pp. 105, 177.

"... denuntiativa sunt quae omni modo eventura decernunt, ut verbi gratia 'Pompeius ter triumphaturus est:' ... conditionale vero huius modi est 'Pompeius si post Pharsalicum bellum Aegypti litus attigerit, ferro peribit:' ...

fatalistic, because it makes the crimes of patricide and incest contingent upon the presumably avoidable acts of homicide and marriage. Now Oedipus twice recalls the oracle (*Oed. R.* 787-93, 994-6), and both times he uses the "denuntiative" form. That is, he regards the bare fact of his homicide and marriage as having been inescapable⁹ no less than the awful circumstance that his own parents were the victims of these acts. He feels that he had received a prophecy the fulfilment of which he could passively experience, but not a warning which he might have heeded. Since he could at no time have behaved otherwise than as he did, complete exculpation is the result as far as the oracles are concerned,¹⁰ and error is barred as well as guilt.

Of course we should have expected to find the "conditional" form. This alone admits of *ἀμάρτια*, because it combines the same elements, the protasis embodying free will and responsibility, the apodosis fate and innocence.¹¹ Oedipus' homicide and marriage do not involve guilt, because these acts, under the circumstances, are not culpable. No more is he guilty of patricide and incest, for these are the work of fate. Yet he is responsible for the initial acts and so in turn for the horrors into which fate transforms them. His error actually consists in his having disobeyed the warning of a conditional oracle.¹²

⁹ This is in agreement with *Oed. Col.* 997-8, *θεὸν ἀγόρευον*.

¹⁰ Robert (*Oedipus*, pp. 67-8) held that Sophocles uses only the denuntiative form for the oracle received by Laius, in contrast to the practice of Aeschylus and Euripides. But in *Oed. R.* 711-14 it appears to be conditional; *δοῖς γένοιτο* surely points to a "should-would" protasis. If the poet had wished to make it denuntiative, he would have had to write *ὅς γερήσοιτο*, representing *γερήσεται* of the direct statement. Yet in a sense the choice of the conditional form here is a departure from the general tone of the play. In this passage Jocasta indulges in special pleading, the whole trend of which is to minimize the control of destiny over the life of Oedipus.

¹¹ A condition can be framed in either fatalistic or accidental terms: "If you kill a man, it *will* be your father," or "If, etc., it *may* turn out to be your father." The first is fallacious because it assigns to a future, particular enunciation the validity of a general enunciation (cf. *A. J. P.*, LVIII, p. 432, note 49). But the second is logical, because it does not exclude potentiality. In other words, a "tragedy of chance" would be in harmony with Aristotle's logic, but a "tragedy of fate" contains the inconsistency mentioned in my earlier paper (*ad fin.*).

¹² To illustrate *ἀμάρτια*, van Braam (*C. Q.*, VI [1912], p. 270) submits the case of a man who, unaware that his wine contains poison, serves it

Other evidence shows that such is the situation. Oedipus has no consciousness of guilt, because he declares in *O. Col.* 266-7 that he is "more sinned against than sinning." A few lines below (270-2) he adds that in his encounter with Laius he was provoked (cf. *O. Col.* 991-6) to a deed that would have been justifiable even if wrought with perfect deliberation (*φρονῶν*):

.....καίτοι πῶς ἐγὼ κακὸς φύσιν,
 ὅστις παθὼν μὲν ἀντέδρων, ὅστ' εἰ φρονῶν
 ἐπρασσον, οὐδ' ἂν ὧδ' ἐγυγνόμην κακός;

The clause *εἰ*.....*ἐπρασσον* may be compared with *Oed. R.* 807, where he admits that he killed in anger; *δι' ὀργῆς*.¹³ But provoked or not, it would have been better for him to stay his hand, for he knew that homicide, no matter how justifiable it might seem at the time, was not the thing for him under any circumstances. He could hardly have said that the possible result was *παράλογον*. On the whole his mind is none too clear on the question of his guilt or innocence, though dramatically such confusion is perhaps natural enough.¹⁴ He has no doubt that

in good faith to a guest; if the guest merely helps himself, unbidden, it is an *ἀτύχημα*, he says, and not an *ἀμάρτημα*. But another condition must be added to make the case strictly parallel to that of Oedipus: we must suppose that the host somehow knows beforehand that at some future time a guest of his will (or may) die in this fashion. A prudent host, therefore, will refrain entirely from this sort of hospitality, refusing either to "risk an accident" or to "tempt providence," according to the explanation which appeals to him the more. To be sure, it is unlikely that he will so refrain, in the presumable absence of an oracular warning, but the criterion of the "calculable" is not eliminated thereby, because he may still be guided by the laws of probability (e.g., the tables of risks prepared by insurance companies). This, in fact, would be the only source of foreknowledge according to a purely "experimental" view of the problem. Alexander, in ascribing a *partial* foreknowledge to the gods (*De Fato*, 30-1), runs needlessly afoul of a difficult metaphysical problem (cf. E. B. Stevens, "Divinity and deliberation," *A. J. P.*, LIV [1933], pp. 225-46).

¹³ Responsibility was incurred for such an act according to Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I, 10, 1368 B 37 ff.; 1369 A 4. It is virtually forced upon Oedipus because he finds that the curse which he has laid upon the unknown malefactor (*Oed. R.* 246-51) comes flying back and seizes upon himself (cf. 294-5; 350-3; 744-5; 819-20; 830-3; 1291). As a man of his word, he cannot honorably refuse this self-imposed penalty.

¹⁴ Maurice Croiset remarked very justly (*Hist. de la litt. gr.*, III [Paris, 1899], p. 257): "Une tragédie, à la fin de laquelle on pourrait

his patricide was predestined, but to explain his homicide he wavers between fate (witness the "denuntiative" oracles) and free will (witness his admission of ὀργή). To chance there is no appeal whatever.

In fact, the whole play contains only one episode in which chance presumes to dispute the field, and its repulse is sudden and decisive. It is that in which the messenger reports the death, by natural causes, of King Polybus of Corinth. Due to a misunderstanding it has been thought that Oedipus is destined to slay this, his supposed father, so Jocasta receives the news exultantly as proof that the oracles are worthless (*Oed. R.* 952-3). Polybus' death, she says, was only an accident, and fate, through the agency of Oedipus, had no hand in it (948-9):

καὶ νῦν ὅδε
πρὸς τῆς τύχης ἄλλωλεν οὐδὲ τοῦδ' ὕπο.

After cautiously verifying the facts, Oedipus agrees (964-72), then has misgivings; the second part of the oracle is still a source of fear so long as Merope lives (976). But Jocasta tries to reassure him by enlarging upon her new-found philosophy (977-9):

τί δ' ἂν φοβοῖτ' ἄνθρωπος ᾧ τὰ τῆς τύχης
κρατεῖ, πρόνοια δ' ἐστὶν οὐδενὸς σαφής;
εἰκὴ κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως δύναίτο τις.

dire absolument du personnage principal qu'il a eu tort ou raison, aurait quelque chose d'abstrait et d'étroit et ne ressemblerait pas à la vie; elle serait sans profondeur et sans attrait." It is not intended here to multiply subjective criticisms of the dramatist, but only to see what basis he affords for the interpretation of the philosopher. The "Sophoclean" approach has often been treated adequately enough, e.g., in an *Antrittsrede* by Siegfried Sudhaus, *König Oedipus' Schuld* (Kiel, 1912); the point of view is indicated in a note on p. 13: "Den Begriff Schuld verstehe ich natürlich überall nur im Sophokleischen Sinne; . . ." In the "Aristotelian sense" Sudhaus' very title would be a misnomer. In extending the concept of ἀμαρτία to various "tragic heroes," critics have tended strangely to misprize Aristotle and cherish overfondly the *dicta* of sundry moderns. Despite their general excellence, even the most recent studies are not altogether free from this false emphasis. See S. E. Bassett, "The 'Αμαρτία of Achilles," *T. A. P. A.*, LXV (1934), pp. 47-69; A. S. Pease, "Dido's Tragic Flaw" and "Aeneas's Tragic Flaw," pp. 38 f. and 44-47 of his exhaustive commentary on the *Aeneid*, Bk. IV (Harvard University Press, 1935); and (Mrs.) Minnie Keys Flickinger, *The 'Αμαρτία of Sophocles' Antigone*, Iowa Studies in Classical Philology, No. II (Scottsdale, Pa., The Mennonite Press, 1935).

The messenger, an interested listener, asks for an explanation (989-99), then, thinking to relieve Oedipus of this second fear as well, he discloses a fact which unexpectedly brings back the first—that Polybus and Merope were only the adoptive parents.¹⁵ As the truth dawns upon Jocasta she begs Oedipus to drop the investigation.¹⁶ Her new philosophy thus suddenly overthrown, she returns to the old, as shown by her significant vocative, “ill-fated” (1068, 1071). Oedipus misunderstands her motive. He thinks she is only afraid he may prove to be of humble birth (1070; 1078-9). Having accepted her reasoning all too completely, he counts himself the son of Tyche, for whom he feels no shame (1080 ff.). The next episode brings the full revelation, and with it Oedipus reverts to his former belief.

So we have found that in the main the atmosphere of the play is fatalistic, free will being reflected only in the *δρῆ* of Oedipus and chance only in a momentary attitude of Jocasta. If by “tragedy of fate” is meant a drama in which fate is the *sole* motivating factor, it is correct to deny its existence. Yet it ought not to be forgotten that fate is a normal and important concomitant of error when taken in the sense defined by Aristotle.

ROGER A. PACK.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

¹⁵ Ll. 1016 ff. In *Poetics*, 11, this episode is cited as an example of a *peripeteia* or reversal, and that it is, in the philosophical background of the play as much as its action.

¹⁶ Ll. 1056 ff. Some critics have thought that Oedipus' *ἀναρτία* is his curiosity and insistence on learning all the facts. But this rests on the assumption that if the truth had never been uncovered no harm would have been done, and that any misdeed is pardonable so long as it remains concealed! Surely such reasoning would have been abhorrent to Greek ethics. Granted that this impulsive curiosity of his is of a piece with the impulsiveness which prompted the slaying of Laius, still we cannot look for his *ἀμάρτημα* proper in the play itself, which is merely a *λόσις*, but only in the *δῆσις* which precedes it (cf. *Poetics*, 1453 B 29 ff.).

CENSUS EQUESTER.

In considering the origins of the Roman middle class there is no problem more important than that of the *census equester*,—the amount of property which qualified a man for membership in that class. That a separate property qualification existed in the time of Cicero is indisputable,¹ but there is no agreement as to when it was instituted. I propose to attempt here to fix the limits of a period in which its institution must have fallen.

In dealing with the *terminus post quem* we shall have to consider the various dates that have been suggested by earlier scholars, but before doing that I would like to lay down two vitally important criteria by which I propose to test previous theories, and also the evidence of ancient authorities. Whenever the separate *census equester* was established it was bound to have a marked effect in two directions,—upon the military system and upon the procedure of the censors. First, the military system: Madvig, in his valuable discussion of the Equites as officers in the army,² has made the point that once a separate equestrian census amount existed those who possessed it could be used, in the army, only in equestrian posts,—i. e. as cavalry or as officers. They could not be called upon to serve in the infantry. The point is certainly valid, and it means that so long as we find men qualified to serve in the cavalry but liable to be used as infantry if not required for the cavalry, we have proof that no separate *census equester* existed. This is our first criterion. Secondly, the effect on the census: the establishment of a *census equester* meant the formation of a new property class above the five "Servian" classes. How the censors dealt with this we do not know. They may have made a special list of men so qualified, or they may, as was done in Athens,³ have indicated them by some special mark on the list of Class I. Whichever they did, they had a separate process to perform in dealing with this new group.

We may now consider our problem, in the light of what has

¹ Cicero, *Rosc. Com.*, 42. *Ad Quint.*, I, 2, 6, etc.

² *Kl. Phil. Schrift.*, pp. 489-90. Cf. Frontin., *Strat.*, IV, 1, 18; Val. Max., II, 7, 15; Eutrop., II, 13.

³ A. Martin, *Les cavaliers athéniens*, p. 358.

been said above. In the "Servian" system, it is generally agreed, no *census equester* existed. The cavalry was chosen by the censors from among those who had the property qualification of Class I of the infantry.⁴ The censors did this by allotting the *equus publicus*, for which all members of Class I were eligible. Those not chosen for the cavalry served in the infantry. In a sense, therefore, all the men in this class may be said to have possessed the *census equester*. The censorial procedure is well known. The general classification of the whole people (*census populi*), including Class I and therefore those eligible for the public horse, came first and was followed by the separate *census equestum*, in which the censors gave (and took away) the *equus publicus*.

The siege of Veii is said to have caused a fundamental change in the constitution of the cavalry,—the first use of cavalry serving on horses provided by themselves (*equis suis*).⁵ Livy, in giving us this information, says that, as a result of the public distress at the losses at Veii, *repente quibus census equester erat, equi publici non erant assignati, . . . equis se suis stipendia facturos promittunt*.⁶ This passage has been accepted by many scholars, notably Mommsen, as proving that a separate *census equester* existed at the beginning of the fourth century B. C.⁷ At the most it proves only that Livy, or his authorities, believed this to have been the case, and even this is not certain. As we have pointed out above, *census equester* might be used to mean simply the property qualification of Class I, and Livy may be so using it here. But whatever the correct view of the passage, I believe it can be shown that there was no separate *census equester* at this period. Mommsen, in arguing the case for the

⁴ See e.g. Mommsen, *Staater.*, III, pp. 255, 258-9, etc.; Lange, *Röm. Alt.*, I, pp. 480 f.; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, p. 97. All rely mainly on Cicero, *Rep.*, II, 39; Dion. Hal., IV, 18; VII, 59; X, 17.

⁵ The practice of calling these men *equites equo privato* is quite wrong. Those serving *equis suis* were doing honourable service which was accepted as a fulfilment of their obligations to the state. The men serving *equo privato*, on the other hand, were in disgrace and were being compelled to serve extra campaigns as a punishment for alleged cowardice (Livy, XXVII, 11).

⁶ V, 7, 5.

⁷ Mommsen, *Staater.*, III, pp. 258-9, 477-80. Cf. Lange, *Röm. Alt.*, I, p. 483; Marquardt, *Hist. Eq. Rom.*, pp. 7-9; Gelzer, *Die Nobil.*, p. 3; Stein, *Röm. Ritterstand*, p. 5, etc.

existence of men serving in the cavalry *equis suis*,⁸ supports the evidence of Livy by that of Polybius, in his well known description of the Roman army levy:⁹ ὅταν δ' ἐκλέξωσι τὸ προκείμενον πλῆθος (τῶν πεζῶν) . . . μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἵππεῖς τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑστέρους εἰώθεσαν δοκιμάζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τετρακισχιλίοις διακοσίοις, νῦν δὲ προτέρους, πλουτίνδην αὐτῶν γεγενημένης ὑπὸ τοῦ τιμητοῦ τῆς ἐκλογῆς. At some period before Polybius' time, that is, it had become necessary to change the order of the levy, choosing the cavalry before, instead of after, the infantry. There can only be one explanation of this, the one given by Mommsen,—i. e. that the change was due to the use of cavalry other than the *equites equo publico*, in fact to the existence of cavalry serving *equis suis*. A permanent body of cavalry such as the *equites equo publico* could be dealt with last in the levy because they were not, in any case, called upon to serve in the infantry. But the men serving *equis suis*, being liable for infantry service if not chosen as cavalry, had to be selected before the infantry, and so their use necessitated the change in the order of the levy. So runs Mommsen's argument, and there can be no doubt that he has drawn the correct conclusion from Polybius' statement. But he failed to see that this passage proves, at the same time, that there cannot have been a separate *census equester* when this change took place. If there had been, men serving *equis suis* would not have been liable to infantry service, and so no change in the order of the levy would have been necessary.

We might be tempted to regard this passage of Polybius as evidence that no separate *census equester* existed in Polybius' time, since the cavalry was still selected before the infantry. But that is not necessarily so. The establishment of a *census equester* at some period after the change in the order of the levy would not have made it necessary to go back to the old order. When the cavalrymen were not liable to infantry service it was immaterial whether they were selected before or after the infantry. In fact a precisely opposite point of view has been based on this passage. Polybius' words πλουτίνδην αὐτῶν γεγενημένης ὑπὸ τοῦ τιμητοῦ τῆς ἐκλογῆς have been regarded as evidence that a

⁸ *Op. cit.*, III, pp. 477 f. The arguments put forward against his view by Gerathewohl (*Die Reiter und die Rittercenturien*) are quite unconvincing.

⁹ VI, 20, 8-9.

census equester did exist in his time.¹⁰ On this theory no definite verdict can be reached. The expression is extremely vague, and has been variously interpreted. It should probably be taken to refer, like the passage of Livy just discussed, to the census amount of Class I.

Further evidence about the *census equester* is lacking until we reach the year 225 B. C., when Rome took stock of her available man power. The figures of this stock-taking have been analysed, with different results, by Mommsen¹¹ and Strachan-Davidson.¹² The number of men available for cavalry service, out of a total adult male population of about 270,000,¹³ was, on Mommsen's reckoning, 22,100, on that of Strachan-Davidson, 19,000. Whichever figure we accept, it precludes the possibility of the existence of a separate *census equester* at this time. Not only is it highly improbable that so large a proportion of the population at that time possessed a higher property qualification than that of Class I, but also it is inconceivable that so many were exempted from infantry service.

There are two passages of Livy which have been regarded as supporting the view that a *census equester* was in existence during the Second Punic War. The first (Livy XXIV, 11) refers to the special levy on rich men for the provision of rowers for the fleet in 214 B. C.¹⁴ But here we have only a series of property amounts, with no indication that any of them was the *census equester*. In fact, the omission of any mention of the Equites, while senators are specifically mentioned, seems rather to imply that there was no separate property amount for them. The other passage (Livy XXVII, 11, 15) refers to the censors seeking out those *qui equo merere deberent* in 209 B. C.¹⁵ It is strictly parallel to the passage of Book V discussed above, and may be explained in the same way.

From our study of the military system, therefore, we may draw the conclusion that no separate *census equester* existed in 225 B. C., and that there is no evidence that it existed during

¹⁰ Herzog, *Gesch. und System*, pp. 1044 f.

¹¹ *Röm. Forsch.*, II, pp. 382 f.

¹² *Selections from Polybius, Proleg.* III.

¹³ Cf. T. Frank, *Econ. Survey*, I, p. 56.

¹⁴ Quoted by Willems, *Le Sénat*, I, pp. 189 f. Cf. Botsford, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁵ Quoted by Mommsen, *Staatsr.*, III, p. 478, n. 2.

the Second Punic War. There is something to be learned, I think, from studying the procedure of the censors, though the conclusions here cannot be so definite.

As has already been pointed out, the introduction of a *census equester* would cause a change in the censorial procedure. It would mean that the censors had now to perform two functions in connection with the Equites. In addition to the selection of the *equites equo publico*,—i. e. the *census equitum*,—they had to draw up a list of those possessing the *census equester*. This latter function would naturally form part of the ordinary *census populi*, which preceded the *census equitum*. Moreover, since the property qualifications were minima, the censors would begin with the richest class,—that is, the selection of the *equites censu* (as Cicero calls them)¹⁶ would be the first stage of the *census populi*. I believe that ancient references to the census have preserved traces of this change in procedure. It is well known that accounts of the first census, that attributed to Servius Tullius, cannot be anything else but the reflection of the census procedure of later times. Such accounts are given by Livy,¹⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus,¹⁸ and Cicero.¹⁹ Livy and Dionysius conceive of only two stages, the selection of infantry first, followed by that of the eighteen centuries of cavalry. This version, representing presumably the annalistic tradition, describes an ordinary census (*census populi* followed by *census equitum*) as carried out before there was any *census equester*. Incidentally, it is rather unintelligent, because the very first census cannot have been like that. Servius, having no previous lists, would be bound to select his cavalry first. They came from Class I of the infantry and Servius would not first make an elaborate division of this class into centuries and then throw the whole arrangement into chaos by choosing the cavalry from it. Later censors did not need to consider this difficulty because they had only a few *equi publici* to allot.

Cicero's version is quite different and more intelligent. He says: <*scripsit centurias equitum*> *duodeviginti censu maximo. Deinde equitum magno numero ex omni populi summa separato, reliquum populum distribuit in quinque classes . . .* The first sentence refers, of course, to the *census equitum*, which is put

¹⁶ *Rosc. Oom.*, 42.

¹⁷ I, 43.

¹⁸ IV, 18.

¹⁹ *Rep.*, II, 39.

first here, not because it came first in Cicero's time, but because he realised the difficulty of the first census described above. In the next sentence, the significant word is *deinde*. It shows clearly that the phrase *equitum . . . separato* refers to something quite different from the previously mentioned *census equitum*.²⁰ Cicero is, in fact, alluding to the selection by the censors of the men possessing the *census equester*, and that is why he says *magno numero*. This evidence about censorial procedure thus supports the conclusion we have drawn from the history of the army levy, by suggesting that a *census equester* did not exist in the time of the annalists and did exist in the time of Cicero.

We have now established a *terminus post quem* for the introduction of a *census equester*,—the end of the third century B. C. Our *terminus ante quem* is the period of Cicero, but there is good reason to put it earlier than this. Professor Last has made out a very strong case for believing that a *census equester* was mentioned in the Lex Acilia of 122 B. C.²¹ This reduces the area of choice to about one hundred years. Further than that we cannot go except by guesswork. But, if one may be allowed a guess, the most likely period for the introduction of a *census equester* seems to be that of C. Gracchus.

H. HILL.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SWANSEA.

²⁰ This point is made, with a different purpose, by Belot, *Hist. des Chev. Rom.*, I, pp. 236 f.

²¹ *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, IX, pp. 75-8, 892-6.

REVIEWS.

An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, vol. IV. Edited by TENNEY FRANK. Roman Africa—R. M. HAYWOOD; Roman Syria—F. M. HEICHELHEIM; Roman Greece—J. A. O. LARSEN; Roman Asia—T. R. S. BROUGHTON. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. Pp. vi + 950.¹

The *Economic Survey* is rapidly nearing its completion. The volume under review deals with the Oriental sections of the Roman Empire and, in addition, with Roman Africa, a chapter left over from the third volume.

The material collected in this volume shows considerable variety of treatment. One section only—that of Heichelheim—is a real “survey,” a systematic “catalogue raisonné” of texts and monuments bearing on the economic structure of Syria in the Roman times, with some casual discussions of one or another group of facts. The other three sections—similar in this respect to most of the sections of the Survey—I hesitate to call “surveys.” They are practically shorter or longer chapters of an economic history of the Roman Republic and of the Roman Empire.

From other similar works dealing with economic history the chapters of Frank's *Survey* (with the exception of vol. II, Johnson's *Roman Egypt*, which is more in the style of a chrestomathy of texts) differ not so much in aim and scope as in the method of treatment. Being essentially chapters of an Economic history they try to combine the usual form of such works—continuous narrative, with references to sources mostly in footnotes, but sometimes in the text itself—with a kind of chrestomathy of the most important texts adduced in the body of the text and interrupting the narrative, an odd and cumbersome arrangement, which makes the reading and use of the survey unnecessarily difficult.

Add to this the fact that the method is handled by the contributors each in his own way. Sometimes the emphasis is on the narrative, sometimes on the collection of texts. As little uniformity as in handling the material is employed in the cita-

¹ When at the request and insistence of Tenney Frank I undertook to write this review, I could not suspect that what I should write was destined never to be read by him. I should like it to be read as my modest tribute to the memory of the great scholar who exacted it. Perhaps his most important contribution to our knowledge of Roman antiquity, to the study of which he devoted his life, is this monumental *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, a *κρίμα eis del*, which will perpetuate the memory of its organizer and chief contributor for many generations to come.

tion of modern contributions. In the volume under review, Haywood cites modern works in the body of his narrative and gives no bibliography; Heichelheim and Larsen give excellent bibliographies, including the most recent works, with quotations in the text and in the notes; Broughton's section contains no bibliography and the author cites modern works in the text and notes only exceptionally. The inexperienced reader would get the impression that Broughton had no predecessors and was doing pioneer work in a virgin field. The same variety reigns in the Indices. In general the Indices are short and incomplete. Since the *Survey* is supposed to be a collection of "facts" it is much to be regretted that no tabulation of these facts, that is of the sources quoted and discussed in the various chapters, is put at the disposal of the reader.

Difficult as it is to read and to make use of, the *Survey* is nevertheless (and the fourth volume is not an exception) a remarkable contribution to the study of ancient economic history. Its value cannot be overestimated. The material is collected in great fullness, is carefully sifted, exactly interpreted, and skillfully dated and classified. Handled in this way the building stones are adequately used for reconstructing a reliable though meagre skeleton of economic evolution. In many sections the material is collected and classified by the respective authors for the first time, and valuable pioneer work of lasting value has been done. In some cases well-known material is subjected to acute historical criticism and re-valued.

With these general remarks let me pass to a brief consideration of the four sections of the volume under review. The first and the shortest section (119 pp.) is devoted to "Roman Africa." The presentation of the material is brief and concise. It is based on a careful study of the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, especially for French Africa; the Tripolitania is handled rather superficially. The controversial questions which concern the economic and social evolution of Roman Africa are mentioned *en passant* and are solved in a summary way almost without discussion.

In my remarks I will abstain from any discussion of the controversial problems, which would lead me too far afield and I will confine myself to adding some "facts" (a selection from those which I have noted in reading the section) to those adduced by the author.

In dealing with the "trade relations of Carthage" before 146 B. C. (p. 6), and with the grain production of Carthage at the same time (p. 16), the author fails to mention the part which Carthaginian merchants at this time took in the trade of the Hellenistic world. The famous sea-loan contract of the middle of the second century, or perhaps a little earlier, published by U. Wilcken (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, LX [1925], pp. 90 ff.; S. B.

7169), and repeatedly discussed, a contract concerning a company of dealers in goods from the Ἀρωματοφόρος, names among the sureties Δημήτριος Ἀπολλωνίου Καρ[χη]δόνιος [τῶν τὴν . . . θά]λασσαν πλουζομένων. Some of the other sureties and the banker who handled the loan were Italians. On the other hand it is well known that Carthaginians frequently appeared at Athens and at Delphi in the fourth century (*S. I. G.*², 179, 239 a 15, 321), in all probability as merchants, and that a Carthaginian merchant as late as the middle of the second century B. C. supplied Istros with grain (S. Lambrino, *Dacia*, III-IV [1927-1932], pp. 400 ff.). The grain of Numidia on the Delian market is a well-known phenomenon of the commercial life of Greece; it is mentioned by Larsen in the same volume (p. 346 and p. 351).

In the "historical survey" of the political events from 43 B. C. to 235 A. D. the author mentions (pp. 33 ff.) the several wars which from 21/20 B. C. were raging in various parts of North Africa, of which the last was the war of Tacfarinas described by Tacitus. These wars and especially the early ones produced a deep impression on the population of Africa, and spread as far as Cyrene. The author fails to mention that the *bellum Gaetulicum* is named in an inscription of Leptis Magna, and the *bellum Marmaricum* in some inscriptions of Cyrene, and that the now famous mosaic of Zliten shows the terrible fate of the captives taken in one of these wars or in the war against Tacfarinas. The chronological and historical problems connected with these inscriptions have been discussed several times by modern scholars (see my *Storia Sociale ed Economica*, p. 386 and note 84 b). It is evident that the violent outbursts of national feeling by the native tribes of Africa, of which these wars were the expression, must be connected with the anarchy of the times of the civil wars, and with the organization of the African provinces by Augustus. I cannot enter here into a detailed discussion of this interesting question.

In the section dealing with the "natural products" of Africa I was surprised not to find any reference to the beautiful mosaics of the first and second centuries A. D. (the later mosaics only are quoted) which show so clearly the prevalence of agriculture in the economic life of Africa, either by the choice of ornamental devices, or by reproductions of charming and highly instructive scenes of rural life. If the author had decided not to use this evidence he should at least have referred to those who have done so (for example for Tripolitania, P. Romanelli in *Africa Italiana*, III [1930]).

In the survey of "trade" (pp. 60 ff.) the importance of Leptis as a great import and export harbor is not sufficiently emphasized. In listing the most important harbors of Africa (p. 69) the author fails to mention that the excavations prove the harbor

of Leptis Magna to have been one of the largest and best organized of the harbors of Africa, second only to Carthage. A splendid reconstruction of this harbor was exhibited recently at Rome in the Mostra Augustea (*Catalogo*, p. 609, nos. 2 and 5). In the trade of Leptis the export of caravan goods, and especially of ivory, was certainly of much more importance than the author thinks. He mentions that the coat of arms of Sabratha, as shown by the Ostia mosaic, was the elephant; but he does not note that the same was true of Leptis. It is shown by an interesting marble statue of an elephant found on the *decumanus* of Leptis (reproduced in my *Storia Soc. ed Econ.*, pl. LXVII, with a note of the late Guidi). I may mention in addition the Latin inscription of an altar found in the oasis of Tripoli, a dedication to Liber Pater of *dentes duo(s) Lucae bovis* (*C.I.L.*, VIII, 11991; P. Romanelli, *Rend. Acad. Lincei*, XXIX [1920], pp. 376 ff.; my *Storia Soc. ed Econ.*, pp. 386 and 587, and note 84 b). In the list of "roads" (pp. 67 ff.) I found no mention of one of the most interesting roads of Africa, that from Theveste to Mascula, which passed through the territories of Cheria and Nemecha, and was built in the late third century. The road is attested by many milestones (E. Albertini, "Un témoignage de St. Augustin sur la prospérité relative de l'Afrique au IV-me siècle," *Mél. Paul Thomas*, 1930; cf. L. Leschi, *Rev. Africaine*, LXXII [1931]). In the articles cited above Albertini and Leschi give an interesting picture of the gradual urbanization of the region (only briefly mentioned by Broughton, *Romanization*, and Haywood) and of the destinies of the well known *Musulamii*. It is very probable that the transformation of this region into a territory of cities and villages was the result of an extensive planting of olive trees.

The section on "property" (pp. 83 ff.) will certainly be consulted first by most of the readers of Haywood's contribution. Everyone knows how important a part Africa and its large estates play in the discussions of modern historians regarding the economic and social evolution of the late Roman Empire and the origin of the colonate. I am afraid the treatment of the evidence bearing on the large estates by Haywood will disappoint them. They will find but few citations of modern works on the subject (the principle of their selection is a mystery to me), no lists of imperial and private land estates comparable to those given by Broughton in the same volume for Asia Minor, no sufficient comments on the great inscriptions of Africa, the texts and translations of which (repeated from Van Nostrand) are printed in this section. Nor will the brief account of the history of the estates and of their administration satisfy the requirements of modern scholars. They certainly will notice for instance the complete absence of any discussion of the terminology applied to the large estates such as *saltus*, *defensio*, and *definitio*

(see my remarks on these last terms in *Klio*, XI [1911], pp. 387 ff.; cf. *Storia Soc. ed Econ.*, p. 323, note 32, p. 376, and p. 494). Few words are devoted to the basic problem of the character and origin of the famous *Lex Manciana*. In this discussion no mention will be found of the important new inscriptions of Jenan ez Zaytouna recently (perhaps too late for use by the author, who, however, quotes several articles of 1937) published by Ch. Saumagne in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1937, pp. 292 ff., and of the interesting comments on them of Saumagne and Carcopino. Nor will the reader learn that the supposedly modest private "law" of one of the landowners of Africa was still in force not only in the third century but also in the fifth and in the time of Justinian. The author does not mention the highly interesting Latin contracts written on wooden tablets found near Tebessa and dated in the fifth century, the time of the Vandals. They were first published and carefully studied by E. Albertini, *Jour. d. Sav.*, 1930, pp. 23 ff., and often discussed later (see e. g. H. J. Wolff, *Rev. Hist. du Droit*, XIV (fasc. 14) [1936], pp. 1 ff.; U. Wilcken, *Arch. f. Papyrusf.*, XIII [1938], p. 154; I have not seen J. Carcopino, "La tenure Romaine," *Rec. de la Soc. J. Rodin*, III [1938]). In one act of sale of land of 496 A. D. the land was sold *ex culturis suis mancianis* (cf. my *Storia Soc. ed Econ.*, p. 373 and note 62). The prescriptions of the *Lex Manciana* were therefore valid in the region of Theveste as late as 496 A. D.

Still more sketchy than the section on the estates is that on the cities. The meagreness of information should have been supplemented by bibliographical references. I found, however, no mention for example of the classical book of Boissier and of such general surveys as *Africa Romana*, 1935, and A. Lantier, *Les grands champs de fouilles de l'Afrique du Nord (1915-1930)*, Paris, 1931. The same is true of the bibliographical references concerning the few cities dealt with by the author. I may mention for example the case of Thuburbo Majus, which has been recently studied by A. Merlin, "Histoire municipale de Thuburbo Majus," *Congrès intern. d'Arch. Alger*, 1933, pp. 205 ff. Finally the last short chapter on the "destinies of Africa after 235 A. D." could have been made more useful had the author used the article of Albertini in the *Mél. Thomas* quoted above and the wooden tablets of the fifth century.

The second section of the book, a little longer than the first—pp. 123 to 255—deals with "Roman Syria." It is compiled by an expert in economic history—F. Heichelheim. The section is divided into four chapters: I. The Land; II. The People; III. Industry and commerce; IV. Public, municipal, and temple finances.

Heichelheim has collected an enormous mass of facts, that is to say, texts and monuments from the most different sources:

classical writers, the *Corpus Juris*, the *New Testament* and the *Talmud*, parchments and papyri, inscriptions, coins, products of art and industry. Of special value is his thorough utilization of the *Talmud* and his many citations from it, based on a thorough study of this source and on what has been done by modern scholars for dating and understanding this corpus of writings. In addition to the published material he has had access to some unpublished texts, for example to the many unpublished *graffiti*, parchments, and papyri of Dura.

His rich collection of material Heichelheim has classified according to the four headings mentioned above, regardless of origin, that is, not in topographical order, which is to be regretted. In his treatment Syria appears as a unit, which it never was.

There is in fact very little in common between the economic structure of the constituent parts of Heichelheim's Syria. Let us just enumerate them in order to show how different were their historical, geographical, and economic structure and evolution: the semi-independent Arab tribes, nomadic shepherds; the Arab trading and agricultural states, peculiarly urbanized, such as Nabataea with its two capitals Petra and Bosra, and the Palmyrene region, with the queen of caravan commerce, the superficially hellenized city of Palmyra, as its centre; the Hauran with its formerly nomadic population which was gradually transformed into sedentary agriculturists living in villages and cities; Palestine, with its contrast of the temple state of Jerusalem and of many more or less thoroughly hellenized cities of the seashore and the interior; Seleucid Syria with its great capitals and harbors: Antioch and Apamea, Seleucia and Laodicea and its scores if not hundreds of Hellenistic rural and urban settlements; Phoenicia with its trading cities and large intensively cultivated territories tilled for the rich residents of the cities by the descendants of the Hellenistic *laoi*; Northern Mesopotamia with its semi-Arabic Macedonian colonies such as Edessa and Nisibis and the many minor Macedonian settlements like Dura — market-places for large and fertile territories, stopping-places for the caravans and strongholds of the Roman military occupation; and finally Babylonia (which, by the way, never formed a part of the Roman Empire).

As strong as the contrast between regions was the contrast between urban centres of various types: Antioch on the Orontes, Sidon, Petra, Palmyra, Philippopolis in the Hauran, Gerasa in the Transjordan, Jerusalem, Dura. These cities are all comparatively well known and were once economic and social individualities. The peculiarities of the economic and social structure of these regions and cities determined the character of the casual data bearing on their economic life collected by Heichelheim, agriculture and industry, economic features in the life of various groups of the population, trade relations, prices.

An economic survey is of course a very elastic term. Everything in human life is in one way or another connected with economic factors. The treatment of the economic phenomena in a survey is therefore necessarily individual. Nevertheless it is somewhat surprising to find in Heichelheim's survey, in the chapter dealing with population, such sections as "Education" (pp. 167 ff.), which contains a list of more or less important personalities in the field of letters, art, philosophy, learning and science, or under the same heading such a mosaic as marriage, divorce, nursing contracts, and burial expenses (pp. 172 ff.). On the other hand no section is devoted to so important a topic as the influence of the wars with Parthia, and later with Persia, on the economic life of the Syrian provinces, or the rôle which the presence of a huge army of occupation, mostly stationed in larger and smaller cities, played in the economic life of these cities and of the province or provinces at large. It cannot be objected that we know nothing of it. Tacitus, Cassius Dio, Herodian, Josephus, and other historians frequently refer to the economic aspect of the wars and of the military occupation, and the economic life of Dura in the third century A. D. brilliantly illustrates the gradual economic decay of a once flourishing city, which became for about a century a combination of a city and a Roman military camp.

However, it is useless to pile up desiderata. We must take the section of Heichelheim as it is, and such as it is it will prove to be very useful for future students of the economic and social life of Syria.

In concluding this section a few remarks on some special points. In dealing with "irrigation" (p. 143) Heichelheim speaks of a canal at *Dura* which irrigated land cultivated by Roman veteran soldiers; in fact the canal referred to was situated far from Dura on the river Khabur. Since Heichelheim on the same page deals with the canalization of Babylonia he might have mentioned the famous inscriptions of Susa (Seleucia on the Eulaeus) which attest the care taken of canalization by the Parthian government (*S. E. G.*, VII, 12 and 13).

As regards the many lists of prices which Heichelheim gives I have grave doubts. For example the prices of horses derived from papyri of the military archives of Dura (p. 154) show such variations, and the real meaning of them is so uncertain, that I would abstain from quoting them as standard prices. In many cases the figures given by our sources and used by Heichelheim as more or less exact are apparently round figures of no statistical value. Such are for example some texts quoted on p. 181. In order to convey the idea of a rich man R. Tarphon says: "he who has a hundred fields (how large?), a hundred vineyards (of what size?) and a hundred slaves at work in them." Hundred is here certainly merely a way of saying many. And so it

is in the case of Justus of Antioch (time of Diocletian) with his one thousand vineyards, one thousand orchards, one thousand ships, mules, slaves, and private soldiers.

In the section on "industry," and especially industry of Antioch, no mention is made of the mosaics which are such a typical feature of Antiochean life. It is demonstrated by the Franco-American excavations in Antioch and Daphne. Most of the mosaics of Daphne were certainly produced at Antioch. And the mosaicists of Antioch were not working for Antioch alone; Syrian mosaicists were busy at Delos in the first century B. C. Their pupils apparently were responsible for the many mosaics found in Palestine, Transjordan, and the Hauran. For the industrial establishments typical of Antioch and for the aspect of the city in general Heichelheim might have quoted the now famous mosaic of Yakto (near Antioch) which so vividly illustrates life in Antioch in late Roman times, a life which still to-day shows the same aspect. This last point has been convincingly shown by Lassus. As regards fabrication and export of Syrian glass I may quote the recent finds of Syrian glass in Afghanistan on the site of the rich trading city of Kapisa, Alexandria in Paropamisadae (J. Hackin in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1938, pp. 59 ff.).

I need not pile up more observations of the same character. In conclusion I may draw the attention of the reader to a passage in Heichelheim's chapter which deals with the famous census of Sulpicius Quirinus (p. 160) and suggests a new solution of the problem (I must confess that to me his interpretation of *ἰδία πῶλις* is not convincing) and to the highly interesting treatment of Syrian currency (pp. 211 ff.). This last section should be supplemented by a similar section on the weights and measures used in Syria. No uniformity existed in this respect and it would be very useful if the evidence of the literary texts, inscriptions, and extant weights (very many of them have been found in the Syrian lands) were collected, sifted, and studied.

The third section—"Roman Greece," by J. A. O. Larsen—is almost twice as long as the two preceding. The reason is not the abundance of material and the difficulty of its treatment but the peculiar organization of this section. In chapter I the reader finds a long and detailed survey of political events and wars which gradually led to the establishment of Rome's complete control over Greece after the Achaean war (146 B. C.). This survey, which may be found in every Roman history, is forty-five pages long. There follow short remarks on the political and administrative status of Greece, from the Achaean war to the reign of Augustus, and tabulations of land and mines confiscated by Rome in Greece and Macedonia and of the indemnities and booty. The chapter as such contains some new and valuable statements, but will hardly be read by a student of economic

history, especially since the tabulations of paragraphs eleven and twelve, which bear on economic life, overlap those of Professor Frank in the first volume of the *Survey*.

After the introductory chapter the author plunges *in medias res*. Chapter II is devoted to the study of the economic status of Greece and Macedon from the Roman intervention to the establishment of the principate. One would expect to find the subject dealt with in systematic order. But the author has taken another course. His main attention was attracted by the island of Delos, and it is essentially the economic conditions of Greece as reflected in the economic history of Delos which form the subject of this chapter.

After giving in the first paragraph of this chapter a survey of coin circulation in Greece in the last two centuries B. C.—a meritorious and interesting study—Larsen, before beginning his systematic survey in paragraphs three to seven, devotes a rather long paragraph to a minute study of what he calls “Delos in the economic life of the period.” The title is somewhat misleading. In fact it is a detailed study of some aspects of the financial and economic organization of the temple and city of Delos, mostly in the time before 168, when Delos was first affected by the Roman activity in the Aegean Sea. It begins with a short introduction (subsections 1-3). Then come several subsections (4-7) devoted to the temple funds and loans of the fourth and third centuries B. C., and to the grain fund of the early second century, all dealing with conditions of what we usually call the Hellenistic period. It is not until he comes to subsections 8 (the Funds in the period of Athenian control), 9 (Population) and 10 (Trade of Delos) that he begins to deal with material which reflects the life of Delos in the time of Roman control.

This paragraph is interesting in itself and testifies to a detailed study of the Delian material by the author. But to my mind, the largest part of it has very little importance for a better understanding of the economic status of Greece at the time when it was determined by the Roman intervention, protectorate, and domination, while the last three subsections which are concerned with this period could be easily incorporated into the paragraphs dealing with the economic conditions of Greece at large. The same may be said of the subsection 7 dealing with the grain fund. This interesting study would be better understood if it formed a constituent part of a paragraph dealing with one of the most important features of Greek economic life in the Hellenistic period: the chronic grain shortage in almost all the Hellenistic cities. No such paragraph, however, appears in chapter II, though there is ample evidence which has been often collected and studied (see the article “Sitos” by Heichelheim in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.*).

It is Delian material again which is chiefly studied in the

subsequent paragraphs 3-7 of chapter II, and it was Delian material which determined mainly the choice of topics dealt with in these paragraphs (except for the last which deals with the effects of the wars between 146 and 30 B. C.): banking and investments; prices, rents, wages and cost of living; slavery; prosperity; property and problem of population. The choice of these topics is surprising. Such basic topics as the changed aspect of city-economy in general, land tenure and land economy, industry and commerce are omitted. The subsection 10 "Trade of Delos," in paragraph 2, is but a poor substitute for a comprehensive paragraph on the trade of Greece in the second and first centuries B. C. It cannot be said that the omission is natural because evidence is lacking. This is not so. The evidence exists, but it has never been collected.

Chiefly limited to Delian material, the paragraphs mentioned above are nevertheless useful and suggestive, especially as regards the minute study of Delos. Especially interesting is the critical survey of the material on prices, etc., first collected and studied by Heichelheim. I may note that the peculiar curve of the prices on ivory has been satisfactorily explained by W. W. Tarn, *J. E. A.*, XIV (1928), p. 258; *id.*, *Hell. Civ.*², p. 226.

To sum up. Chapter II of Larsen is not a survey of the economic life of Greece at the time before the Roman Empire. It is a collection of various valuable articles on some aspects of this life determined by the personal interests of the author. It may serve as a base for a comprehensive survey which is very much needed. Much shorter than chapters I and II is the third chapter: "Greece and Macedonia from Augustus to Gallienus" (pp. 436-492). The first paragraph deals with "The Government and the Provinces." The largest part of it is concerned with administrative problems. More important from the economic point of view are subsections 5—"Imperial Taxation," and 6—"Imperial Estates, Mines and Quarries." In the section on taxation I may note the interesting new interpretation of the well-known inscription of Heraclea Lyncestis (pp. 458 ff.), and point out that the burden of taxation, especially in Macedon, was made heavier by extraordinary contributions imposed on the population at large and on some rich citizens (see *Storia Soc. ed Econ.*, p. 409). I may note in passing that the author in dealing with the slave tax (p. 456) has missed the opportunity of helping his fellow scholars by giving not casual quotations from, but a full list of the Thessalian manumissions, of which many are not to be found in the *Corpus*, but are scattered in various Greek archaeological reviews.

In the following paragraph Larsen collects the data on the economic life of Greece and Macedon in the Imperial times. In this task (except for Athens and for Delphi) he has had almost no predecessors, and therefore his collection of material

is probably far from complete. I have not tried to check it. But I was surprised for example not to find quoted in the section on Thessalonice (p. 449) the rich collection of important new inscriptions from this place published by S. Pelekides, *Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ κοινωνία τῆς Ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης*, 1934. They show how rich the city was and how important as a commercial and agricultural centre. Such as it is, however, the section is of great value. Larsen begins with a judicious survey of the general economic conditions, based mostly on literary texts, which show that in the economic development of Greece in the Imperial period we must sharply discriminate between the first century, when the results of the civil wars were still acutely felt, and the later period, when normal conditions prevailed and a certain recovery took place. He then proceeds with surveys in paragraph 3: Products and industries (here as in the preceding chapter archaeological evidence is little used), paragraph 4: Money and investments (little use of the numismatic material so instructive for example for the history of Corinth and of the Peloponnese), and paragraph 5: The Third Century.

Not a section but a substantial book is T. R. S. Broughton's "Asia Minor" (pp. 499-917, i. e. 417 pages). The large size of this section is explained by Professor Frank in the Preface to the volume in the following words: "So many diverse theories have in the past been offered regarding the complicated economic systems of this province that very careful documentation was essential before offering a revision of current reports and views." This explanation can hardly be accepted. The problems presented by Asia Minor are no more complicated than those presented by Africa and Syria, and a complete documentation is as vital for solving the many problems of the economic life of those provinces as it is for Asia Minor. Nor can the abundance of material be blamed for making the increase in size imperative. The African material is no less abundant and voluminous. The real justification for the size of Broughton's contribution is the character of the work. It would have been a pity not to print in full, because of its length, so substantial an economic history of Roman Asia Minor, so well documented and so carefully studied.

In the same Preface of Professor Frank I read: "The author has omitted a sketch of pre-Roman Asia Minor in view of Professor Rostovtzeff's promised volume on the social and economic history of the Hellenistic Age." I am very sorry that the sketch was omitted for the reason given by the editor. I certainly should be the first to enjoy and to profit by such a sketch. However, I find substantial compensation for this loss in the extensive and often full use of the Hellenistic material adduced by the author, in dealing with the various aspects of economic development in Imperial Asia Minor.

The work of Broughton is divided into two parts. The first

(pp. 503-579) deals with Asia Minor under the Republic, 133-27 B. C., and is organized chronologically: ch. I—from Attalus to Pompey, ch. II—the exploitation of Asia Minor, and ch. III—the period of the civil wars. Part II deals with Asia Minor under the Empire, 27 B. C.—337 A. D., and is organized systematically. After a short introduction of historical and administrative character the author presents his material under five general headings: ch. I—the land, ch. II—the cities, ch. III—industry, labor and commerce, ch. IV—currency, banking and investments, ch. V—the third century in Asia Minor.

It is useless to repeat what I have said before. Broughton has studied Asia Minor carefully, he is well acquainted with the country, he has collected the published material—literary, juridical, epigraphical, numismatic, and archaeological—in great fullness and he has dealt with various problems previously in special monographs. He was well prepared for the task and he has presented us with a book which will be used extensively for many years to come. In many respects his is a pioneer work, since for many problems he was the first to collect, sift, and interpret the extant material.

The reading of the book is not easy. It is full of lists and tabulations which must be studied and carefully checked up, not merely read. These lists and tabulations, however, have been used by the author himself for building up a short but connected economic history of Asia Minor under the Roman rule.

I cannot enter here into a detailed examination of all the problems presented by the material collected by Broughton. It cannot be done in a review. My opinions on the subject based on the same material, I have presented elsewhere, and with some of the problems I shall deal in my forthcoming Hellenistic volume. The following remarks are confined to the Imperial period and are intended to characterize briefly the results of the author's investigation, to supplement his documentation from the casual notes which I have made from time to time, and to express some desiderata.

The best section in part II (Asia Minor under the Empire) deals with the land: the geographical and climatic conditions of Asia Minor, the natural resources of the country, and the organization and exploitation of the land. Especially valuable is the second part of this section with its imposing lists of imperial estates, of land holdings of private persons and of temples.

One of the most important problems is that of the condition of the rural population, the villagers of Asia Minor, descendants of the Hellenistic *laot*. The author believes that they gradually ceased to be "serfs" and became free tenants, sometimes hereditary tenants, and in many cases free small landowners, that is to say that their social and economic conditions were radically changed. I have my doubts about it. No detailed discussion

of the problem can be given here. However, I may point out a few facts. The author is inclined to take the status of "serfdom" as a well defined one, which implies first and foremost the bondage of the serfs to the soil (the *adscripti glebae*) and the absence of any corporative organization in villages inhabited by the "serfs." The question, however, is much more complicated. The condition of bondmen, the forms of bondage varied from place to place and from time to time, even in the Hellenistic Orient, not to speak of Greece and the West. In Hellenistic times a man who belonged to the class of the *laoi* in Egypt, in Phoenicia and in Asia Minor was not bound to the soil. He had almost complete freedom of movement. This is certain for Egypt, very probable for Phoenicia and is true for Asia Minor also (see the inscription of Laodice, Welles, *Royal Corresp.*, 18, 11: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες ἐ[κ] τῆς κώμης ταύτης ὄντες λαοὶ μετεληλύθασιν εἰς ἄλλους τόπους). - To use the expression of Bickerman (*Inst. des Seleucides*, p. 158) the *laoi* of Asia Minor under the Seleucids were not "*adscripti glebae*," but to a certain extent "*adscripti vicis*." Note also that the *laoi* were not the only residents of the villages to which they were bound. Again the villages in Egypt and in Phoenicia in the Ptolemaic period had a certain corporative organization, their own representatives, heads of the villages, and I see no reason to think (though no positive evidence is at hand) that it was different in Asia Minor in Hellenistic and perhaps in pre-Hellenistic times.

Some *minutiae*: p. 644 and p. 683 (these pages are not recorded in the Index under Aezani): the dossier of Aezani does not necessarily imply that the part of the γῆ ἱερά divided into *cleroi*, and probably distributed to κληροῦχοι by the Seleucids, remained *property* of the temple; in the time previous to Mettius Modestus the *cleroi* apparently did not pay any *vectigal* to the temple; it is not clear whether Mettius Modestus, in imposing the *vectigal*, restored the ancient Seleucid order, or introduced a new feature in the management of the "*cleruchici agri*." P. 648: the inscription of Thyatira, *I. G. R.*, IV, 1213, has been re-published in revised form by L. Robert, *Istros*, I (1934). In the list of temples which owned land I missed the temple mentioned in the inscription of Mostene, *I. G. R.*, IV, 1349 (slight correction of L. Robert, *B. C. H.*, LII [1928], p. 413); this fragmentary and obscure text, probably a *lex sacra*, mentions κῆποι, φυντά, εἴχορτα; two οἰκονόμοι Σεβαστῶν appear in this inscription. To the inscriptions published by Sterett, which may suggest landholding of the temple of Zeus Astrenos or Astlenos (p. 683) must be added Swoboda, Keil, Knoll, *Denkm. Lyk.*, etc., p. 98, n. 2. On p. 685 Broughton says that the use of agricultural manuals was confined in Asia Minor to the kings and in Italy to the owners of *latifundia*. I wonder if he thinks

that handbooks used by a few millionaires would be published one after another and survive until our own time. Finally I may mention as regards the mines and quarries (pp. 693 ff.), that a full study of the copper mines of Cyprus has been recently published by J. L. Bruce, "Antiquities in the mines of Cyprus," in F. Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, III, 1937, pp. 639 ff.

In the survey of the cities (ch. II, pp. 696 ff.) the main endeavour of the author was to follow the growth of prosperity of Asia Minor as reflected in the life of the hundreds of Anatolian cities. For this purpose he has compiled two long lists of cities, one for the time of the Julio-Claudians, another for the time of the Flavians, Antonines, and Severi, in which he recorded buildings, gifts and foundations, wealthy families, attested for each one of the cities. These lists are preceded by a study of other phenomena in the city life which bear on the honors and titles, privileges and gifts granted to the cities by the government, and on the coinage. The lists are long and dry: In the main they prove in detail what was known before to all the students of the Roman Empire, that is to say that the time of the Julio-Claudians was an age of recovery, and that of the Flavians, Antonines, and Severi one of prosperity for the provinces of the Roman Empire. The picture would be more complete if a list of villages were added to that of the cities. As they stand the lists are too short and too stenographical to be of great help to the student of the history of individual cities or regions. The sketches of Broughton lack individuality and colour, and the data collected by him could not be and are not complete. I may mention one case. In dealing with the city of Nysa (Caria) Broughton (p. 768) mentions the famous inscription of T. (not P.) Aelius Alcibiades, of the time of Antoninus Pius, but fails to quote *S. E. G.*, IV, 418, and does not mention another member of the same family, P. Aelius Alcibiades, a well-known person, a native of Nysa who became the chief chamberlain of Hadrian (*a cubiculo*) and bestowed many benefactions on his native city. We possess ample evidence on him, which has been collected many times (for example in *P. I. R.*²). I was glad to find quite recently a thorough study of this family by L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 1938, pp. 45 ff.

Much shorter is section III of the chapter on the cities: "Municipal Finances." The author's method of organizing his material in this section is peculiar. Some evidence is adduced, and some not, and in very few cases the author cites a modern book or article, where more evidence will be found. I cannot discuss this section at length but I may be allowed to make some scattered remarks.

On p. 797 a list of city revenues is given. I was surprised not to find mentioned and discussed the sale of priesthoods, a very

typical and peculiar revenue, apparently confined to Asia Minor (M. Segre, *Rend. Ist. Lomb.*, 1937, p. 1). In talking of the liturgical collection of taxes (p. 803) Broughton should have quoted *I. G. R.*, IV, 1441 (Smyrna), where the man is praised for being *λειτουργός ἐνδοξός* (cf. L. Robert, *Études Anat.*, p. 136). It is a little awkward to find such a document as the edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus cited anonymously and in passing on p. 805. The document is so characteristic for the policy of the Julio-Claudians towards the cities of Asia Minor, and especially for the early attempts of the central government to restrict extravagant public expense of the cities of Asia Minor, that it deserved more attention (cf. K. F. Dörner, *Der Erlass des Statthalters Paullus Fabius Persicus*, 1935, and many minor studies).

Very little sense of proportion is shown in the section which deals with the expenditures of the cities. One of the greatest preoccupations of the city government was the never solved question of abundant or at least sufficient food supply. This question was as acute for the Greek world in the Imperial period as it had been in the Classical and Hellenistic times. Asia Minor suffered as much as the rest of the Greek world. It is shown by repeated famines and food shortages (*σιτοδεία, σπανισιτία*). Various devices were tried, none with success: sporadic help from the central government, measures taken by the regular magistrates (*ἀγορανόμοι*) for organizing the market, creation of special liturgical offices for taking care of grain and oil supply (*σιτώναι, ἐλαιώναι, ἐπιμεληταί, εὐθηνάρχαι*, etc.), soliciting of gifts and distributions. The importance of this topic for understanding the peculiarities of ancient economic life has been pointed out many times by modern scholars (for example F. Heichelheim, article "Sitos" in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.*, Suppl. VI, p. 884). Broughton has not realized the importance of the problem. He devotes to it a few lines on p. 807 and cites some scattered and not characteristic literary texts and inscriptions. How typical for example is the title *τροφεύς*, given by various cities for life to successful and generous agoranomes, and how fervent are the prayers of the cities for the further success of their "masters of supplies" (L. Robert, *R. A.*, III [1934], pp. 48 ff.). How ample is the information we possess on the famines and food shortages, on the agoranomes and their activity, the *eutheniarchoi*, the *sitonai* and *elaionai*, the *σιτωνικά* and *ἐλαιωνικά χρήματα* (see e. g. L. Robert, *Études Anat.*, Index s. v. *σιτωνικά χρήματα*).

Little attention is paid in the section under review to functions performed in the cities by the *δημόσιοι* and especially by the police force, whose rôle was not confined to suppressing brigandage on the high roads (see p. 868 of the book). They had some important duties inside of the cities as well. For example an inscribed lead weight from Asia Minor (Br. Mus., F. H. Marshall, *J. H. S.*, XXIX [1909], p. 106, cf. *Storia Soc. ed.*

Econ., p. 491, note) together with a similar one from Seleucia on the Tigris of the Parthian times—74/75 A. D. (H. McDowell, *Stamped and inscribed objects from Seleucia*, 1936, p. 256), and the data supplied by other weights show how important was the department of weights and measures in the life of the cities, and how in this department the agoranomes were assisted by the chiefs of the municipal police force—the παραφύλακες. No collection of material bearing on the weights and measures used in Asia Minor will be found in Broughton's section. I may add in passing that Broughton (p. 868) dates the bas-relief which represents a paraphylax, found near Tire in the Cayster valley (L. Robert, *Études Anat.*, pp. 98 ff.) in the third century A. D. while it cannot be later than the first century A. D.

In chapter III, "Industry, Labor and Commerce," Broughton has collected abundant evidence from all available sources including the archaeological ones. The material of course is not new, nor are the conclusions of the author on the rôle which industry played in Anatolian economic life. But the obvious conclusions were never before based on such abundant evidence. In such a well documented survey I was surprised not to find on p. 831, in the section dealing with pottery, any reference to such typical Anatolian products of Asia Minor as the so-called Pergamene relief vases, of which one brand were the so-called Megarian bowls and especially the interesting and beautiful class of late Hellenistic and early Roman pottery, the so-called lead glazed vases (a new technique), imitation of metal vases, which in all probability was first launched in Asia Minor. In the section on professions a paragraph is devoted to doctors. To the evidence of this paragraph I may add the very important inscription of Ephesus, which mentions with praise gratuitous services of the doctors and with reproach the φιλάργυροι ιατροί (J. Keil, *Jahresh.*, XXX [1937], Beibl., p. 200, no. 5). Another illuminating paragraph in the same section is that on the entertainers and performers. It is to be regretted that the author does not mention in this paragraph so typical a feature of Roman Imperial social and artistic life as the minor dramatic artists, especially mimes and pantomimes. These popular actors are amply recorded in the inscriptions of Asia Minor (L. Robert, *Hermes*, LXV [1930], pp. 106 ff., and *R. E. G.*, XLIX [1936], pp. 233 ff., cf. *Études Anat.*, p. 529; add to this evidence the many terracottas of Myrina which represent mimes). It is certain also that all sorts of θωμαστοί (clowns, acrobats, etc.) were as popular in Asia Minor as they were in Greece and in other parts of the Roman Empire (L. Robert, *B. C. H.*, LII [1928], pp. 422 ff.; *R. E. G.*, XLII [1929], pp. 433 ff.; A. Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.*, 1922, II-VII, pp. 17 ff.; *S. I. G.*, 847; H. Blümner, "Fahrendes Volk im Altertum," *S. B. Bayr. Ak.*, 1918, pp. 12 ff., and the recent study of L. Robert, *Études épigr. et philol.*, 1938, pp. 7 ff.).

A few words in conclusion on the section of chapter III dealing with commerce. Here again the author has collected abundant evidence on communications and on the various types of trade, local, intra-provincial, and inter-provincial. In the section of fairs (pp. 870 f.) he should have mentioned that the *ἐμπορία* of Bithynia do not stand alone, but are a typical feature of Thracian life in general (*Storia Soc. ed Econ.*, ch. IX, n. 50). However, quite recently D. van Berchem, *Mem. Soc. Ant. Fr.*, 1936, pp. 182 ff., has suggested a new interpretation of the evidence which bears on the Thracian emporia.

Our information on trade relations inside of Asia Minor and between Asia Minor and the other provinces of the Roman Empire is based to a large extent on the evidence of coins. Studies of coin circulation are rare. Fortunately for Broughton most of these deal with Asia Minor, and he has made use of them. To them he added the evidence collected in Noe's bibliography on coin hoards. However, one must be careful in using the data collected by Noe and look up the original publications. Otherwise some misstatements are unavoidable. Such a misstatement will be found on p. 873 of Broughton's survey. In discussing trade relations between Egypt and Asia Minor he quotes five hoards "mostly Hellenistic." Of these, two hoards (of Demanhur no. 322 and of Sakha no. 888) belong to the numerous class of the famous Egyptian hoards, which attest the trade relations between Egypt and the Greek world in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., and one (Demanhur no. 323) bears on the conditions of Egypt in the time of Artaxerxes Ochus and Philip. One (Sakha no. 955) is dated in 52 B. C. and testifies to the well-known close connection between Syria and Egypt at that time (the Anatolian tetradrachms were the main currency of Syria in the second century B. C.). Only one belongs to Roman times (889) and has very little bearing on Asia Minor (five coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia out of 299). This is what was to be expected. Egypt in Hellenistic times was almost entirely closed to foreign currencies, and in the Roman times the conditions of coin circulation in Egypt were as peculiar as they had been in the Hellenistic period. It does not mean of course that there was no lively trade between Egypt and Asia Minor. A little more attention paid to papyrological material would reveal many connections.

I am afraid my review is becoming too long and I must close by repeating what I have stated above. Volume IV of the *Survey* is a worthy companion to the other volumes and will remain for a long time, if not a book widely read, at all events one which will always be consulted by scholars dealing with the various problems presented by the peculiar economic evolution of the Roman world.

M. ROSTOVTZHEFF.

Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends. Edited by Robert P. Casey, Silva Lake, and Agnes K. Lake. London, Christophers, 1937. Pp. viii + 367.

The list of contributors to this stately volume, presented to Kirsopp Lake by his pupils, colleagues, and friends, is in itself eloquent testimony to his distinguished scholarship and far-flung influence, including as it does the names of well-known scholars from this country and abroad, from England, Scotland, Holland, France, Denmark, and Germany. The thirty-four essays which make up the volume are, as in all such books, so diverse in subject that any attempt on the part of a single reviewer to pass judgment on them all would be an impertinence. The majority of them, however, deal with the history, exegesis, and textual tradition of the Bible, especially the New Testament, advance in which Professor Lake has done so much to promote. Thus, the longest essay ("Remarks on the Prophetologion," pp. 189-226) is a preliminary statement by the two scholars, C. Höeg and G. Zuntz, who are preparing an edition of the Prophetologion for the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, concerning the manuscripts of the Old Testament lectionaries of the Byzantine church. The prevailing critical principle, which constructs our New Testament text chiefly from the Greek uncial manuscripts, is attacked by H. Pernot, "Que Vaut Notre Texte des Évangiles," who emphasizes the fact that these MSS are the result of a thorough editorial revision of earlier sources and maintains that the readings of these earlier texts are often better preserved elsewhere, especially in the papyri and in the Syrian and Old Latin versions.

Four of the essays derive from a common interest in the results of the *formgeschichtliche Kritik*, either in sane criticism of the extreme claims of the method (R. P. Casey, "Some Remarks on the Formgeschichtliche Methode"), or in its wise and skilful application (H. J. Cadbury, "Rebuttal, a Submerged Motive in the Gospels"), or else they illustrate the contradictory conclusions which, owing to its subjective nature, must result from this method: to M. S. Enslin, "The Date of Peter's Confession," the Gospel of Mark is "a very carefully wrought-out narrative," giving evidence of skilful selection, revamping, and planning of earlier material; to N. Huffman, "The Sources of Mark," Mark's narrative of events outside Jerusalem and of those within the city after Christ's arrival there is so different both in content and style that one must suppose separate sources for these two parts: for the second Mark himself, for the first other sources, among them Peter.

Another group of essays has a more direct appeal to the in-

terests of the classical student. Miss Agnes K. Lake, "The Supplicatio and the Graecus Ritus," gives further evidence for the purely Roman origin of the Supplicatio and makes the interesting suggestion that the glossing of *pulvinaria* by *tabulata*, in Ps.-Acron on Hor., *Carm.*, I, 37, 3, is supported by the presence of wooden platforms in early Roman republican temples. Miss Lily Ross Taylor, "A Sellisternium on the Parthenon Frieze?", offers another explanation of the two women with the drapery on the east frieze of the Parthenon; the whole scene, she suggests, represents a *sellisternium* and the drapery is being folded to be put upon one of the chairs. Finally E. R. Goodenough, "Literal Mystery in Hellenistic Judaism," strangely interpreting Plato(?), *Ep.* VII, 341 C-D as "Plato's statement that his true philosophy is not elaborated in any dialogue, because it is 'unutterable'" (p. 233), combines this with other references in the Dialogues to "mysteries" and concludes that the great bulk of Plato's writings must be understood as propaedeutic, written with the aim to "drive the reader to the Academy for initiation into the truth." Here I should rather be wrong with Shorey than right with Goodenough, but all can agree with his main thesis, that Philo's Mystery is the continuation of post-Platonic tradition that Platonism was the true mystery.

The book is enriched with several excellent plates, notably those of the drawings which illustrate the study by L. H. Vincent, O. P., "Aux Origines de l'Architecture Chrétienne," and of the pages of the Codex Cavensis which accompany Professor Lowe's discussion of the later history of that famous codex. The careful scholarship of the editors has eliminated all but a very few minor misprints. They are to be congratulated on this worthy tribute to a great scholar.

MARBURY B. OGLE.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

Galen De Causis Procatactis Libellus a Nicolao Regino in Sermonem Latinum Translatus. Ad Codicum Fidem Recensuit, in Graecum Sermonem Retro Vertit KURT BARDONG. (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum Supplementum II.) Leipzig and Berlin, Teubner, 1937. Pp. xxxiv + 64. RM. 4.65.

Kurt Bardong here gives us a thoroughly competent edition of a treatise of Galen's preserved only in the Latin version of Nicolaus. Following the suggestion of Kalbfleisch, who had intended to edit the text, he has reconstructed the Greek and printed it in parallel columns alongside the Latin. This task was not so difficult as one might think because the version obviously follows the original almost word for word, and because

the subject is in good part treated in other works of Galen preserved in Greek. There are passages one would render differently; but that is a matter of little consequence, because the Greek text, even if not authentic, serves well as an interpretation.

The treatise itself is not of great importance, being largely a logomachy. Since it is directed chiefly against Erasistratus and Herophilus, whose interest was rather in empirical investigation, Galen's statements regarding these great men of science throw little light on their achievements, about which he gave more satisfactory reports in other treatises. Bardong's *Praefatio* is a valuable contribution to the history of the dispute between the later schools of Greek medicine about the causes (and the best designations of the causes) of disease. The *Index Verborum Memorabilium* (pp. 56-63) of course relates only to the Latin text. A few noteworthy points are raised in *Addenda et Corrigenda* (pp. 63 f.). The text is on the whole commendably free from misprints. Unfortunately for the impression one receives, one misprint occurs in line 10 on p. 1.

W. A. HEIDEL.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

VEIKKO VÄÄNÄNEN. Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pom-péiennes. Helsinki, Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature finnoise, 1937. Pp. 228. (Diss.)

The author gives us a summary account of Vulgar Latin and of the Pompeian inscriptions (pp. 14-26), then chapters on the phonology of the inscriptions (pp. 27-142), their morphology (pp. 143-152), their word-formation and vocabulary (pp. 153-192), their syntax (pp. 193-214), followed by a summary of the results (pp. 215-220) and an index of words, with over 600 captions (pp. 221-226).

The study, as this list of contents makes clear, takes up the words and phrases of the inscriptions from all points of view; the most interesting is, of course, the relation of their peculiarities to those of the Oscan language, spoken in Pompeii before Latin was introduced, and surviving alongside Latin in that region for some centuries. The author does in fact find a number of peculiarities which can fairly be ascribed to Oscan influence: notably, instances of *-es -et* in verb endings for normal *-is -it* (pp. 34-35), of *-iō -iās -iat* in verbs for *-eō -eās -eat* (pp. 62-64), of the reduction of *-ct-* to *-t-* as in OTAVS (pp. 109-111), of *-nn-* from *-nd-* (pp. 115-116), of *-d* as ending of the third person instead of the normal Latin *-t* (pp. 122-123). But the great mass of the differences (all occasional, not thor-

oughgoing) from the standard of classical Latin are phenomena found in Vulgar Latin in various parts of the Empire, and therefore not with probability to be attributed definitely to Oscan influence, even if Oscan shows identical or closely similar processes. Thus while the Pompeian inscriptions show much syncope of vowels (pp. 78-81), and Oscan had more syncope than Latin, still Oscan had much more anaptyxis than did Latin, and these inscriptions retain consonant groups produced by syncope, which would certainly have been subject to anaptyxis in Oscan. Again, the change of *au* to *ō* (pp. 52-53) is regular in Vulgar Latin, but unknown to Oscan, which preserved the diphthongs much better than did Latin. There is also an occasional peculiarity found here, which is neither Vulgar Latin nor Oscan, such as the genitives *ARRVS* and *GORGONVS* (p. 147), from *-os* as in Greek and in some early Latin inscriptions, instead of the normal Latin *-is* from *-es*: this seems to be a survival of a peculiarity of dialectal Latin, as it is unknown in Oscan, and can hardly be a borrowing from Greek gen. *-os*.

Väänänen appears to have done his task well; particularly he makes the proper allowances for errors in writing, and has the correct attitude toward problems of assimilation and dissimilation. But it is rather astonishing that his bibliography (pp. 8-13) does not list Sturtevant's *Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, and gives Buck's *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* only in the 1905 German translation of Prokosch (there is a second English edition, 1928). In fact, apart from Buck's volume the only other item on Oscan-Umbrian is Mommsen's *Die unteritalischen Dialekte* (misquoted as *Die unteritalienischen Dialecte*), published 1860: the works of von Planta and Conway would be looked for rather than the obsolete work of Mommsen, in view of the importance of Oscan for Väänänen's studies.

A few special points. P. 46: on such forms as *POVERI* = *pueri*, cf. my remarks *T. A. P. A.*, XLIII, pp. 41-42 and *I. F.*, XXXIII, pp. 169-171. P. 89: a good remark on the limits of Oscan influence on Latin, against the view of Terracini. P. 93: the form *FRIDAM* for *frigidam* is said to be phonetically possible only if *g* has already been palatalized before *i*; but a miswriting for a syncopated *frigdam* seems to me at least equally possible, the *-gd-* being reduced because this group is unknown in native Latin words. P. 108: Oscan *kuaísstúr* is an error for *kvaísstur* (in the native Oscan alphabet these orthographic variations are significant). P. 109: *Σώσμος* is an error for *Ζώσμος*. Pp. 112-114: the writings *-s* for *-x* and *-ss-* for *-ps-* agree with Oscan, but the same changes are found in other parts of the Latin territory, and therefore they cannot with certainty be assigned to Oscan influence. P. 201: the verse of Ovid found in the graffito is metrical and intelligible, but garbled because it has been quoted from memory, as was customary among the

ancients; for it was not easy to look up the *ipsissima verba* when literary works were in scroll form rather than in the form of a book with pages. I have caught myself making similar alterations in quoting from Latin authors!

ROLAND G. KENT.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BRUNO LAVAGNINI. *Aglaia. Nuova Antologia della Lirica Greca da Callino a Bacchilide.* Torino, G. B. Paravia & C., 1937. Pp. xvi + 329.

This anthology contains most of the more important fragments of the elegiac, iambic, and melic poets. With the inclusion of two odes of Pindar (*Ol.* I and II) and two of Bacchylides (*Epin.*, III and V), which were not in the earlier edition of 1932, it offers the student some material from all nine of the lyric poets in the Alexandrian canon. In the selection of texts Lavagnini has seldom omitted the most important passages from the authors treated; but we miss the fragments of Xenophanes containing his theological views, and among the iambic poets Semonides of Amorgos and Hipponax are not included at all. The plan of the work would scarcely permit a large selection from Pindar and Bacchylides, and the selection that has been made is as good as any other that might be suggested. The First Olympian of Pindar and the Fifth Epinician of Bacchylides were both composed for the same occasion, and the author was doubtless influenced by this fact.

The commentary, which is quite copious, makes the book useful both to college students by its explanation of even minor grammatical difficulties and to more advanced readers by the rather full manner in which it deals with certain literary problems. Some interesting new interpretations are suggested. One example is in the treatment of the troublesome metaphor of the eagle and the crows in Pindar, *Ol.*, II, 95 ff. The dual γαῖον has forced some to see in it a spiteful reference to Simonides and Bacchylides; but Lavagnini makes κόρακες refer to Theron's two seditious cousins, Capys and Hippocrates.

The biographical sketches of the authors are fairly complete in view of our limited knowledge of most of them, and their relation to the literary and political history of their times is excellently treated. Only on the linguistic side is there a definite weakness, and this consists rather in omissions and lack of system than in actual errors. No detailed description of the dialect of any author is given except in the case of Alcaeus (on p. 152, not on p. 194, as we are told in the cross-reference under Sappho's

Hymn to Aphrodite, p. 119). His usual method is to give in the notes the Attic equivalents of dialectic forms each time they occur, involving a large amount of repetition which may have been expressly intended to fix the forms in the student's memory. Sometimes, however, forms which deserve mention are left unnoticed. *φράσας* in Pindar, *Ol.*, II, 66 and *ταρύσας* in 100 are not noted as Aeolic forms of the aorist participle. *ἄγει*, p. 104 (Archilochus) is probably wrongly called Ionic. It occurs in Homer (E 765), but I am inclined to regard it as belonging to the Aeolic stratum of the Epic dialect.

On p. 51, line 5, read *φίλοις* for *φίλοισ'*. On p. 89, XXVI, 8, *ἀζόμενοι* for *ἀζόμηναι*. On p. 97, line 10, observe synizesis in *θεούς* and not in *εὔσεβέων*. On p. 250, near the middle, the reference should be to *Olimpica* VI, not VIII. On p. 315, line 110, read *δοτις* for *δοτιν*, and on p. 319, note to 160, read *Teognide*, XVII for *Teognide*, XVIII.

JAMES W. POULTNEY.

CARTEAGE COLLEGE.

Aristotle, *Parts of Animals*, with an English Translation by A. L. PECK; *Movement of Animals and Progression of Animals*, with an English Translation by E. S. FORSTER. The Loeb Classical Library. Harvard Univ. Press, 1937. Pp. 556.

The treatise which takes up the first four-fifths of this volume had not been edited since 1868; and Dr. Peck, although relying for the readings of the Greek MSS upon the *apparatus* of Bekker and Langkavel, has made a serious attempt to establish an improved text of this important work. In so doing he has employed the Latin version of Michael Scot and the Arabic MS (B. M. Add. 7511) which he believes to be the original from which Michael Scot made his version.

Besides a great number of emendations of his own he has adopted many of Ogle's conjectures and of Platt's and also numerous suggestions of Cornford and Rackham. Most of these are improvements of the traditional text, even though some are unnecessary and possibly wrong (e.g. the change of *ὀρθόν* to *ὀρθός* in *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὀρθόν* [695 A 6]); but many others are too important to be passed over in silence.

At 643 A 32 Peck changes *διαρπέν* to *διαρπύσιν*; wrongly, for Aristotle is here giving the "correct" manner of dichotomy and *διαρπέν* depends upon the *χρή* in line 27 (*ἔτι διαρπέν χρή*, cf. *Metaphysics* 1038 A 9: *δεῖ γε διαρπείσθαι*). He then excises in lines 32-33 *διάφορα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τάντικείμενα*, contending that this and 643 A 33-35 (*ἐὰν σὺν θάτερα . . . , καὶ μὴ . . . χρώματι*) which

he also excises were interpolated in order to bring this passage into line with *Metaphysics* 1058 A 9 ff. Both passages are to be defended by reference to the chapter on dichotomy in *Anal. Post* (cf. 97 A 14: εἴτα ὅταν λάβῃ τάντικείμενα καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν κτλ. and 97 A 19-21: τὸ δ' ἅπαν ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὴν διαίρεσιν, ἐν ᾗ ἀντικείμενα ὦν μὴ ἐστὶ μεταξύ, οὐκ αἴτημα). Certainly 643 A 33-35 must remain, for in excising it Peck cuts out the negative μὴ which should govern the rest of the sentence and in consequence he has to change the γὰρ in 643 B 1 to δὲ, alter τῷ ἀγρίῳ καὶ ἡμέρῳ διαμεῖσθαι in 643 B 3 to τὸ . . . διαμεῖσθαι, cut out the γὰρ after ὡσαύτως in 643 B 4, and make of lines 3 and 4 a single sentence. All these changes are mere conjectures, necessitated only by the original conjecture which is mistaken.

In this same chapter Peck also excises 643 B 30-33 (λέγω δὲ . . . σχιζόπου), 643 B 36-644 A 1 (οἶον τὸ πολυσχιδές . . . περίεργα), 644 A 3 (ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ . . . εἶδος); these passages are difficult, but they require interpretation, not excision.

In 656 A 16 Peck changes ἀλλ' to ἄλλοι δ'. Had he noticed that 656 A 15-17 refers to *Timaeus* 75 A-C, he would have seen that the subject of λέγουσιν and of φασιν is the same and that the MSS are right. (References to Plato are omitted also at 652 A 25 [*Timaeus* 75 C-D] and 664 B 7 [*Timaeus* 70 C, although the theory was widely held, cf. Taylor *ad loc.*]; at 640 A 18 a reference to *Philebus* 54 A-C and at 641 B 12-20 one to *Philebus* 29-30 as the sources of these important doctrines would not have been out of place.)

In 676 A 33 Peck follows Ogle in changing δῶπερ to διότι. The proper change, I think, is to δι' ὅπερ without preceding punctuation. This is supported by the γάρ of the following sentence (cf. also Michael Ephesius, p. 68, 11-13).

Of the passages which have been altered on the basis of Michael Scot's version the most important are 654 B 16-25 and 684 B 22-29; in the latter passage all the references to the diagram are excised as later interpolations and two lost clauses are filled out in Michael's Latin. The original diagram, Peck believes, must have been a straight line marked off A B Γ Δ. Apparently for this reason objecting to the use of E to designate the whole line, he changes 685 A 2-3 (. . . τὴν εὐθείαν ἐφ' ἧς τὸ E κάμψας προσάγαγοι τὸ Δ πρὸς τὸ A) to read: . . . τὴν εὐθείαν ἐφ' ἧς A B κάμψας προσάγαγοι πρὸς τὸ Δ. This is almost certainly wrong, for Aristotle has just said κέκαμπται ἡ τελευτή πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν; and it is incredible that he should have marked the ἀρχή Δ and the τελευτή A as he must have done with Peck's reading. If objection to ἐφ' ἧς τὸ E be valid, the MSS reading should be kept with the excision of this phrase only. This criticism does not, of course, affect the treatment of 684 B 22-29.

Dr. Peck's English version is a very free paraphrase rather than a translation. Even the order of Aristotle's clauses and

sentences is frequently altered, often for no obvious reason and all too often with the result of confusing the original arguments. An example of this may be seen in the varied treatment of the characteristically frequent—and perhaps monotonous—*γάρ*. Sometimes Dr. Peck simply omits the word (688 A 1, 693 B 16, 694 A 16, 694 A 23); elsewhere it is rendered by “obviously” (640 A 12), “in other words” (656 A 13, 672 A 3), “thus” (674 B 28), “as we know” (670 B 20), “when we remember that” (671 A 1), “and” (676 A 16, 687 A 1, 691 B 27, 692 A 5), “in fact” (687 B 25, 696 A 8, 640 B 28), “so that” (692 B 22), “at any rate” (640 B 11), “however” (641 A 7). This may be an *improvement* on Aristotle’s style, but it obscures and often obliterates the course of his reasoning.

There are other passages of which the interpretation must be questioned quite apart from the somewhat ambiguous questions of style and clarity.

639 A 23-24: *κατὰ μέρος λέγοντες* does not mean “if our discussion is limited to a part of the subject” but refers to *λαμβάνοντες μίαν ἐκάστην οὐσίαν* (639 A 16) and means “even if we discuss them species for species” (cf. 644 A 34 ff.). The misinterpretation of this sentence is responsible for Peck’s change of *τούτων* to *πάντων* in 639 A 23.

640 A 21-22: The preceding *ἐν τῇ γενέσει* does not justify the addition here of “the fetus.” Moreover this probably misrepresents Empedocles’ meaning, for he most likely did not mean that the articulation was so produced in *each individual* but in the progenitors of the race.

642 B 7-9: *ἐνίων γὰρ ἔσται διαφορὰ μίᾳ μόνῃ* does not mean “There are some groups which will be found to have only one line of differentiation.” The force of *ἔσται* has been mistaken. Aristotle is giving a reason why dichotomy fails (note the *γάρ*) and means that it would result in giving some groups only one differentia (cf. 643 B 15-17). *τὰ δ’ ἄλλα περίεργα* means not that all the other “lines of differentiation” will be superfluous but that all the other *stages* of the division, all the differentiae except the *last one*, are superfluous. Then *αὕτη γὰρ μόνῃ κυρία* means *not*: “This line of differentiation is the only one that counts” (note Peck’s failure to translate *γάρ*, which word shows that this sentence is the supporting statement for *ἔσται . . . μίᾳ μόνῃ τὰ δ’ ἄλλα περίεργα*) *but*: “For this differentia (i. e. the last) is alone valid.” The next sentence, *εἰ δὲ μή, ταῦτόν πολλάκις ἀναγκαῖον λέγειν*, proves this interpretation; cf. *Metaphysics* 1038 A 19 ff.

643 B 35: *ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν λέξιν συμβαίνει δοκεῖν κτλ.* Peck translates “But in consequence of the form of expression the last term alone is looked upon as constituting the differentia.” This

is the usual interpretation; but it cannot be right, for it implies that Aristotle does *not* believe the last term alone to constitute the differentia, whereas his point is that it *does* (642 B 8-9, 644 A 8-10; *Metaphysics* 1038 A 19-20, 28-30). Certainly he does *not* believe that the opinion is a fallacy *παρὰ τὴν λέξιν*. The word *δοκεῖν* does not necessarily imply a *false* impression; and the sentence means that the very *expression* shows the last term alone to be the differentia. Peck shows his feeling of uneasiness about the passage by excising *οἷον τὸ πολυσχιδὲς . . . περίεργα* at the end of the sentence; but that helps nothing, and *Metaphysics* 1038 A 30-34 which supports the interpretation I have given here for *παρὰ τὴν λέξιν* also argues for retaining the last words.

645 B 10-11: *περὶ ἐκάστων τῶν καθ' ἑκάστα* means *not* "of individual peculiarities" *but* "concerning the several particular kinds" (i. e. atomic species). Cf. 644 A 30-31.

646 B 17-18: *πρὸς μὲν γάρ τινα . . . πρὸς δέ τινα* means *not* "for one part . . . for another" *but* "for one *action* . . ." Cf. 646 B 23-25.

648 B 23-24: *λέγεται μὲν σὺν εἰ μὴ πλεοναχῶς ἀλλὰ τοσανταχῶς . . .* means *not* "the senses . . . are as many as this, even if they are not quite numerous" *but* ". . . so many, *if not more*." Cf. *Metaphysics* 1022 A 11-12.

655 B 35: *ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου*. The *τούτου* refers *not* to the food of plants *but* to *τοῦ ἀχρήστου περιττώματος* (line 33).

657 B 21: *καὶ τὸ πρόσθιον ἀρχὴ τοῦ πλαγίου μᾶλλον* does *not* mean "it is better to have it (*scil.* the place of origin) in front than at the side" *but* "And the front is more of an *ἀρχή* than the side."

658 B 23-26: . . . *διὰ τὴν ἀπισῶσαν ἱκμάδα σωματικὴν οὔσαν . . . καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης* Peck takes as expressing *two* causes, failing to see that *διὰ τὴν . . . οὔσαν* is the *necessary* cause as opposed to the final cause given in lines 14-18. The whole sentence means "so that by reason of the fact that the moisture which comes off is corporeal, if some function of nature does not divert it to another use, hair must grow in these places *even through some such necessary cause*."

670 A 19: *τούτων* is *not* "the liver and the spleen" *but* all the viscera below the diaphragm.

677 B 21-22: *ἡ μὲν σὺν γένεσις ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβαίνει τοιαύτη τοῦ μορίου τούτου* Peck translates: "As for the formation of this part, it is such as it is owing to necessity." The subject, however, is *ἡ γένεσις ἐξ ἀνάγκης*; and the sentence means: "The necessary development of this part is as follows:" Then in 677 B 30 *ἡ μὲν σὺν γένεσις . . . συμβαίνει κατὰ τὸν λόγον τούτου* means *not* "This then is the rational basis of the formation . . ."

but "The development of the omentum occurs in this way." κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον does not refer to the final cause (as is shown by the next words, καταχρῆται δ' ἡ φύσις . . .) which is given only in 677 B 33 ff.: καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' . . . ὅτι . . .

678 A 3-4. Here Peck makes the same mistake. τὴν μὲν οὖν γένεσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὖσαν εὐρήσομεν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις μορίοις he renders "We shall find, as with the other parts, that the development . . . is of necessity." It means, however, "We shall find that it has, to be sure, a *necessary* development just as have the other parts." In 692 A 3-4 also Peck mistakes ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὲν οὖν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν αὐτοῖς which means "This, then, is the *necessary* cause why they have this ability." Cf. *De Gen. Anim.* 755 A 21-23, αὐξάνεται τὰ ᾧ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὲν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν which Aubert and Wimmer correctly translate: "Diess ist die nothwendige Ursache für dieses Wachsthum der Eier."

680 B 12-13: οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν . . . τὸ κύκλῳ ἀνόμοιον means *not* "that is, it (*scil.* the ovum) is not asymmetrically placed round the circumference . . ." but "For the circumference is not dissimilar . . .". Then τῷ δ' ἄνω τὸ τοιοῦτον μέρος (line 14) goes *with* the preceding ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς and means *not* "in the sea urchin it is on top" but "such a part (i. e. the head) serves for the *upper* part." Both Michaël Ephesius and Theodore of Gaza have this right.

689 A 11-12: τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον . . . τὴν γονήν. This Peck keeps and translates: "The same applies to the catamenia in females, and the part where they emit the seed." Since according to Aristotle the female does not emit seed, this can hardly stand. Now γονή is used of *male seed* as opposed to *καταμήνια* in lines 14-15. The proper sense in the present passage can be attained by changing τὴν γονήν to τῇ γονῇ. Neither Michael Ephesius nor Theodore of Gaza seems to have had τὴν γονήν and both treat γονή as exclusively male.

Professor Forster's treatment of the last two essays is in every way more "conservative" than the work of Dr. Peck. These treatises were edited by W. Jaeger in 1913, and Forster has adopted some sixteen of Jaeger's changes and has agreed with him as against Bekker in eleven choices of readings; he has followed Farquharson thrice and introduced ten changes of his own, only one of which is a conjecture. The interpretation of the frequently involved argument is usually correct, and the English style is a good approximation to the original. In the following passages, however, I believe the translation to be inexact.

698 B 1: ἡ ἀρχὴ ἣ πρὸς ὃ should be *not* "the origin to which the movement can be traced" but "the relative origin."

700 A 11: ὡς πρὸς μένον means *not* "in virtue of the fact that

the latter is at rest" *but* "as if upon a body at rest," for this part may be only *relatively* at rest.

701 A 20-21: *πράττει δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* cannot mean "The action results from the beginning of the train of thought" *but* "Action proceeds from a beginning" (i. e. the true principle of the productive process). The *conclusion*, *ἰμάτιον ποιητέον*, is here called *πράξις* (cf. *Metaphysics* 1032 B 15-17: *τῶν δὲ γενέσεων . . . ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ εἶδους νόησις, ἡ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου τῆς νοήσεως ποίησις*). After one has reached the *conclusion*, *ἰμάτιον ποιητέον*, one reasons back by "hypothetical necessity" to the conclusion which gives the necessary first step of the action.

702 A 31: *εἰ τὸ ζῶον ἦν βραχίων* Forster translates "if the forearm were a living creature." This interpretation, however, requires *ὁ βραχίων* which Jaeger prints.

702 B 7-8: *μηδὲ εἰ τι ἐστὶν ἕτερον ἐκείνου ἐξωτέρῳ* means *not* "nor in any other part which is further from it" *but* "or which has another beyond it."

709 A 20-21: *ἀνάγκη ἄρα κάμπεσθαι τὸ προῖόν καὶ κάμψαν ἄμα ἐκτείνειν θάτερον* Forster renders: "The advancing leg must therefore be bent, and the animal, as it bends it, must at the same time stretch the other leg." It is, of course, the leg *at rest* that is bent; *τὸ προῖόν* and *τὸ κινούμενον* (in line 16 b, which Forster translates "the leg which moves . . .") refer to *ζῶον* *not* to *κῶλον*, and the sentence means: "Therefore, the advancing animal must bend and at the same time that it has bent <the resting leg> must stretch out the other."

705 B 12: *ἐφ' ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ αἴσθησις πέφυκε καὶ ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἐκάστοις* means *not* "for the parts in which the sense perception is implanted," etc. *but* "for the direction in which sensation functions and whence," etc. Forster has been misled by Michael Ephesius who read *ἐφ' φ*, which is the reading of S and was that of Leo. See *De Caelo* 284 B 28-30 where some MSS have the same confusion and where *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἢ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν (κίνησιν)* guarantees *ἐφ' ὃ* and the sense.

708 B 3: *τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐτέραν ἀντίθεσιν μόνῃ* does *not* mean "it will rest it on a pair of opposite legs" *but* "it has a support for its body on one side only."

Notice should be taken of the full introduction which Dr. Peck has prefixed to the *Parts of Animals*; here he has given a complete synopsis of the treatise, a list of technical terms with their meanings, and a good account of the history of the translations of Aristotle's zoological works. Dr. F. H. A. Marshall has written a brief foreword to this treatise.

HAROLD CHERNISS.

A. LESKY. Die Griechische Tragödie. Leipzig, Kröner, 1938.
Pp. 258.

This book which the author announces as a concise introduction to the world of Greek tragedy is constructed on the conventional plan: 1) a discussion of the origins of the form and a brief section on the precursors of "the masters," 2) chapters on Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides consisting largely of summaries of the plays of each with an attempt to characterize their different attitudes toward the problem of human existence, 3) a short discussion of post-classical Greek tragedy and an outline of the textual tradition and modern literature on the subject.

There is a certain tendentiousness about the book, explicable perhaps by the fact that it is addressed primarily to a German audience but from the point of view of classical scholarship hardly justified by that fact; and this characteristic of the book is the more sharply emphasized by the author's own dislike for the "inartistic tendentiousness" of Euripides (p. 170). One cannot help wondering whether Professor Lesky's sympathy with the present-day suspicion of all "rationality" (p. 135) is not the real reason why he stresses the connection between the degeneration of tragic form and of Athenian democracy with the increasing concern for "rationalism." At any rate, it is strange to say that a comparison of Athena's speech to the citizens in the *Eumenides* with that of Theseus in Euripides' *Suppliants* shows clearly the development which led from "the word of divine might that lives in the *polis* to rationalistic debate" (p. 171); the defense of Orestes in the *Eumenides* is as rationalistic, in the pejorative sense of Professor Lesky, as anything in Euripides. It may be only an oversight when, in characterizing Aeschylus as "Erzieher der Polis," the author says that Aristophanes, in a time when this conception of art had been largely lost, makes Aeschylus in opposition to Euripides say that the purpose of his own work was to improve the men in the cities (p. 76); it is Euripides who in answer to Aeschylus' question thus defines the purpose of the good poet (*Frogs*, 1009-1010), and about this *definition* there is no debate between the two antagonists. It looks like something more than oversight, however, when in his eagerness to show that in the *Antigone* there can be no conflict between the divine laws and the laws of the *polis* (p. 100) Professor Lesky cites Haemon's remark in line 733 but fails to mention the following lines which alone bring out Haemon's real meaning:

πόλις γὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἦτις ἀνδρός ἐσθ' ἐνός (737).

The tendency to make a *Führertum* of the Athens of Aeschylus and Pericles (pp. 42 and 49) does not contribute to our com-

prehension of Greek tragedy, however clearly it may illustrate the adaptability of classical scholarship.

HAROLD CHERNISS.

THE JOHN HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

GENNARO PERROTTA. *Sophocle*. Messina and Milan, Casa ed. Giuseppe Principato, 1935. Pp. viii + 648. L. 40.

Books on Sophocles have come in battalions lately. This one is doubly welcome for its thoroughness, common sense, and Latin clarity. I will not be so unkind as to use against the author his remark about the work of the younger Wilamowitz, that one turns from his book on Sophocles to the poet himself with a feeling of relief. As Walt Whitman knew, the learned astronomer is never a substitute for the stars; yet analysis has its place in appreciation. Perrotta, too, provides much illuminating analysis; he knows what has been done on Sophocles, but he also knows the poet himself too well to be hypnotized by impressive names or theories. He tilts for instance in an appendix, with complete success, against the great Wilamowitz' interpretation of Euripides' *Heracles*. In his chronology he puts *Ajax* after *Antigone* and *Trachiniae* after *Philoctetes* for substantial reasons that are (alas!) not decisive. His late date for *Ichneutae*, the only incomplete play that he discusses, is confirmed by Walton's article in *Harvard Studies*, XLVI (1935).

It is as natural for the Italian critic to fall into rhetorical enthusiasm as for the German to lose himself in swelling mists of philosophic *autarkeia*. Perrotta concentrates in his appreciation on *poesia*, by which he means, I think, intensity or sublimity of character, situation, or expression. It is a law of nature that intensity is likely to be vague, personal, and subjective. We do not perhaps know just what features aroused intense emotion in Athenian audiences, yet in Sophocles we find always the glorification of an individual of exaggerated *thymos*—anger, hatred, resolution, indifference to fear or suffering—the arbitrary temper that is married to loneliness, as Plato says in the final warning of his letter to Dion. This glorification of military virtue is even stronger in Japanese drama, which lacks the female protagonists of Sophocles, as well as the depiction of youthful uncertainty and womanly weakness. To analyze an ideal involves a temporary divorce from emotion; reason becomes treason. So Perrotta belittles the importance of plot and psychology and exults in the unanalyzed sublime.

Hence he prefers *Ajax* and *Antigone* to the subtler and better-constructed later plays. He does not note the deeply moving emotional awakening of Orestes in the recognition scene of the *Electra*, nor accept as natural the vacillation in Neoptolemus'

behavior, as he casts off Odysseus and worldly success in passionate devotion to the savage but noble Philoctetes. The *Philoctetes* is a song of love for love, attuned to the Dorian mode. Nor does Perrotta see that Creon is a man of maxims, petty in his conceit and in his anger, who is content in *Oedipus Rex* to be a prince without a function and in the *Antigone* preaches down a young man's heart, taking all advice as a personal affront. Plato exiled drama and made *thymos* the natural subordinate of reason. Without going as far as that, one may prefer the dramatist who feels because he knows to the dramatist who merely feels; and Sophocles' greatness is far more a matter of plot and character and thought than Perrotta indicates.

The book is well got up except that the printer has sometimes had trouble with the Greek. The absence of an index is a blunder if not a crime.

L. A. Post.

Haverford College.

VOLKER NIEBERGALL. Griechische Religion und Mythologie in der ältesten Literatur der Römer. Giessen, 1937. Pp. 46. (Diss.)

This study of Greek Religion and Greek Mythology in Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius is a contribution to literary rather than to religious history. The first three poets, the author holds, writing for a public untouched by Hellenistic rationalism, shaped their work to accord with the deep religious faith of a people to whom the gods were still objects of awe and reverence. Greek gods appear in Roman guise. The Greek Zeus comes to the Roman Capitol. The emphasis on ancestry of the gods in Livius' fragments and the use of gods' names in metonymy in Naevius and Plautus are characteristic of Roman religious language. (Niebergall accepts Altheim as his guide in Roman Religion.) Since Fortuna did not loom large in Roman religious conceptions, the goddess of chance who reigns supreme in Menander is subordinated in Plautus to the Olympians. A new tendency destined to have lasting influence came in with Ennius who, instead of making his work correspond with Roman beliefs, presented the ideas of the Hellenistic world in which he was at home. Ennius' rationalism, which can be traced in his epic and his tragedies, seems to have come out most clearly in the *Euhemerus* and the *Epicharmus*. Although meticulous in recording his indebtedness to scholars like Leo, Fraenkel, W. F. Otto, and Altheim, Niebergall has slight acquaintance with classical scholarship produced outside of Germany. I find references to only three foreign scholars, Strezelecki, Kerenyi, and Calhoun. He could for instance have read with profit the first

three chapters of Frank's *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic*. Plautus' Roman audience, many of whom had seen service in Greek lands, was probably more familiar with contemporary Greek thought than Niebergall is disposed to believe.

The drama naturally provides the fullest material for this dissertation. There are two discussions of special interest. The first deals with Livius' adaptation of Greek drama and of course begins with an analysis of Livy VII, 2. Livy's account of the development of the drama is accepted in its general outlines, although there is no attempt to show how the details which he gives could have been preserved. According to Niebergall's interpretation of Livy, the drama which Livius Andronicus had seen presented with the religious ceremonial of *ludi scaenici* consisted of songs in varied metres sung to the accompaniment of the flute and of lively action and dancing which corresponded with the songs. In other words the plays (or dramatic *saturae*) were Cantica. Livius, like Plautus at a later time, seems to have made Greek drama fit Roman traditions by turning into Cantica considerable sections of the Greek plots which he took over. This interpretation of the Cantica as a development from the native Roman drama explains both the character of the drama which had been developing about a hundred and twenty years before Livius' first play and the appearance in Latin Comedy of a feature which is lacking in Greek New Comedy. Niebergall is quite unaware of the fact that his views have been anticipated by Lejay and Piganiol, and more recently by Boyancé (*Rev. Ét. Anc.*, XXXIV [1932], pp. 11 ff.).

The other discussion is concerned with the introduction on the Roman stage of Jupiter and Mercury in the *Amphitruo*. Since in the Roman view gods and kings belonged to tragedy, the *Amphitruo* is described in the prologue as a *tragicomoedia*, which, according to Niebergall, is a new term invented by Plautus to justify what might seem to be an irreverent treatment of the gods. In the Latin play Jupiter is handled with a respect which he probably did not receive in the Greek original.

Although Niebergall is not thoroughly at home in modern scholarship, he has read his ancient sources thoughtfully and independently and has written with freshness and vigor. One may look with interest for further work from his pen.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

S. RONZEVALLE, S. J. Jupiter Héliopolitain, Nova et Vetera. Notes et Études d'Archéologie Orientale III Sér. 2. (Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph, XXI, 1.) Beyrouth, Imprimerie catholique, 1937. Pp. 181; 53 plates, 17 figures. 100 Fr.

The supreme interest of Syria to all students of antiquity is becoming clearer every year; so also is the continuity of fusion in religion and art within its borders. No praise could be too high for the work of the Jesuit Fathers of the Catholic University of Beyrouth during the last thirty years in recording and interpreting monuments as they came to light. Ronzevalle, Mousterde, Jalabert have constituted a most beneficent triad. The only feeling other than joy which this volume brings to a reviewer arises from the fact that it is the last from Ronzevalle's pen, and that we cannot look forward to the researches promised on pp. 139 f., "si mes forces très défailantes ne viennent à me trahir."

What we have here is a magnificent collection of materials relating to the cult of Baalbek and to derivative and parallel phenomena in the region. A description of the new evidence and new interpretations presented would have to be lengthy.¹ In particular, a flood of light is thrown upon the young god, "Dieu-Fils" of the Heliopolitan triad, who is shown to have been intimately associated with agricultural and pastoral pursuits. In Greek he could be either Hermes or Dionysos or Adonis. The data for this view are abundant, and I think it is convincing. We may well suppose that there were once many such local figures, all fairly similar, who became even more similar under the strength of the influence which radiated from Baalbek, just as local gods were assimilated to Hadad (p. 118) and various local deities believed to dwell in sacred stone were united as Zeus Baitylos τῶν πρὸς τῇ Ὀρόντῃ.² There is a Hittite analogy, "alle Wettergötter, alle Hepits, alle Istars."³ Ronzevalle's emphasis on the presence and enduring importance of the agrarian side by side with the celestial in the piety of Baalbek is fundamental; there was not an antithesis but a direct link between the two.

The octagonal altar of Fikī is then studied. While the reader should turn to Cumont's review, *J. R. S.*, XXVIII (1938), pp. 87 f. for his novel and brilliant interpretation, the detailed comments of Ronzevalle remain most important. Finally, there

¹ For a good summary cf. F. R. Walton, *A. J. A.*, XLII (1938), pp. 435 f.

² P. 61, as explained by H. Seyrig.

³ A. Götte, *Kleinasten* (in *Kulturgesch. d. a. Orients*, ed. W. Otto), p. 124.

is a collection of plates illustrating the veils worn by goddesses in the Near East and the divine gesture of benediction. Rönzevalle did not live to write the comments which he had in mind, but his repertory is invaluable, and many remarks earlier in the book indicate the nature of the interpretation which he intended. While mourning for what is denied to us, we cannot be too thankful for what has been given.

CARL KOCH. Der römische Juppiter. (Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike, XIV.) Frankfurt a. M., Klostermann, 1937. Pp. 136. M. 7.

Koch is one of Altheim's fellow-workers and we already owe to him a useful monograph: *Gestirnverehrung im alten Italien*. This work is also welcome. The first chapter handles the question "Die römische Religion, vormythisch oder entmythisiert?" Was Roman belief unique among the religions of the world in being completely without imagination? Koch adduces E. Tabetling's analysis of Ovid's account of *dea Tacita*, and shows the coherence of myth and cult in this instance. He then remarks that the language of Roman cult in the time which we know (when of course there can be no doubt that the application of the framework of Greek mythology was current) never includes references to mythological relationships, although its grouping of deities never violates these relationships, while Italian cult phrases do not shrink from saying "daughter of Juppiter." This is an important observation. Though the groupings at *lectisternia* (p. 28) are not relevant, since the custom is admittedly borrowed from the Greeks, there was a repugnance to the use of explicit terms of relationship. Koch is further right in saying that differentiation by sex was an essential part of the Roman concept of deity.¹

The rest of the monograph is devoted to an attempt to prove that the Roman figure of Juppiter originally had chthonic elements which were later put aside and which survived in Vediovis and in non-Roman cults in Italy.² The argument is close and interesting, and deserves the careful attention of all students of ancient religion (e. g., pp. 39 ff. on *indiges*). The conclusion seems to me to contain an important truth, which might be

¹ But *sive mas sive femina* is a matter of legalistic caution: cf. Serv., *ad Aen.*, II, 351, *genio urbis Romae, sive mas sive femina*, said to be inscribed on a Capitoline shield, though a Genius was after all definitely masculine.

² Koch's references to Zeus Meilichios (pp. 34 ff.) require now to be reconsidered in the light of Nilsson's recent remarks, *Arch. f. Rel.*, XXXV (1938), pp. 163 ff.

formulated thus. The name of Juppiter was at Rome associated with a wide range of divine activities at very different levels.³ So were other divine names, notably Mars,⁴ and, when they were specialized by particular epithets, e.g. Juppiter Feretrius, the combination of name and epithet constituted an independent entity. Rome, as contrasted with some other Italian communities, showed a tendency to recoil from specializations of Juppiter which involved a chthonic tinge. This dislike was perhaps accentuated and crystallized as a result of the creation of the Capitoline cult, but the taboos applied to the *flamen Dialis* must be older and suggest that the repugnance had earlier roots. At the same time, if the name of Juppiter was associated with cult-ceremonies of other types, that association could not be broken.

On Koch's more general thesis, that Roman religion was deliberately stripped of myth, we should be cautious. K. Vahlert is probably right in rejecting the common idea that the hardness of Rome's early struggle for existence limited the play of the fancy.⁵ But when Koch asks whether we are to suppose in Rome an unparalleled absence of imagination, we may reply by asking whether we are instead to suppose an unparalleled rejection of the fruits of imagination. Our notions of myth are too much based on Greece; the sharpness of Greek anthropomorphism is a product of the heroic age and, apart from the Etruscans, there is no indication of anything like a heroic age in Italy. The Romans, like other people, envisaged forces of nature and other factors in life under personal terms: to do otherwise requires deliberate sophisticated thinking. But the myths did not take vivid form: whereas in Greece the normative element in religion was largely due to poets, in Rome it was due to men of a juristic and constitutional temper.

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

ENZO V. MARMORALE. Giovenale. Naples, R. Riccardi, 1938.
Pp. 156. L. 10.

Marmorale presents an evaluation of Juvenal which is based on careful study of the *Satires* and of the literature concerning them. In Chapter I, "The Moralism of Juvenal," he contends that this writer is not a moralist, because he has no philosophical education, because he has no plan or intuition of a better world than that in which he lives, and because he lacks serenity and disinterestedness. Reference might have been made to L. Haley, "The Thou Shalt Nots in Juvenal," *Class. Journ.*, XXI (1926),

³ Cf. H. J. Rose in *Custom is King* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 51 ff.

⁴ Cf. now R. Stark, *Arch. f. Rel.*, XXXV (1938), pp. 139 ff.

⁵ *Praedeismus und Römische Religion* (Diss. Frankfurt, 1935), pp. 30 f.

pp. 268-280 for an exposure in lighter vein of the inadequacy of Juvenal's moralism. The second chapter, "Poetry in the Work of Juvenal," and part of the third and last, "The Real Juvenal," are devoted to a study of the style of the *Satires*, in the course of which the influence of rhetoric both on form and on content is weighed. The general conclusion of the book is that Juvenal is not a moralist nor yet a poet, but a man of letters who pleases because he gives forceful and distinguished expression to "a content which is neither new nor sublime but which corresponds to his own actual feelings (*alla realtà dell' anima sua*)" (p. 155). Marmorale's philosophical standpoint is apparently that of neo-idealism.

Misprints are: p. 57, *questa mondo* for *questo mondo*; p. 87, n. 1, *ἀθλιώτερον* for *ἀθλιώτερον*; p. 109, *VII* for *VIII*; p. 120, *estotico* for *estetico*; p. 138, *retournous* for *retournons*; p. 142, *solto* for *solo*; p. 144, *cadaderi* for *cadaveri* and (n. 1) *fait* for *fuit*; p. 145, *nateriale* for *materiale* and *nella* for *nella*; p. 147, *oct* for *octo*; Table of Contents, *12* for *127*.

GOUCHER COLLEGE.

ALICE F. BRAUNLIQH.

BENIAMINO STUMPO. Il fanciullo miracoloso dell' ecloga IV di Virgilio. Amatrice, Tipografia dell' Orfanotrofio Maschile, 1938. Pp. 111. L. 5.

This short and lucid essay renews, with additional arguments, the author's contention, published thirty-odd years ago, that Vergil's fourth Eclogue was intended as a *genethliacon* for Octavian. The obvious difficulty that Octavian was not being born at the time is met by the reasonable argument that Vergil, like Statius, took the liberty of placing himself at the long-past birth of his subject. Thence in his prophecy for the child he ranged up to and beyond the time at which the poem was written. Stumpo dates the poem in late 40 or early 39 B. C., apparently tacitly assuming that it celebrates the peace of Brundisium and that it could plausibly be published as a *genethliacon* although Octavian's birthday was some little time past, both of which assumptions are reasonable.

The essence of the theory is that Octavian was the child. The author has sketched rather than presented exhaustively the application of this theory to the text of the poem. Those who read Italian and have one afternoon to spare can read the essay, but anyone who has the facts about Octavian and the period well in mind can easily imagine the course of the argument and check it against the text.

The other chief problem, that of the tone of the poem, is boldly

attacked in a positive way, and the conclusion is reached that the tone was chiefly Greco-Roman. For instance, attention is called to the importance of Apollo in Roman history and in Octavian's thought and to the familiar rôle of the Sibyl as prophet in Roman history. "Virgo" is regarded as Astraea. The cycles are called Etruscan.

'Bradley's Arnold' Latin Prose Composition. Edited and Revised by J. F. MOUNTFORD. London, New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co., 1938. Pp. xii + 443. \$2.

Professor Mountford has prepared a very satisfactory new edition of our old friend "Bradley's Arnold." The plan of the book remains the same. The changes, generally speaking, are three. First, the theory of the grammar is now that of our times. Secondly, there are innumerable small changes resulting in a crisper presentation of principles. Thirdly, 125 English passages for translation of twenty to twenty-five lines each have been added as an appendix. The book will now be more useful than ever.

R. M. HAYWOOD.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. LX, 4

WHOLE No. 240

BRUTUS DE VIRTUTE.

Of all the heroic characters of Roman antiquity none has enjoyed a better "press" than Marcus Junius Brutus. His modern fame may be traced chiefly to Plutarch's sympathetic and sometimes eloquent life, and once again it was his fortune to fall into the hands of a poet, who, by the magic of verse and action, raised to a higher power the warmth of Plutarch's prose. Plutarch and Shakespeare, a combination hard to surpass, and reminiscent of Alexander's sigh at the tomb of Achilles—O fortunate adulescens qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris!

In Brutus it was *virtus* too, but of another kind, which all but supplanted the man, and came to be personified in a half-mythical figure, which tradition began to work on from the moment of his death—yes, even before. Plutarch received the tradition fully grown and had little to do but to give it skillful expression. The purity of Brutus' motives in all his conduct is the highest testimony to his perfect virtue that Plutarch can summon: "Even those who hated him on account of his conspiracy against Caesar, ascribed whatever was noble in the undertaking to Brutus." Or, in Shakespeare's words,

All the conspirators save only he
Did that they did in envy of great Caesar;
He only in a general honest thought
And common good to all made one of them.

Shakespeare can scarcely have known the *Dialogue* of Tacitus, which in almost the same words praises the fair-mindedness of Brutus in the literary quarrels and recriminations of the time: solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia,

sed simpliciter et ingenue iudicium animi sui detexisse.¹ Plutarch and the other sources harp on the reputation of Brutus for virtue, until one might have thought that, like Aristides at Athens, his popularity would have suffered from an excess of perfection. But, if we may believe Plutarch, the common people of Rome had such persuasion of his uprightness, that they would not hear even of wrong-doing on his part as other than undertaken in a spirit of honor and justice. Facing death after the defeat at Philippi he regarded himself, Plutarch reports, as more to be envied than his conquerors, "since he was leaving behind him such a name for virtue as those who had prevailed over him, with all their wealth and power, could never leave." In such words one may see the tradition in process of formation, with Brutus himself made the prophet of his own posthumous fame. Plutarch does not report the dying words which Dio puts into the mouth of Brutus. For Plutarch they would have had a shattering effect upon this assurance of immortality.

ὦ τλήμων ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ'· ἐγὼ δέ σε
ὡς ἔργον ἥσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ.²

(Ah wretched Virtue, thou wert then but a name!
Yet thee I followed as a thing substantial,
Whilst of a truth thou art but Fortune's slave.)

But like other ancient accounts of Brutus which pictured him in a less favorable light, so too this confession of disillusionment was overborne in the chorus of glorification which crystallized into a uniform tradition not long after his death.

As a user of the spoken and written word his fame was two-fold, as an orator and as a philosopher. It is not to our present purpose to review the ancient testimony to his eloquence. Cicero in the *Brutus* exaggerates it, and speaks in especially glowing terms of the speech before Caesar in behalf of King Deiotarus. Plutarch is restrained and says only that he was an adequate pleader, and from Tacitus in the *Dialogue* we gather the impression of his time, that Brutus was accounted old fashioned and dull.³ Quintilian does not include his name in his brief list

¹ *Dial.*, ch. 25.

² Nauck, *Frag. Trag.*, 374, cited in part by Plutarch, *De superstitione*, ch. 1. Theodorus (on Dio, 47, 49): & γὰρ φησὶ (Brutus) . . . ἀγεννή ταῦτα λέγει καὶ Βρούτου ψυχῆς ἀνάξια.

³ *Dial.*, ch. 21.

of Roman orators, reserving him for high praise as a writer of philosophy: Egregius vere multoque quam in orationibus prae-stantior Brutus sufficit ponderi rerum; scias eum sentire quae dicit. In like manner Tacitus (21) says: Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus, nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua etiam admiratores eius fatentur. But the record of his philosophical writings is slight: treatises *de Officiis* (*περὶ καθήκοντος*), *de Patientia*, and *de Virtute*, of which only the last is more than a mere title.

To the closer definition of this work, its nature and occasion, I now turn. Since our principal source of knowledge concerning it will be derived from the Ciceronian dialogue bearing the name of Brutus, I must ask patience for a brief outline of the opening pages of this work. Its composition is essentially co-incident with the scene of the dialogue itself and the historical situation in which it is set. The battle of Thapsus (April 6, 46 B. C.) has not yet been fought, or at all events news of it has not yet reached Rome. The Roman world is waiting, eager and tense to learn the outcome of the final conflict between Caesar and the re-assembled forces of the Pompeians, under the leadership of Scipio and Cato. Cicero, writing to Mescinius Rufus early in April of 46, speaks of waiting in Rome for news from Africa (*expectatio rerum Africanarum*) and gives this as a reason for remaining in the city, where he can, in the expected crisis of victory or defeat for his own hopes, have the advice and counsel of friends for the future. Rumors of every kind are drifting about of successes and disasters to one side or the other, but there is no certain knowledge. It is with such a phrase of anxious inquiry that the dialogue opens with Cicero's question: "Any news yet?" (*numquid tandem novi?*). "Nothing," replies Brutus, "nothing at all events which you would wish to hear or I should venture to report as certain."

The interlocutors are Cicero himself, Atticus, and Brutus, whom Atticus has brought with him to ask for the continuation of the subject which Cicero had begun at an earlier time with Atticus alone. Cicero welcomes them cordially, and deprecating the suggestion that their presence would lead to melancholy reflections on the state of public affairs, assures them that their presence lightens his anxiety, just as their letters had brought him solace in his absence. For it was through the influence of

their letters that his spirits had been restored and he had recalled himself once more to his earlier studies: nam vestris primum litteris recreatus me ad pristina studia revocavi (11). To this allusion Atticus replies that he had read with keenest interest the letter which Brutus had written from Asia, and he praises it as containing sound advice and affectionate consolation. Cicero thereupon takes up the theme of Brutus' letter, and with much warmth of feeling tells how it had come to him as a ray of light in the darkness of long distress of mind and body. Brutus acknowledges the praise modestly, but turns to ask what the letter of Atticus was which had given Cicero so much pleasure. In similar extravagant words Cicero speaks of the salutary influence of Atticus' letter: it had brought him more than pleasure, it had saved his life. Upon Brutus' surprise at this extravagant praise, it develops that the letter of Atticus in question is the historical-chronological treatise which we know as the *Liber Annalis* (the specific title is not named) dedicated to Cicero. Atticus now in turn makes acknowledgment of this praise, and Cicero then proceeds to assure Atticus that he will make repayment to him in kind; but that for the present, because of the long interruption of his studies, he can do nothing but avow the will to pay. Brutus expresses pleasure at this promise and volunteers to act as the agent of Atticus in exacting payment. Atticus accepts his help but, now speaking in behalf of Brutus, insists that it is his duty to make demand on Cicero for the payment of the debt which Cicero owes to Brutus; quoniam hic quod mihi deberetur se exacturum professus est, quod huic debes ego a te peto. In these words Atticus indicates that the present dialogue, dedicated to Brutus and called by his name, is to be Cicero's discharge of the obligation which he owes Brutus for the "letter from Asia."

The summary of this opening scene of the dialogue has been somewhat detailed, for the purpose of making perfectly clear the even balance between Cicero and the two interlocutors. Cicero has had letters from both which he characterizes extravagantly as restoring him to life and activity after the long despair of the year of uncertainty at Brundisium (approximately October 48 to the end of September 47). Of these two letters the one from Brutus "ex Asia" is not immediately characterized in respect of its contents otherwise than by the brief words of Atticus, that

it conveyed good advice and affectionate solace. The letter of Atticus is the *Liber Annalis*, the important historical work known to us from other sources. Both writings are referred to only by the general term *litterae*, and to both of these "letters" appropriate repayment is recognized as a debt due—to Atticus in the form of some future study which Cicero promises but cannot now pay, to Brutus in a work which shall be the written record (*ut scribas aliquid*) of the discussion which follows.*

Whether the payment to Atticus which Cicero contemplated was in fact ever made does not appear. Payment to Brutus however was in process at the moment of writing, and it took appropriately as its title the name of the one whose debt it discharged. What then was the "letter from Asia"? Was it in fact merely a letter of admonition and consolation of no more ambitious scope than a casual private letter? So it has seemed apparently to such scholars as have had occasion to allude to the matter. But if our dialogue is conceived of by Cicero as pay-

*In this explanation of the words assigned to Atticus I find myself at variance with such commentators as have touched on them. They assume that allusion is made to some future work, not yet defined, which shall repay the debt, and they suggest the *Orator* as its probable fulfilment. *Quod huic debes ego a te peto. Quidnam id?* Cicero asks. *Ut scribas aliquid*, Atticus replies; *iam pridam enim conticuerunt tuas litterae*. Then, after referring to the *de Re Publica* of the year 54 as Cicero's last literary work, he continues, *sed illa cum poteris atque ut possis rogo, nunc vero expone nobis quod quaerimus*—words which introduce the theme of the *Brutus*. It appears then that Atticus contemplates a prompt discharge of the debt to Brutus, the first duty of Cicero's pen. He makes, to be sure, a distinction between the written work which Cicero is urged to furnish and the present discussion, so that it may seem that the two things cannot be identical. But this distinction is imposed by the dialogue form, which obviously cannot refer to the present and impending discussion as a written book; it is, by literary convention, only a present, fleeting conversation between friends. When it is recorded and distributed for all to read (at Cicero's convenience—*cum poteris atque ut possis*) it will be the writing which Atticus craves as discharging the debt to Brutus, and appropriately it will bear his name. The *Orator*, which has been thought of as realizing Atticus' hope, is an outgrowth of the *Brutus* itself and was evoked by dissent on the part of Brutus and others from the principles and examples of oratory which Cicero had there upheld and illustrated. At the time of writing the *Brutus* Cicero cannot reasonably have entertained the plan of writing the *Orator*.

ment of a debt which he owes to Brutus, in the same sense as acknowledgment is made of a debt to Atticus, we should I think be inclined to suspect that the letter of Brutus was some work of larger scope and ambition than a private letter, and more nearly comparable to the "letter" of Atticus, the *Liber Annalis*, which it parallels in Cicero's account. In short, since our title has already given the plot away, why is not the "letter from Asia" the treatise *de Virtute*?

This work is alluded to by Cicero in two of his philosophical writings of a date subsequent to the *Brutus*; first in the introduction to the *de Finibus* (I, 8), where Cicero makes his well known apology for writing on philosophy in Latin. He will not shrink (he says), as did Lucilius, from readers of every class, learned as well as unlearned. "What reader need I fear when I dare to address you, Brutus, who do not yield even to the Greeks themselves in philosophy. In fact I am undertaking this at your instigation, challenged by that delightful work which you addressed to me *de Virtute*." Again, at the beginning of the fifth book of the *Tusculans*, Cicero announces his subject as one that is sure to find favor with Brutus: "I know from the profound book which you dedicated to me, as well as from many utterances in private conversation, that you accept the doctrine which I shall here present on the fifth day of our disputations, that virtue in and of itself is sufficient for happiness." The disputation proper begins at section 12. The feigned interlocutor or adversarius (A) denies the proposition. He is prepared to grant that virtue is adequate for right, for honorable, for praiseworthy living, even for living the good life, but he balks at the predicate of happy (*beate*). "But," replies Cicero, "to my good friend Brutus virtue seems sufficient for living a happy life, and his judgment, if you will pardon me, I place above yours." The argument then proceeds in dialectical fashion to break down the resistance of this imaginary opponent. This passage from the *Tusculans* yields the most precise indication of the drift of Brutus' argument, viz. the proposition, as expressed in Cicero's words, *virtutem ad beate vivendum se ipsa esse contentam*. It might well seem therefore that Cicero's discussion of the same topic should contain matter drawn from the discussion of Brutus. This can be neither affirmed nor denied, though it is unlikely that Cicero,

in a work dedicated to Brutus, should have introduced any direct borrowings without specific acknowledgment. But there is not in fact any further allusion to Brutus, and the apparent parallelism of theme must be explained in some other way. One might perhaps gather a hint from the general preface of the *Tusculans*, in which Cicero reiterates the doctrine set forth in the *de Oratore*, that philosophy is a larger field for eloquence and should be set forth with the same fullness and effectiveness as oratory. It would therefore be conceivable and not without probability that Cicero chose here to give an example of how the same theme, treated by Brutus with philosophical precision, could be treated *copiose et ornate*. It would thus serve as a concrete illustration of the differences in respect of literary style which separated the two men. But this is an inquiry which is apart from our present purpose.

Apart then from the *de Finibus* and the *Tusculans* there is but one other ancient allusion to our treatise. It occurs in the so-called dialogue of Seneca *ad Helviam matrem*, written from his Corsican exile and professing with Stoical fortitude to console his mother for his banishment, though doubtless with the ulterior aim of seeking his recall. After a general preface on the nature and limits of consolation, he begins his treatment with the assurance that no evil has befallen him, that he is not unhappy, that indeed nothing can render him unhappy. From this he proceeds to the question "What is exile?" and from the simple answer "Why nothing but a change of place," this theme is developed at much length, with considerable interesting illustration of the human urge to exploration and travel, pointed with characteristic Senecan *sententiae*. Over against the ills which exile involves in removal to a strange place, Varro, he says, holds this to be a sufficient remedy, "that wherever we come we find the same order of nature for our use and enjoyment." Marcus Brutus, again, thinks this suffices, "that those who go into exile are free to take with them their own virtues" (ch. 8, 1). How little then is that which we have lost! For whithersoever we go the two fairest things will go with us, nature common to all and our own virtue, *natura communis et propria virtus*. Whoever or whatever created the universe (and man in it) saw to it that only the meanest and cheapest things should be dependent on

the will of another. If you must live in a hut surely you would reveal a mean and paltry spirit by consoling yourself with the reflection that Romulus too lived in a hut. Say rather that that humble hut shelters all the virtues, and it will seem to you more beautiful than any temple. No place is cramped, no exile is hard, to which one may go attended by such a throng of companions.

There follows then (ch. 9):

Brutus in eo libro quem de virtute composuit ait se Marcellum vidisse Mytilenis exultantem et, quantum modo natura hominis pateretur, beatissime viventem neque umquam cupidiores bonarum artium quam illo tempore. Itaque adiecit: visum sibi se magis in exilium ire qui sine illo rediturus esset, quam illum in exilio relinquere (4).

Idem Brutus ait: O. Caesarem Mytilenas praetervectum, quia non sustineret videre deformatum virum (6).

Num dubitas quin se ille Marcellus tantus vir, sic ad tolerandum aequo animo exilium saepe adhortatus sit? quod patria cares non est miserum. Ita te disciplinis imbuisti ut scires omnem locum sapienti viro patriam esse. Quid porro? hic qui te expulit, non ipse per annos decem continuos patria caruit? (7).

To return now to the Ciceronian dialogue. In sections 249 and 250 Cicero, in order to remain consistent in not himself referring to living orators, elicits from Brutus a characterization of Marcellus. Passing over the more technical characterization of his style and action, let me cite the more general words in which Brutus describes his visit to Marcellus in exile at Mytilene:

maximeque laudandus est (Marcellus), qui hoc tempore ipso, quod liceat in hoc communi nostro et quasi fatali malo, consoletur se cum conscientia optima mentis tum etiam usurpatione et renovatione doctrinae. Vidi enim Mytilenis nuper virum atque, ut dixi, vidi plane virum (250).

It will require, I think, no argument to make it clear that we have here in Cicero material drawn from the same source as Seneca. But Seneca is specific in designating his source as Brutus *de Virtute*, where Cicero merely introduces Brutus as relating the impressions of a recent visit. If the *Brutus* were thought of as a faithful account, either stenographic or from memory, of a real conversation, we might say naturally enough that Brutus repeated in conversation what he had elsewhere

written in a treatise. But obviously the dialogue scene of Cicero is a literary fiction, and we cannot go wrong in concluding that both Cicero and Seneca are drawing from a common literary source.

Turning now to a comparison of the two passages, we may note that, apart from the words expressly cited from Brutus, there is more in the Senecan account derived from the *de Virtute* than the words expressly cited. Note first Seneca's phrase *beatissime viventem*, which confirms our conclusion above that Brutus' theme (like that of the fifth *Tusculan*) was *virtutem ad beate vivendum se ipsa esse contentam*. The words too which follow in Seneca, *neque umquam cupidiores bonarum artium quam illo tempore*, have their counterpart in the Ciceronian *usurpatione et renovatione doctrinas* (under the guidance of the scholarly Cratippus). The sententious antithesis which follows in Seneca as a direct citation from Brutus (that on leaving Marcellus he felt himself more of an exile than was Marcellus who remained in exile) Cicero had no occasion to use, dealing as he was with an oratorical characterization. Upon this as a theme Seneca plays his usual rhetorical variations (in section 5), which presumably have nothing to do with either Brutus or Cicero. But his repeated *quantus vir, quantus vir* may well be an echo of Brutus' *vidi enim Mytilenis nuper virum atque, ut dixi, vidi plane virum*.⁵

As above Brutus played upon the paradox of himself as more of an exile than Marcellus, so in Seneca there follows another

⁵ The word *vir*, used first in its purely appellative meaning, is repeated emphatically and raised to a higher power (*plane virum*). While the English word *man* may be used in the same way, yet it is quite possible that Brutus the philosopher had in mind a quasi-technical usage characteristic of Stoic dogma. For to be a *man*, in the full sense of the word, embraced every attribute of excellence or virtue that pertains to human nature. The title of such an one was not *φιλόσοφος* (though he alone could hope to earn it) but *ἀνθρώπος*, and it is this predicate which Brutus awards to Marcellus. The relationship in Latin of *vir* and *virtus* pointed this conception more sharply than was possible in Greek. This usage of *ἀνθρώπος* is found repeatedly in Epictetus (cf. Bonhöffer, *Epictet und die Stoa*, p. 13). It is of some curious interest to recall the eulogy of Antony pronounced on Brutus himself:

that Nature might stand up

And say to all the world, *this was a Man*.

paradox, that even Caesar (whom Seneca for his purpose represents as having sent Marcellus into exile) was in fact by his long absences from Rome, in Gaul, in Egypt, in Asia, an exile himself. There is nothing of this traceable to Brutus, but the same motif occurs in the fifth *Tusculan* (107): *quantum tandem a perpetua peregrinatione differt (exsilium)*. However, the topic seems to have been a commonplace of the theme and very possibly had a place among other such consolatory considerations in the treatise of Brutus.

The letter from Asia, which Cicero describes as having renewed in him life and hope, is characterized by Atticus as giving wise admonition and affectionate solace. That is exactly the purpose for which Seneca uses his citation from the *de Virtute*, and exactly what might be expected from the proposition that virtue of itself was sufficient for the happy conduct of life. This then was the admonition of which Atticus speaks, and how much Cicero needed it in that year of quasi-exile at Brundisium his letters of that time are eloquent witnesses. As for solace, we know also that the letter of Brutus sought to console Cicero by reminding him of his past merits toward the state and by assuring him that their memory was imperishable:

ea consolatione sustentor quam tu mihi, Brute, adhibuisti tuis suavissimis litteris, quibus me forti animo esse oportere censebas, quod ea gessissem quae de me, etiam me tacente, ipsa loquerentur, mortuo viverent; quae si recte esset,^o salute rei publicae, sin secus, interitu ipso, testimonium meorum de re publica consiliorum darent (330).

When, at the beginning of the *Brutus* (12), Cicero speaks with exaggerated warmth of the effect that Brutus' letter had in restoring him to himself and of leading him out of darkness into the light once more, he reinforces this assurance with an illustration from the Second Punic War: how, after the defeat at Cannae and the prostration which followed, the victory of Marcellus at Nola raised the prostrate Roman people to its feet once more. It is perhaps fanciful, but I wonder whether this example of the heroism of the old Marcellus may not have been suggested to Cicero by the moral "victory" of this latest scion

^o *Si recte esset*, impersonal: "if things go well" (to avoid specific and ill-omened suggestion of disaster), that is, "if the state survive."

of the Claudii Marcelli. Perhaps speculation may go a step farther and question whether Brutus himself had not already made the comparison.

The letter of Brutus was sent from Asia, as Atticus says, without more precise designation of the place or time. Concerning Brutus' movements and sojourn subsequent to the defeat at Pharsalus we are without precise information. Plutarch tells us that after the battle he escaped by night to Larissa, whence he wrote to Caesar offering submission, and that he not only was pardoned but was made a highly honored and trusted companion. Whether he accompanied Caesar to Egypt in pursuit of Pompey is unknown. Caesar himself spent the remainder of the year and until the following summer in Egypt, and then proceeded to Syria and Asia Minor, where he attacked and defeated Pharnaces at Zela in Pontus on Aug. 2, 47 B. C. At Nicaea in Bithynia he listened to the plea of Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, for pardon, and was moved apparently to grant it by the fervent intercession of Brutus, whose speech on this occasion is praised by Cicero (*Brutus* 21) as a masterpiece of eloquence. This is the first information that we have of Brutus since Pharsalus and Larissa in the autumn of the year preceding, and we can only guess how much of that time he had been on the staff or in the closer retinue of Caesar (*ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα περὶ αὐτόν*). From Nicaea Caesar embarked at some point on the adjacent coast, and sailing past Mytilene, at the mouth of the gulf of Adrymettium, proceeded on to Italy, where he arrived at Tarentum on or about September 24, 47 B. C.*

Brutus, however, who had been his companion during the Asiatic campaign (if not longer) returned more leisurely, stopping first at Mytilene, where he found Marcellus, and again at Samos, where he met Servius Sulpicius (*Brutus* 156). These two men, colleagues in the consulship of 51, were the two most distinguished of the unreconciled Pompeians, and it is a natural suspicion that Brutus' visit to them contemplated proposals of reconciliation with the victorious regime and return to Rome. Brutus was well suited to such a mission, since he made no disguise, it would seem, of his devotion to the lost cause, and must have justified his present adhesion to Caesar as the most prac-

* O. E. Schmidt, *Briefwechsel*, p. 226.

tical way of saving something from the wreck of the republican state, or even of restoring it. He even suggests (as we have seen) that Caesar himself was moved by the loyalty of Marcellus, so that he could not bear to see and meet the unhappy exile, and therefore sailed past to avoid such a meeting.

The battle of Zela occurred early in August. Some time for adjustment of the political situation must have elapsed, such as is suggested by the episode of Deiotarus at Nicaea. We may assume, therefore, that toward the end of August or in early September Brutus arrived at Mytilene and visited Marcellus. Here on the coast he was once more in touch with the world and learned by report, or by personal letter, of Cicero's unhappy suspense at Brundisium. In the time and political situation it is inevitable to suspect that, just as his visits to Mytilene and Samos aimed to effect a reconciliation between the two distinguished ex-consuls and Caesar, so his ultimate motive in addressing Cicero looked to the same end. Whether his writing proceeded from his own initiative (like his visit to Marcellus and Sulpicius) or from some communication addressed to him by Cicero, it took the form of a consolatory letter, with admonition on the sufficiency of virtue for happiness, instancing the fortitude and cheerfulness of Marcellus in like position.⁸

The letter, or as it is known to us from other allusions, the

⁸ Schmidt (*Briefwechsel*, p. 33), not recognizing the character of Brutus' letter and its identity with the treatise *de Virtute*, attributes to it a more specific political motive and content than the evidence justifies. Tyrrell (vol. IV, Introd. p. xlvii), without himself apprehending its true character, wisely checks Schmidt's exuberance. Somewhat more than a year later Brutus addressed to Cicero a letter of consolation on the death of Tullia (February 45 B. C.). If the letter *ad Brutum* I, 9 is genuine we gather a hint of the nature of this composition, apart from its personal application to Cicero and to the circumstance which elicited it: *me quidem cum rationes quas collegeras tum auctoritas tua a nimio maerore deterruit*. The *rationes* which Brutus had brought together are doubtless the traditional *lógoi de maerore diminuendo*, and they suggest that in similar vein "the letter from Asia" contained an assembly of similar topics *de exilio*, subsumed under the proposition *virtutem ad beate vivendum se ipsa esse contentam*. Its nearest analogue in extant literature might then be Seneca's *ad Helviam matrem*, and we have already seen evidence of Seneca's indebtedness to Brutus, which may extend farther than we can now recognize.

treatise *de Virtute* was written certainly for Cicero in his quasi-exile at Brundisium. As we have seen, Caesar arrived at Tarentum about the twenty-fourth of September, and the meeting and reconciliation with Cicero followed immediately. On the first of October Cicero is already on his way home, and from Venusia wrote the laconic note to Terentia, demanding that everything be made ready for his return at his Tusculan villa—especially a bath (*Fam.* 14, 20). It may well be that the letter of Brutus did not find him at Brundisium, but Cicero's acknowledgment of it in our dialogue conveys the tone and emotion of the situation for which it was intended—the miseries and uncertainties of political exile.

This then was the "letter from Asia," and whether written at Mytilene, or a little later at Samos, the designation of source is correct, since both islands belonged to the Roman province of Asia. It was a personal letter to Cicero, containing in this dress or form a discussion of the theme of the sufficiency of virtue for happiness. In much the same way the *Orator* is a personal letter to Brutus, embracing the general discussion of a rhetorical subject. The letter may, to be sure, have undergone some revision when it was put forth for the public under the title *de Virtute*, just as did apparently the *Orator*. But of the essential identity of the *epistula ex Asia* with the treatise there can be, I think, little doubt.

In conclusion, to resume the points of view which have here been advanced, I have endeavored to point out the occasion and nature of Brutus' "letter from Asia," its identity with the treatise *de Virtute*, and finally that the *Brutus* itself, rather than some later work of Cicero's pen,⁹ is the immediate repayment of the debt which Atticus enjoins.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

⁹ I do not of course overlook the fact that the *de Finibus* and the *Tusculans*, which are both dedicated to Brutus, make acknowledgment to Brutus for stimulus and encouragement to the presentation of Greek philosophy in Roman dress.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EMPEROR MAURICE.

Editors of papyri have on several occasions remarked on the numerous "errors" and "inconsistencies" in the numeration of the regnal and especially the consular years in sixth century papyri, particularly in those from the reign of Maurice, which have been characterized as "a constant source of difficulty."¹ It is the purpose of this article to show that, while there are among the extant consular datings from Maurice's reign four in which the scribe is guilty of an error or an oversight, the remainder of the "discrepancies" are merely apparent and are in reality consistent with each other and evidence of a uniform system of numeration.

Table I gives an analysis in chronological order of the papyri² known to me which are dated by Maurice's consular year as well as by his regnal year and by the indiction. Where the number

¹ Grenfell and Hunt, *P. Oxy.*, I, 135, Introd. See also *idem*, *P. Grenf.*, II, 86, 5n. and *P. Oxy.*, I, 137, Introd.; Heisenberg and Wenger, *P. Mon.*, 10, 1-4n.; 13, 3n.; Bell, *P. Lond.*, V, 1728, Introd.; Grenfell, Hunt and Bell, *P. Oxy.*, XVI, 1987, 1988, 1989, Introd.

² In addition to Greek papyri from Egypt (*P. Warren*, 3 is published in *Studi Riccobono* [Palermo, 1936], I,* pp. 523-525) are included two of the Latin papyri published by G. Marini, *I Papiri Diplomatici* (Rome, 1805) and two of the Greek papyri found at Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, by the H. Dunscombe Colt Expedition and now being prepared for publication by Professor Casper J. Kraemer, Jr. and the author. The Nessana papyri furnish unique evidence for the dating practice in Palestine; the Marini papyri (No. 89 is from Rome, No. 122 from Ravenna) are typical of contemporary Latin practice: cf. notes 5 and 13.

The Egyptian papyri with the exception of *P. Par.*, 21 bis from This in the Thebaid and BGU 255 from Memphis in the Fayum, all come from Oxyrhynchus and Syene. The rest of Egypt regularly—and Oxyrhynchus and Syene frequently—dated merely by regnal year and indiction (cf. *infra*, pp. 419 f.). Dating clauses from the reign of Heraclius which included the consular year were known to Bell (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 22 [1913], pp. 403-404) only in three papyri from Apollonopolis Magna; cf. now, however, *P. Oxy.*, 1991 (assigned to Heraclius), SB, 4662 (Arsinoë), SB, 4319 (Hermonthis). It would seem that by the time of Heraclius Syene and Oxyrhynchus too had practically abandoned the consular dating. It is doubtful, however, whether any great emphasis is to be placed on these geographical considerations. The evidence hardly seems sufficiently comprehensive for conclusiveness.

of the year given in the papyrus is incorrect the correct number has been set alongside in italics. Data lost on the papyrus are enclosed in square brackets, []. The papyri will henceforth be referred to by their number in this Table (pp. 416-417).

Flavius Mauricius Tiberius became Emperor on August 13,³ 582 A. D. His first regnal year therefore ran from that date until August 12, 583, his second from August 13, 583 to August 12, 584, and so on. Maurice did not hold the consulship, however, until the year 584 (= *ὑπατείας ἔτος α*). In the compute of his consular years, therefore, 585 A. D. (January 1–December 31) was designated as *ὑπατείας ἔτος β* or as *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἔτος α*, 586 as *ὑπατείας ἔτος γ* or as *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἔτος β*, etc.⁴ The indiction had probably already begun in Egypt some weeks before Maurice's accession; elsewhere in the Empire the first indiction ran from September 1, 582 to August 31, 583, coinciding approximately with the regnal year.

Thus, December 31, 585, for example, fell in the 4th regnal (*βασιλείας*) year, in the 2nd consular (*ὑπατέας*) = the 1st postconsular (*μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν*) year, and in the 4th indiction; whereas January 1, 586 fell in the 4th regnal year, in the 3rd consular — the 2nd postconsular year, and in the 4th indiction. In other words, between August 13 and December 31 of any given year the number of the regnal year exceeded that of the consular (*ὑπατείας*) year by 2; between January 1 and August 12 the

³ This is the date given by the *Chronicon Paschale* and adopted by most editors: cf. e.g., *BGU*, 395, 6n.; *P. Mon.*, *passim*. Other chroniclers give the date as August 15 (cf. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, III, p. 549). The narrative of Maurice's accession in the *Chronicon Paschale* reveals the probable reason for the discrepancy. According to this, Maurice was crowned Emperor on August 13; Tiberius II died on August 14, and his funeral was held at Constantinople on August 15.

⁴ The *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν* form has not hitherto been found in the consular datings of Maurice. Nos. 1-4 in Table I, in which this form does appear, are from the first years of Maurice's reign before his consulship, so that the postconsular years are still reckoned, as expressly stated, from the consulship of Tiberius II. *P. Oxy.*, 1042 from the reign of Justin II (578 A. D.), *BGU*, 3 from the reign of Phocas (605 A. D.), and now two of the Nessana papyri, Nos. 18 and 28 in Table I, sufficiently attest the fact that *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἔτος α*, "the first year after the consulship," was at this time an alternative designation for *ὑπατείας ἔτος β*, "the second year of the consulship," as outlined in note 5.

TABLE I

No.	Document	regnal (<i>βασιλείας</i>)	YEAR consular <i>ὡπατείας</i> , post consu- latum ⁵	<i>μετὰ τὴν ὡπατείαν</i>	Indic- tion	Month and Day	Equivalent in Julian Calendar
1	PSI 59	[1]		<i>Τιβερειῶν</i> 4	15 1	Hathyr 7	Nov. 3, 582
2	P Oxy 1976	1		" 4	1	Hathyr 27	Nov. 23, 582
3	P Oxy 136	1		" 5	1	Pachon 29	May 24, 583
4	P Oxy 137	3 2 ^o	1	= " 6 ^o	2	Tybi 15	Jan. 11, 584
5	P Oxy 996	3	1		3	Hathyr 24	Nov. 20, 584
6	PSI 248	3	[2] [1]		[3]	Hathyr []	Oct. 28— Nov. 26, 584
7	P Cairo Masp 67111	3	[2]		4	[]	ca. May— Aug. 12, 584
8	P Lond. 1731	4	2		4	Thoth 23	Sept. 20, 585
9	P Mon 10	4	2 3 ^o		4	Mecheir 3	Jan. 28, 586
10	P Mon 11	5	3		5	Phaophi 10	Oct. 7, 586
11	P Oxy 1987	5	4		[5]	Mecheir [23]	Feb. [17], 587
12	P Oxy 1993	5	4		5	Phamenoth 13	March 9, 587
13	P Oxy 1898	5	4		5	Phamenoth 17	March 13, 587
14	P Marini 89	6	4		6	December 28	Dec. 28, 587
15	P Oxy 1988	6	5		6	Tybi 2	Dec. 29, 587
16	P Lond 1897 *	7		6	[7]	Hathyr []	Oct. 28— Nov. 26, 588
17	P Oxy 1989	[9]	8		9	Hathyr 7	Nov. 3, 590
18	P Ness Inv. No. 38	9		6	[9]	<i>πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίων</i>	Dec. 23, 590
19	P Oxy 1990	9	8		9	Tybi 17	Jan. 12, 591
20	P Marini 122	9	8		9	sub d. sexto iduum Martiarum	March 10, 591
20a	P Warren 3	[10]	[9]		10	[]	Aug. 13, 591— ca. May 59
21	P Amh 150	11	10		11	Phaophi 23	Oct. 20, 592
22	P Oxy 201	12	11		12	Thoth 30	Sept. 27, 593
23	P Mon 13	12	10 11 ¹⁰		12	Tybi 23	Jan. 18, 594
24	P Mon 14	12	11		12	Mecheir 21	Feb. 15, 594
25	P Lond 1733	12	11		[12]	Phamenoth 10	March 6, 594
26	P Par 21 bis	12	12 11 ¹¹		11 13 ¹²	Payni 20	June 14, 594
27	PSI 60	14	13		14	Phaophi 10	Oct. 8, 595
28	P Ness Inv. No. 62	[15]		12	15	<i>Εἰθαῖς Σεπτεμβρίου = Gorpiaios 26</i>	Sept. 13, 596
29	PSI 244	15	14		15	Payni 18	June 12, 597
30	BGU 255	17	16		3	Pachon 20	May 15, 599
31	PSI 239	omitted	18		4	Mecheir 15	Feb. 9, 601
32	PSI 179	omitted	20		6	Choiak 29	Dec. 25, 602

⁵ In the sixth century postconsular years were counted in Latin according to either of two systems. These, with their Greek equivalents, are (beginning with the year after the consulship):

A

p. c.	or	annus I p. c.	=	μετὰ τῇν ὑπατελειαν ἔτος α
iterum p. c.	"	annus II p. c.	=	" " " " β
et iterum p. c.	"	annus III p. c.	=	" " " " γ, etc.

B

p. c. annus II	or	annus II consulatus	=	ὑπατελειαν ἔτος β
p. c. annus III	"	annus III consulatus	=	" " γ
p. c. annus IIII	"	annus IIII consulatus	=	" " δ, etc.

—cf. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, III (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, Vol. XIII), pp. 544 ff.; Liebenam, *Pacti Consulares Imperii Romani*, pp. 6, 55-58.

Since in the two Latin papyri, Nos. 14 and 20 in Table I, the differential between the number of the regnal year and that of the consular year is 2 and 1, respectively, post consulatum must there correspond to ὑπατελειαν, as in B just above. This same correspondence is seen also in the letters of Pope Gregory the Great cited in note 13. An example of the method of counting outlined under A occurs in an edict of Maurice found at Ephesus (*Année Épigraphique*, 1908, No. 81 = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, X [1907], Beiblatt, col. 69) which bears the date III idus Februar (ias) . . . ann(o) III et post cons(ulatum) eius(dem) I (= February 11, 585 A.D.). Here p. c. I corresponds to μετὰ τῇν ὑπατελειαν ἔτος α.

* Cf. *P. Oxy.*, I, 135, 137, Intros.

† Cf. *P. Cairo Masp.*, 67111, 3n.

* This anomaly may perhaps be accounted for by assuming that, since the document is dated in January, the scribe committed a common oversight in using the number of the old consular year instead of that of the new year, begun on January 1.

* The text of this papyrus was kindly furnished me by Mr. T. C. Skeat of the British Museum. Either the regnal year or the post-consular year is in error. The most probable explanation seems to be that the μετὰ τῇν ὑπατελειαν dating, which is much less frequent at this period (cf. note 4), is here used as though it were the equivalent of the usual ὑπατελειαν form—an equation or confusion for which there may be some evidence also in papyri from the reign of Tiberius II as well as in the *Chronicon Paschale* where the year 584 is described in the Vatican MS (ed. Dindorf, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Vol. 16) as ὑπ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερτίου Αβγούστου τὸ α μόνον, and in the Paris edition as μετὰ ὑπ., etc. (This is true also of 578, the year of Tiberius II's consulship.) Cf. the use of post consulatum in the Latin equivalents of both these methods of counting postconsular years (note 5).

¹⁰ δεκάτου for ἐνδεκάτου: the same scribal error appears in *P. Mon.*, 2, 12 (578 A.D.).

¹¹ Cf. p. 418.

¹² Since the indiction is described as just beginning (ἀρχ(ῆς)), its number should be 13 if the regnal year is the 12th. A re-reading of the papyrus may perhaps reveal α as misread for γ.

differential was 1. In the same periods, the differential between the regnal and the postconsular (μετὰ τὴν ὑπαρτίαν) years would be 3 and 2, respectively. In the Egyptian papyri this relationship is seen to continue through No. 13, the date of which corresponds to March 13, 587 A. D. In No. 15, however, dated on December 29, 587, we find that the number of the consular year has been increased by one, and that the differential is no longer the expected 2, but 1. And all subsequent Egyptian papyri from Maurice's reign (with the exception of Nos. 16, 23, and 26 which contain a patent error that cannot be reconciled with any system of dating—cf. *infra* and notes 9, 10 and 12) show this same differential of 1 regardless of the part of the year from which they date. This seems to indicate that when Maurice celebrated the anniversary of his regnal year of August 13, 587, the number of his consular year was also augmented by one, and that thenceforth the two years coincided. This conclusion is further strengthened by No. 26, the opening words of which, βασιλείας [καὶ ὑπ']αγείας . . . ἔτους δωδεκάτου, indicate that the scribe considered the regnal and consular years not merely as coterminous but as completely identical.

This practice of making the consular year coincide with the regnal year was apparently confined to Egypt. The Nessana papyri, Nos. 18 (590 A. D.) and 28 (596 A. D.) still show the differential of 3 between the number of the regnal year and that of the postconsular year. In the Latin papyri, Nos. 14 (December 28, 587, one day before No. 15 which first shows the change in Egypt) and 20 (March 10, 591), and in contemporary Latin documents¹³ the differentials are still 2 and 1, as they were at the beginning of the reign. In Palestine and Italy, therefore, as probably also in the rest of the Empire, the anniversary of the consular year continued without change as January 1.

Parallels for a change in the consular anniversary of a Roman

¹³ Cf., e. g., the following letters of Pope Gregory the Great (ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 77):

6.	51,	dated	x kal. Aug.	Yr. 14	post cons. 13	indic. 14	= July 23, 596
11.	65, 66, 68	"	x kal. Iul.	Yr. 19	post cons. 18	indic. 4	= June 22, 601
11.	76	"	xv kal. Iul.	Yr. 19	post cons. 18	indic. 4	= June 17, 601

The date of another letter as aptly emended by Dindorf (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Vol. 17, p. 475) reads:

iii kal. Oct. Yr. 19 consulatus 17 indic. 4 = September 29, 600

Emperor such as that here outlined for Egypt under Maurice are not lacking. W. Seston has recently shown, for example, that the chronology of Constantine the Great is marked by a series of similar changes in the anniversary and numeration of his tribunician power and imperial salutations.¹⁴ Maximian in 293 and Galerius in 305 also augmented the number of their imperial salutations by one.¹⁵ The most striking parallel, however, is found in the reign of Maurice's immediate predecessor, Tiberius II. Tiberius' regnal years were counted from December 574, when he was named Caesar by Justin II; his consular years were apparently counted from October 578 when he became sole ruler.¹⁶ But *βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας . . . ἔτους δευτέρου* in P. Lond. 1725 shows the same tendency as in the reign of Maurice toward the equation of consular and regnal year, which are here both reckoned from Tiberius' accession in 578.¹⁷

This tendency was merely one phase of a more general tendency toward simplification of the complex dating computations, which manifested itself in Egypt in the sixth century. This larger tendency was no doubt the reaction to Justinian's decree of August 31, 537 A. D.,¹⁸ prescribing that the Emperor's regnal year be placed at the beginning of documents, preceding the then customary date by the consul and the indiction. This meant, in effect, that documents would have to be dated by three years each with a different anniversary, instead of by two such years. In Egypt the new tripartite dating apparently met with opposition from the start, for only about half the papyri from Justinian's reign after 537 employ the threefold dating clause; the other half omit the regnal year. From the reign of Justin

¹⁴ *Revue des études anciennes*, XXXIX (1937), pp. 197-218. Constantine assumed the tribunicia potestas on July 25, 306 A. D. (tr. pot. I), and renewed it (tr. pot. II) on December 10 of the same year. Until the year 314 his dies imperii was celebrated on March 31. On March 31, 314 Constantine celebrated his eighth imperial salutation (Imp. VIII), and on July 25 of the same year his ninth (Imp. VIII). Then, between 318 and 321—probably toward 321—the numbers of his tribunician power and imperial salutations were augmented by one, this time without any change in the anniversary date.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

¹⁶ Cf. *P. Lond.*, III, p. xxxiii (ad 774); V, 1726, 1-4n.

¹⁷ Cf. *P. Lond.*, V, 1725, 1-4n.

¹⁸ *Novel.*, 47, Ch. 1.

II onward the tendency toward a double rather than a triple date is maintained at the expense of the consular year.¹⁹ Perhaps a concerted effort was made under Justin to enforce Justinian's edict; or perhaps Egyptian scribes, after a period of hesitation or confusion, welcomed the return to their traditional dating by a regnal year. The eclipse of the consular year thereafter evinced itself in at least three aspects at present discernible:

1. the complete omission of the consular year, seen in the numerous documents from the reigns of Justin II, Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius dated only by the regnal year and the indiction;

2. the frequent use, in documents from the reign of Justin II after 567 (the year of his second consulship), of the expressions "in the consulship" (*ἰν' ἀρχαίας*),²⁰ "in the second consulship" (*ἰν' ἀρχαίας τὸ β'*)²¹ and once,²² "after the consulship" (*μετὰ τὴν ἰν' ἀρχαίαν*). These are blanket expressions by which mention is made of the consular date along with the regnal year and the indiction without actually bothering to compute the consular year;

3. the phenomenon discussed above, of making the consular year conterminal with the regnal year. This was no doubt facilitated by the fact that in this period only the Emperor held the consulship, and then only to afford a basis for consular dating, so that dating by the consul was merely another form of dating by the Emperor.

The following is a composite table of Maurice's chronology embodying the results of this investigation:

¹⁹ Occasionally, of course, the consular year was kept and the regnal year omitted, as in the reign of Justinian: so., e. g., in Nos. 31 and 32 in Table I; *St. Pal.*, XX, 217 (Arsinoë; reign of Tiberius II); *P. Oxy.*, 1991 (assigned to Heraclius).

²⁰ For examples, see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 79.

²¹ Cf. note 20.

²² *P. Flor.*, 15.

REGAL YEARS		CONSULAR YEARS	
		In Egypt	Elsewhere
		<i>ἑταρὲς ἔτος</i>	
1	Aug. 13, 582—Aug. 12, 583	<i>α</i> = Jan. 1—Dec. 31, 584 = <i>ἑταρὲς</i>	μὲτὰ τὴν <i>ἑταρὲς</i> = post consulatum
2	" 583—" 584	<i>β</i> = " " " " " "	= annus I or II
3	" 584—" 585	<i>γ</i> = " " " " " "	= " II or III
4	" 585—" 586	<i>δ</i> = " " " " " "	= " III or IIII
5	" 586—" 587	<i>ε</i> = " " " " " "	= " IV or VI
6	" 587—" 588	<i>ς</i> = " " " " " "	= " V or VII
7	" 588—" 589	<i>ζ</i> = " " " " " "	= " VI or VIII
8	" 589—" 590	<i>η</i> = " " " " " "	= " VII or VIII
9	" 590—" 591	<i>θ</i> = " " " " " "	= " VIII or VIII
10	" 591—" 592	<i>ι</i> = " " " " " "	= " VIII or X
11	" 592—" 593	<i>α</i> = " " " " " "	= " X or XI
12	" 593—" 594	<i>β</i> = " " " " " "	= " XI or XII
13	" 594—" 595	<i>γ</i> = " " " " " "	= " XII or XIII
14	" 595—" 596	<i>δ</i> = " " " " " "	= " XIII or XIII
15	" 596—" 597	<i>ε</i> = " " " " " "	= " XIV or XV
16	" 597—" 598	<i>ς</i> = " " " " " "	= " XV or XVI
17	" 598—" 599	<i>ζ</i> = " " " " " "	= " XVI or XVII
18	" 599—" 600	<i>η</i> = " " " " " "	= " XVII or XVIII
19	" 600—" 601	<i>θ</i> = " " " " " "	= " XVIII or XVIII
20	" 601—" 602	<i>ι</i> = " " " " " "	= " XVIII or XVIII
21	" 602—Nov. 22, 602	<i>κ</i> = " " " " " "	= " XVIII or XVIII

NAPHTALI LEWIS.

THE UNDERSTANDING OF INTRIGUE: A STUDY IN PLAUTINE CHRONOLOGY.

A considerable volume of literature deals with Plautine methods of making deception and intrigue clear to the proverbially obtuse Roman audience. In 1920 Miss H. E. Wieand broke away from the nineteenth century tradition of basing judgments on isolated discrepancies to demonstrate that much of what seemed inconsistent was in reality a contribution to clarity; clarity of the deception was gained "by carefully planned and executed purpose, achieved by constant repetition of the details of the plan, and by asides on the part of the characters, either in self-addressed monologue . . . or in dialogue spurring each other on to carry out the trick in hand. As Legrand says, Plautus wished everything to be clearly understood even by the most ignorant auditor."¹ Since then, chiefly owing to the work of Fränkel and Jachmann, the study of Plautine plots has turned to other channels, but one of the most recent contributions has brought us back once more, from another point of view, to repetition. P. W. Harsh, in discussing the relationship of dramatic preparation in Plautus and Terence to the rhetorical tradition of Greek New Comedy,² stresses the foreshadowing of plot and intrigue as guides to the action of the plot.

During these years there has never been the slightest doubt that expository material is given and the methods of intrigue made clear to the audience, nor has there been any question that the main devices for explanation have been soliloquy, thinking aloud, planning on stage, asides, repetitions, rehearsals, *et al.*, nor has the presence of material or methods been challenged in any play. The essential points of the plot are clear, and this

¹ H. E. Wieand, *Deception in Plautus*, Diss., Bryn Mawr, 1920 (Gorham, Boston).

² P. W. Harsh, *Studies in Dramatic "Preparation" in Roman Comedy*, Diss., Chicago, 1935. Although foreshadowing and preparation never disappear so completely as to leave the issue in doubt, the explanation of the intrigue not infrequently is managed so that the method of deception is not announced beforehand (see below, n. 6). Thus they are really different techniques though sometimes overlapping, e.g., *Poen.*, 894, 919, 961, the statements of the girls' freedom foreshadow the *anagnorisis* but are also essential elements of the intrigue.

clarity is gained at any price, even of crudity and painful diligence. It might seem to follow that the relative energy expended in keeping the intrigue clear would vary with the relative intricacy of the plot. This, however, is not the case, for identical and nearly identical situations receive widely varying treatment both as to the audience's understanding of the plot and the ability of a character quickly to grasp a situation brought about by the action.³

The latter difference can be illustrated by comparing the unbelievable ease with which Cleomachus falls in with Chrysalus' scheme to fool Nicobulus (*Bacch.*, 877) after one brief and unrevealing aside to him, with the stupidity of Aristophontes when confronted with Tyndarus' impersonation of Philocrates and the necessity of explaining fully to him in spite of purposeful *doubles entendres* (*Capt.*, 574, 587) and signals (611) by Tyndarus and statements of fact by Hegio (570 ff.); or by comparing Periplectomenos' utter inability to follow Palaestrio's obvious train of thought (*M. G.*, 793) with Toxilus' immediate understanding and expansion of Sagaristio's spontaneous lie about a twin brother (*Persa*, 697). The variation in the amount of explanation given directly to the audience appears by a comparison of the *Poenulus* and the *Pseudolus*:—the over-careful and thrice repeated statement of the part Collybiscus and the *advocati* are to play in deceiving the *leno* (*Poen.*, 170-188, 547-565, and 591-603), the audience-reminding device⁴ whereby

* Audience's and character's understanding may appear to be two different problems, but, apart from the few cases where repetition is designed to throw into humorous relief a certain character's stupidity (and here two birds are killed with one stone), the intelligent reader of Plautus must consider them as one, for a character's slowness to grasp a situation can only be the author's device for motivating a repetition which is really intended for the audience. When rehearsals *ad nauseam* are not given, we may fairly assume that the author considered the point simple enough to be grasped; but when similar situations vary in their treatment, we can only conclude that the author had at different times different estimates of the audience's understanding.

⁴ In some examples of this crude device Plautus even yields and repeats, in spite of his own statement that it should be unnecessary (*Poen.*, 550). Both this device and another frequent technique ("I'm well coached; don't test me," *Truc.*, 500, *M. G.*, 354, *et al.*) reveal Plautus' rebellion against what appeared to him the stupid necessity of repeating for an obtuse audience.

Plautus avoids giving the explanation in spite of Milphio's evident desire for it (581), and the final calling out of Agorastocles himself (contrary to the plan) to witness the "crime" (707),—all this contrasted with the briefly recounted (750) but unrehearsed and quickly carried out duties of Simia (posing as Harpax) in getting the girl from Ballio in the *Pseudolus*.⁵ Or compare the careful and repeated coaching of Milphidippa and Acroteleutium in *M. G.*, 874-944 and again in 1137-1199, with the simple statement that her lesson is learned by the *virgo* in *Persa*, 379, whose answers the audience consequently does not know in advance.

These four pairs of contrasts bear out the statement that similar situations receive widely varying amounts of explanation given in the text of the play. An investigation of the amount of external aid given to the understanding of intrigue is undertaken in this paper.

The first analysis will be of the amount of explanation given to the audience in advance of the inception of the trick in those plays in which planned deception plays a large part. In six plays this information is given thoroughly and repeatedly (*Poen.*, *M. G.*, *Asin.*, *Epid.*, *Amph.*, *Capt.*); clearly but succinctly in four more (*Trin.*, *Truc.*, *Pseud.*, *Persa*); only hinted at in *Casina*, *Curculio*, and the first trick of *Bacchides*, while no information whatsoever is given in *Mostellaria*, and the second trick of *Bacchides*.

Poenulus: The first trick is explained three times, and once referred to without rehearsal but with reassurance that information is understood (see above). The second trick (Hanno's pose as the girls' father) is explained in 1086 after two assurances to the audience that the girls are free (895, 961), one refusal to repeat the information because "the audience knows it" (919), and the careful emphasis twice given in the prologue on the girls' freedom (121-4).

⁵ Wieand (*op. cit.*, p. 127), using the *Pseudolus* as an example of repetition as a means of obtaining clarity in the details of the trickery, is misleading in her list of passages where the "details" are repeated. It ought to be made clear that in the one place where repetition would be expected there is none, for the real trickster (Simia, not *Pseudolus*) is never given instructions on stage. *Pseudolus* explained his plan briefly once to his master (751), but Plautus does not allow any rehearsals (940).

Miles: Directions to Philocomasium for fooling Sceledrus (*passim*) are given so often that she finally resents them (354, by which we are again assured she knows them). Preparation of courtesans for tricking of the *miles* are spread over two scenes (see above) with asides during the action of the trick (991-1092). The twin sister trick had been thoroughly planned before the audience at 237 and during its action we are assured by Palaestrio's aside (386) that it really is a trick.

Asin.: An unnecessarily lengthy explanation of the general situation is given because of Leonida's inability to devise a plan with exactly the same knowledge as he gives Libanus; the latter, hearing it as does the audience, immediately presents the plan (330-370). The audience can see the nature of the plan to be adopted as quickly as does Libanus.

Epid.: The trick is briefly outlined in 153-7; the audience is warned that it is beginning at 181; it is given in full detail in 200-305; and further explanations, repetitious and clarifying, are offered at 312, 363-375. Of these passages three are speeches of Epidicus delivered to different people, and one a monologue; thus the explanations are not repetitious in so far as the action of the play itself is concerned, but from the point of view of the audience they are. The repetition is not quite so flagrant as in the *Poenulus* and the *Miles*.

Amph.: Under the influence of impersonations a bit more confusing than those usually employed by Plautus, the explanations in this play are so ubiquitous as to be nauseating.

Capt.: The same is true in lesser degree of the *Captivi*.

In sharp contrast are four plays in which the plan of action is stated once, clearly, but briefly, and no further discussion of it introduced. *Persa*: Plans given in 145-164; the girl, who plays a vital part in the deception, is given no instructions on the stage, and refuses to go over her part when she enters to carry out the impersonation (379). *Trin.*: Megaronides provides the plan and it is approved (780); with no further ado the impersonator is on the stage playing his part and, in spite of his many asides, the audience receives no further information concerning the deception. *Truc.*: The deception in this play has really been carried out before the play opens, for the soldier

believes the baby is his. Further explanation of the swindling of the soldier on his arrival is given (393) only because Diniarchus (87) shows he does not fully understand Phronesium's purpose. The situation is handled without elaborate repetition; the prologue gives the full details. *Pseudolus*: Not until 150 lines after the point at which the trick is capable of being formed (601, when he realizes the possibility of getting the seal from Harpax); through the scene with Calidorus and Charinus whose help he needs, does Pseudolus reveal his plan. Refusing to answer Calidorus' question he replied (700) *horum causa haec agitur spectatorum fabula; hi sciunt qui hic adfuerunt; vobis post narravero*. As a matter of fact the audience does not know; they have never been told by Pseudolus or anyone else and will not be until 751. That they could easily have guessed is not pertinent to this discussion; we are dealing with the amount of information given.

Hints only as to the method of procedure are given the audience in three plays. *Curc.*: The story of the seal stolen by Curculio is told, but no statement of how the *leno* is to be tricked (or even whether the seal will be used) is made until the end of the exposition when Curculio merely says *eamus intro ut tabellas consignemus* (365). The audience must imagine for itself what kind of a letter will be written; they will not hear its contents until the trick is well advanced. *Bacch.* (first trick): Chrysalus has the letter written on the stage (731), but no idea is given as to how it will effect the desired result. The secret is maintained until we see its effect upon Nicobulus. The subtlety of this device is the greater when we discover that the plan in Chrysalus' mind is paradoxical, for the *senex* is deceived by a brazen confession which only makes him all the madder. *Cas.*: Casina's madness is announced by Pardalisca and used as a method of tormenting the *senex* for 62 lines before it is revealed as false. Chalinus' impersonation of Casina is prepared for only in the most casual way, being mentioned along with a long list of other things "going on in the house" (770) of no importance and of no consequence to the plot. There is no careful planning scene between the plotters (Chalinus and Cleostrata) in which the audience would receive such preparation as they were given in the *Poenulus* or *Miles*; the scheme, on the contrary, is said to have been hatched by Cleostrata and Myrrhina off-stage (683),

though it is clear that Chalinus must have given it its initial impulse (504-514). The audience is given an opportunity to follow an unannounced plan when it observes Cleostrata's handling of the preliminary steps in the plot. For, although she announces that she is going to tell Alcesimus that she will not invite Myrrhina to her house (534), she does not warn the spectators that she will tell her husband that Alcesimus would not allow Myrrhina to come (580).

In some cases there is not even a verbal hint; the audience is left to gather from the action what form the deception will take. *Most.*: Tranio never explains anything, gives no suggestions of his plans, except that he will manage somehow (387, 422-30) on the theory that *calidum hercle esse . . . optimum mendacium* (665). In the second trick of the *Bacch.* we do not know how Chrysalus will manage until, waving a letter written off-stage and not mentioned until this passage (934), he says that it really is a horse, by which transition he enters upon the Trojan monologue. Not until he meets Nicobulus (979) and the letter is read (998) do we realize how he will get an additional sum from him (971).

Similar, though less marked, differentiation exists in the preparation of both characters and audience for an *anagnorisis*. Both problems are really the same, for the stupidity of the characters, which in turn calls for more explanation, is effected by the author in order to give opportunity for further explanation to the audience. Certain plays having an *anagnorisis* are provided with a prologue by which the audience is acquainted with the facts. In these plays only the characters need be made aware of the possibility. Yet the basic information is so frequently repeated we can hardly deny that the intended recipient is really the audience. In the *Poenulus* the information that the girls are free-born is given to Milphio (894) and is only kept from being repeated in 919 by an awkward device (*ibo intro haec ut meo ero memorem, nam huc si ante aedes evocem quae audivistis modo nunc si eadem hic iterum iterem inscitiast*) which almost suggests that Plautus is rebelling against repeating information for an obtuse audience. Further, when Milphio re-enters with his master the entrance motif is not the "Now you've told me" type (cf. *Pseud.*, 697), but the more complete *ain tu tibi dixi Syncerastum, Milphio, eas esse ingenuas ambas*

surrupitinas Carthaginienensis? (961). Here is the whole exposition in a nutshell, when all we really needed to know was that Milphio has told Agorastocles the facts. The other character interested in the girls' birth, Hanno, is more astute than some. He sees the possibility that they are his daughters upon the mere mention that they had been stolen from Carthage (which, even stated as a fact, is mentioned as part of Milphio's plan, 1101) and this leads him to ask about the nurse, although no mention of her had been made. Previously he suspected Agorastocles' relation to him after the mere hint (1060) that the young man was only the adopted son of Antidamas. On the whole, the fact that the girls were free is more than adequately presented.

In the *Captivi* Hegio sees possibilities on hearing that his child had been sold to a man whom he had just learned to be Philocrates' father; yet in spite of Stalagmus' statement that the child was called Tyndarus and that it was Hegio's son who was Philocrates' *peculiaris* (983-988) Hegio stupidly asks *vivitne is homo?* and it is Philocrates who finally suggests the correct identification.

The *Menaechmi*, of course, surpasses all other plays in stupidity. It is true that the moment recognition of the brothers is made, the play, as such, must come to an end, but Menaechmus-Sosicles' stupidity would be immeasurably lessened had he not so carefully and so publicly stated that he was looking for his twin brother, and had his suspicions been aroused to anything remotely resembling the truth when he discovered himself being called Menaechmus by so many strangers. For, to make matters worse, it was he who knew that his brother's name was truly Menaechmus, while his own had been changed. Messenio's ingenious explanations to account for strangers knowing Sosicles' name are but lame efforts to prevent his master making an intelligent guess, and could have been used just as successfully to keep the play going even if his master had had some genuine suspicions. Moreover, when the brothers finally do meet, it takes Messenio's observation on the likeness, mention of their father's name, Menaechmus' recollection of being kidnapped, and twenty lines of dialogue before even a ghost of an idea is aroused in the mind of Menaechmus-Sosicles (1113).

In the *Rudens*, on the other hand, Daemones, though somewhat slow to recognize his daughter through the *crepundia*,

plausibly explains that he is not as well acquainted with the trinkets as his wife would be. One may argue whether a father should have borne in mind for many years all the details of the trinkets his lost daughter had with her so as to be accurately informed at any given moment, but one cannot deny the possibility that Daemones may have revealed to the audience an emotional display which he concealed from the actors in order to preserve the impartial rôle of arbiter which he is playing. Skill in acting, too often neglected in interpretation of the text of Plautus, nullifies any delay the reader may feel as psychologically improper during Daemones' half smothered exclamations of hope (1161, 1164).

In the *Epidicus*, Epidicus recognizes Telestis on sight; Therapontigonus in the *Curculio* heeds Planesium's pleas for explanation of his possession of the ring and the truth is apparent to both of them in short order. Neither play has a prologue to inform the audience of the truth. In the *Truculentus* the truth is simply, if humorously, ferreted out by Callicles (789, contrast the laborious extraction of similar truth, also humorously, *Cist.*, 600), and the facts are made known to the other interested characters so rapidly that nowhere is it clear just how Phronesium learned them (865) since Diniarchus himself did not know the child was his. The audience has to assume that she would find out; no hint was given in the prologue.

Summing up, the *Poenulus*, *Captivi*, and *Menaechmi* stand in sharp contrast to the *Rudens*, and the even less explanatory *Epidicus*, *Curculio*, and *Truculentus*. To these last four plays we must add the *Casina*, which presents an *anagnorisis* relegated to an epilogue, for which no preparation is given in a prologue. The audience of the play as we have it is not aware of the truth, and although whatever scene contained the *anagnorisis* is now lost and we cannot say how elaborate it was, it is all but certain that Plautus did not think it worth while to inform his audience that *Casina* would turn out to be Alcesimus' daughter.* Although

* If, in the original prologue to the *Casina*, there was still no reference to the *anagnorisis* of *Casina* as Alcesimus' daughter, the play joins the *Epidicus*, *Curculio*, and *Truculentus* to form a group in which, as far as explanations were concerned, the audience is left to discover the *anagnorisis* simultaneously with the characters. In the *Casina* this may have been due to the removal of the *anagnorisis* from the play

the contrast between these groups of plays may not be as marked as in the matter of preparation for intrigue and impersonation, it is none the less apparent that the characters, not being forced to repeat laborious explanations to the audience, are freer to act more naturally and therefore to proceed with the developments of the plot with considerably more dispatch.

In addition to these contrasts between certain groups of plays in matters of broad handling there are a number of references in which, in less important details, the same contrast exists between careful explanation and more casual assumption that the audience will be able to follow. Before *Menaechmus-Sosicles* does the seemingly wrong things (acceding to Erotium's request to come in, *Men.*, 417; pretending insanity, 831), he carefully explains to Messenio and the audience respectively that he is going to act thus. *Epid.*, 69: Thesprio's explanation of Strattippocles' going to his friend's house instead of home prepares the ground for Epidicus' lie in 270. This is a lie no more blatant than many unexplained ones in the *Mostellaria*, than Gripus' invention of the *vidulum piscem* (*Rud.*, 993), Stasimus' invention of the cursed plot of ground (*Trin.*, 510), or Sagartio's lie in *Persa*, 697. Further examples of the inception of a plot or part thereof without explanation are *Rud.*, 1310: Labrax' casual manner of approaching Gripus *re* trunk, affecting disinterestedness; the lack of any advance information in the prologue of the *Trinummus* (cf. prol. 16-17).

proper; in the *Truculentus* some may consider the fact that the recognition is of a baby as sufficient cause for the omission of any reference to it in the prologue. The *Epidicus* and *Curculio* have expository scenes amply covering all points except the *anagnorisis*, but the absence of a statement foretelling the recognition is still an unusual procedure inexplicable except by applying the conclusions of this paper to the *anagnorisis*. The fact that the true identifications in all these plays are foreshadowed in various places throughout (see Harsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46 for references) has no bearing on the matter, for the contrast with which we are dealing is between the existence or absence of outright statements in prologues or expositions. Recognitions are foreshadowed in other plays in which they are also foretold in the prologue (*Poen.*). Foreshadowing, in varying degrees of subtlety but always by indirect interpretation of the words of a character who himself does not know the truth or make proper interpretation, is no greater in those plays in which direct expository material is less abundant. Hence it has no bearing on the problem of varying amounts of exposition.

Teasing, sometimes seemingly without justification, shows different treatment: Two apparently unmotivated cases (*Rud.*, 1414 and *Pseud.*, 1313) may easily have been clarified by the acting.⁷ Only the slightest explanation is given at *Persa*, 305 and *Trin.*, 900, whereas ample evidence is given at *Asin.*, 640-647, even though the acting itself would explain. The best example is *Bacch.*, 1121, where the sisters begin their teasing of the old men without a word to the audience or each other, upon their very entrance on the stage. Twenty-eight lines later an aside is given, not for the purpose of explanation but in order to divide the spoils, the two girls agreeing on Nicobulus for one, Philoxenus for the other. The teasing finally ends, without further explanation, with the end of the play itself.

Periplectomenos' inability to understand Palaestrio referred to above (*M. G.*, 793) calls to mind also Periphanes' failure to realize who the soldier is although Epidicus had spoken of him in 300 (*Epid.*, 457). Contrast Pseudolus' immediate realization who Harpax is, and the fact that Pseudolus does not even trouble to tell us that he knows who the soldier is, but begins to act upon his knowledge immediately (*Pseud.*, 600). Quick thinking is exemplified in *Trin.*, 973 and *Pseud.*, 1162 where characters by deduction think they have arrived at a correct solution of an impersonation;⁸ in both cases the solution is wrong, but it is a cleverer one than that produced by Lyco in a similar situation in *Poen.*, 768. It is significant that the most elaborate example of quick thinking and action upon that thinking without any explanation whatsoever occurs in the *Miles Gloriosus*, but only in narrated form; *uti contra asperxit me, oculis mihi signum dedit ne se appellarem; deinde, postquam occasio est*, etc. (prol. 123). This was evidently too much to expect upon the stage, for we have already seen Tyndarus fail in the same task (*Capt.*, 574 ff.).

Digressions in dialogue are common in Plautus, but it is noteworthy that the only passages in which it was felt necessary to bring the digression to a close and effect a return to the subject

⁷ Both cases involve the teasing of his slave by a *senex* who (*Rud.*) has already assured the audience he will free the very slave he is teasing, or who (*Pseud.*) is dealing with a drunken individual in no condition to analyze or understand his master's actions.

⁸ In the *Trin.* the situation is reversed; the *syceophanta* tries to solve the identity of Charmides.

in hand by a specific statement such as "Enough of this" are all found in four plays already noted for their elaborate explanations: *Asin.*, 307, 446, 576, 731, *Poen.*, 349, 1248, *M. G.*, 737, *Epid.*, 40. In contrast to this there are certain passages in which a character, about to give some information which the audience already knows, states that he will not give it until later (off-stage); these passages, except for a few examples wherein the information is given anyway, are *Pseud.*, 388 and *Truc.*, 865. Two further examples, near the end of the play when further explanation is useless, are *Trin.*, 1102 and *Epid.*, 656.

Two points should be mentioned as not materially affecting the data so far presented or the suggestions shortly to be made therefrom. First, any lack of explanation can hardly be attributed merely to simplicity of plot. Admitting that the *Miles*, so full of gratuitous explanation, is perhaps the most complicated of all, yet in comparing the plots as a whole we cannot assert that, for example, the *Persa* is any simpler than the *Poenulus*, the *Bacchides* than the *Asinaria*, the *Curculio* than the *Epidicus*. It seems almost as though the reverse is more usually the case. Furthermore the comparisons made in this paper have been invited only because of the similarity of the situations (e. g., the impersonation of Harpax in the *Pseudolus* and of Collybiscus in the *Poenulus*). Consequently differences in plot entanglements as a whole are immaterial.

Second, there is the possibility that some of the passages quoted as excessive explanation are later additions through *retractatio* or, conversely, that further explanations in other situations may have been deleted in later productions from which our text is the descendant. That these must always remain possibilities cannot be gainsaid, but for several reasons they do not appear to injure the validity of the comparisons made in this paper. First, no one of the passages cited has been seriously questioned by students of the text. Second, it would be absurd to suppose that such additions were made to some plays and not to others, especially when, as we have seen above, some of the most intricate (e. g., *Bacch.*, *Pseud.*, *Persa*) are in the unexplained group. Moreover, the *Casina*, a play not abounding in explanation and the only one which we know by name to have been revived later, though undoubtedly showing severe traces of *retractatio* shows no evidence of any explanation added after

Plautus. If we are to assume that the absence of explanation of such a statement as Pardalisca's report of Casina's madness is due to deletion of a Plautine explanation because the audience forty years later did not need it, we are actually rejecting the whole text of Plautus as a basis for investigation of technique, and we are delivering hypotheses on what may once have been in the text without a shred of evidence to support it. The absurdity of such a procedure is patent.

From the four contrasted pairs of situations, from the discussion of both the broader and detailed matters of technique it is apparent that the more elaborate explanation, preparation, and rehearsing take place in the *Poenulus*, *Miles*, and *Asinaria*. The *Captivi* and *Cistellaria* show stronger affinities with those three than with others. The *Epidicus* and the *Rudens* have appeared in examples of both over-explanation and seeming lack of it. The *Trinummus*, *Truculentus*, *Curculio*, *Pseudolus*, *Bacchides*, *Persa*, and *Casina* have, without exception, appeared only as examples of quicker perception and less explanation.

Placed in the following table in the left column are the plays in groups representing the degree to which these characteristics appear. The right column shows the plays in a series of groups which I have postulated elsewhere on several different criteria and which are in essential agreement with earlier studies of chronology.⁹ For neither column is any claim made for exact order within the groups nor even for the inviolability of the groups as units themselves. Only a general distinction between early, middle, and late plays is suggested.

⁹ Cf. Hough, *A. J. P.*, LV (1934), pp. 346-364 and bibliography on p. 361, note 19, and *C. P.*, XXX (1935), pp. 43-57; W. H. Juniper, *A Study of Verbs of Saying in Plautus*, Diss., Ohio State University, 1937 (*O. S. U. Abstracts*, 1937). J. Schneider's *De Enuntiatis Secundariis Interpositis Quaestiones Plautinae, accedit excursus de chronologia Plautina* (Dresden, 1937) came into my hands while this article was in galley. Schneider's theories of Plautine chronology, differing considerably from those I have referred to above, are, I believe, based upon insufficient evidence. My reasons for thinking so appear in a review of Schneider's dissertation, *infra*, pp. 499 ff. *A Chronology of the Plays of Plautus*, a dissertation from The Johns Hopkins University by C. H. Buck, Jr., has only within the last week come to my attention. Listed as a 1938 dissertation, no information as to the publication of it has been announced.

Too much explanation	{	<i>Asin.</i>	<i>Asin.</i>	} Early
		<i>Miles</i>	<i>Merc.</i>	
		<i>Poen.</i>	<i>Cist.</i>	
		<i>Cist.</i>	<i>Miles</i>	
		<i>Men.</i>	<i>Poen.</i>	
Transi- tional	{	<i>Capt.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	} Transition
			<i>Stich.</i>	
			<i>Epid.</i>	
			<i>Capt.</i>	
			<i>Rud.</i>	
Little or no explanation	{		<i>Most.</i>	} Middle
			<i>Amph.</i>	
			<i>Aulul.</i>	
			<i>Truc.</i>	
			<i>Trin.</i>	
	{	<i>Curc.</i>	<i>Curc.</i>	} Transition
		<i>Pseud.</i>	<i>Pseud.</i>	
		<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bdcch.</i>	
		<i>Persa</i>	<i>Cas.</i>	
		<i>Cas.</i>	<i>Persa</i>	

With due regard to the cautions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs and a full knowledge of the essential subjectivity of such analyses, nevertheless this agreement between early, middle, and late plays cannot be dismissed as a mere coincidence. A general trend of Plautine technique is clearly indicated. As time proceeded Plautus offered to the public plays in which the plot and intrigue were made a little more matters of surprise; the explanation of the trick given once or not at all, the text is relieved of laborious repetitions and rehearsals by allowing the plot to develop of itself and the acting to provide the clarity of the intrigue. The characters permit the audience to perceive the trickery for itself, and consequently are themselves enabled to appear of keener understanding and intelligence.

Whether Plautus made these revisions by adding to the Greek originals of the earlier plays or deleting from those of the later ones, or whether these differences appeared in the originals themselves and Plautus exercised his choice among them, we of course cannot establish.¹⁰ The latter assumption merits the disbelief

¹⁰ Any suggestion that the differences in technique discussed in this paper go back to differences in the technique of various Greek authors is completely dissipated by consideration of even the few known or conjectured authors of Plautine originals; Menander: *Poenulus* (?), but contrast *Bacchides* and possibly *Truculentus*; Diphilus: contrast *Rudens* with *Casina*.

which even our slight knowledge of the Greek authors of Plautine originals suggests, while Plautus' technique of adaptation, controversial as it is, all but rules out such a theory. Contamination of two Greek plays would only make the problem more confused. Whatever characteristics, individual or chronological, the Greek plays may have had are thoroughly obliterated by Plautus' revision of the whole. Terence's plays, judged on this criterion, would all fall in the later group. Therefore it is suggested that the Roman audience, in spite of the slurs which scholars have so often cast upon it, became, during the literary activity of Plautus, sufficiently familiar with the Romanized Hellenistic comedy not to need as much help and explanation in 184 B. C. as it had needed twenty to thirty years earlier. Or at least Plautus thought so, and acted upon this assumption. In the earlier plays particularly, he seems publicly to criticize the audience for its stupidity, though yielding to the necessity of repeating (*Poen.*, 550); at all periods he rebelled against the necessity of giving information repeatedly and urges a better comprehension (*Poen.*, 581, 919; *Pseud.*, 700; *Trin.*, prol.). Terence's failure to achieve the popular acclaim which had come to his predecessor, though not without other bases too, may have been due in part to a too rapid continuation of Plautus' tendency to leave more and more to the audience's understanding.

JOHN N. HOUGH.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE INDEPENDENT CONCILIAR YEAR.¹

The Calendar year in ordinary use at Athens was a lunar year consisting of twelve or thirteen lunar months. On the first day of the first month, Hekatombaion, the eponymous archon took office; hence this year is often described as civil as well as lunar. A second type of year consisted of the successive terms of the ten prytanies. Hence it is often called the prytany or conciliar year. Usually the limits of the conciliar year coincided with those of the civil year; but at one period it had an independent existence and a different length, so closely approximating a solar year that it is sometimes so described.² Since this conciliar year was very often used to date financial documents and is known actually to have served as a fiscal year, it has also received the name of financial or fiscal year.³

That the conciliar year might have a character independent of the civil year has already been noted. This would occur when the day on which the eponymous archon took or left office was not the same as the first day of the first prytany when the new *Boule* took office, or the last day of the last prytany when it left office.

That such a situation did obtain for a time was discovered by Keil.⁴ The limits of this independent period, when the two types of year did not have an equal term or were non-coterminous, are still problematic. The non-coterminous year disappeared for all time apparently no later than 410/9 B. C.⁵ The purpose of this paper is to determine the date of its introduction.

Several deductive attempts have been made to discover this date. The first opinion was Keil's, who would have connected

¹ I am greatly obligated to Mr. W. B. Dinsmoor, Mr. B. D. Meritt, and Mr. J. M. Conant who have read several drafts of my paper and most generously offered helpful and enlightening comment.

² Meritt, *A. F. D.*, p. 153; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 326, 328; Meritt, *Ath. Cal.*, pp. 72, 123.

³ Boeck, *Kl. Schrift.*, VI, p. 97; Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), pp. 56-7; Meritt, *Ath. Cal.*, p. 16; Meritt, *A. F. D.*, p. 108; Kahstedt, *Unter. u. Magistratur*, p. 88.

⁴ Keil, *loc. cit.*; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 323, nn. 1, 2, 3.

⁵ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 348; Meritt, *A. F. D.*, pp. 104-9.

the separate conciliar year with the introduction of the *Boule* itself, accredited to Cleisthenes.⁶ Meritt, too, having corroborated Keil's theory of a separate conciliar year, at first advocated this simultaneous establishment of *Boule* and independent conciliar year.⁷ Dinsmoor, convinced of the significance of an important calendar reform by Meton in 432 B. C., would rather associate the independent conciliar year with this event.⁸ Meritt did not accept this and continued to connect the solar year with Cleisthenes.⁹ Kahrstedt expresses a rather general opinion about both attributions: "... seinem von Meritt abweichenden Schalt-cyclus, der seinerseits bedingt ist von dem Glauben, dass das Ratsjahr von dem Metonischen Werk beherrscht sei. Das ist an sich theoretisch einen Grad möglicher als bei dem Archontenjahr mit seinen Schaltungen durch Behörde, weil letztere von meist recht ungebildeten Menschen gemacht werden."¹⁰ Positively, Kahrstedt merely offered a modification of the position Meritt was defending. He would connect the introduction of the conciliar year with the strengthening of the *Boule* after Ephialtes' reform of the Areopagos in 461 B. C.¹¹ This would not conflict with Meritt's interpretation¹² of the formulae in the Parthenon accounts which seemed to require an independent conciliar year and a non-coterminous calendar for this period 447-432 B. C., an interpretation which Dinsmoor has rejected.¹³

Meritt has recently abandoned his previous theory that the introduction of the solar year was intimately connected with the reforms of Cleisthenes because of certain evidence drawn from the sixth year of the accounts (*I. G.*, 1², 338) connected by Dinsmoor with the bronze statue of Athena Promachos, a work which is to be dated in the fifties.¹⁴ In the sixth year of these

⁶ Keil, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-5.

⁷ Meritt, *Ath. Cal.*, pp. 72, 124-6; *id.*, *Cl. Ph.*, XXV (1930), p. 243.

⁸ Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 327, n. 1. Cf. Cavaignac, *R. E. A.*, XXXI (1929), p. 216.

⁹ Meritt, *A. F. D.*, pp. 152-3.

¹⁰ Kahrstedt, *Unter. s. Magistratur*, p. 84.

¹¹ Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 88. Cavaignac, *loc. cit.*

¹² Meritt, *Ath. Cal.*, pp. 124-126; *id.*, *A. F. D.*, p. 152, n. 2; *id.*, *Hesp.*, V (1936), p. 377 and n. 1.

¹³ Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 327, n. 1.

¹⁴ Meritt, *Hesp.*, V (1936), pp. 362-380; *id.*, *apud* Schweigert, *Hesp.*, VII (1938), p. 267.

accounts, a total salary equal to 11,780 obols was paid to the *epistatai*, their scribe, and the public slave who assisted them.¹⁵ It is Meritt's opinion that "Such salary was reckoned on a daily basis and accumulated steadily throughout their year of office."¹⁶ On this principle we are permitted mathematically only 31 obols for the daily pay and 380 days for the reckoning of "their year of office." The year of 380 days could not be considered as an independent conciliar year of the solar length which we meet later during the Archidamian war. Rather must we regard it as an approximation of 384 days, an intercalary civil year; this approximation is supported by analogy. For, in the late fourth century (*I. G.*, II², 1635, l. 76 and *I. G.*, II², 1673, l. 60) we observe a daily salary of one and two drachmae respectively for thirteen months (an intercalary year) with totals of 390 and 780 drachmae for the year. Though Keil mistakenly thought that this was evidence of a prytany year of 390 days,¹⁷ Meritt believes that in the fourth century the year of thirteen months was reckoned as if it had 390 days (each month being regarded as containing 30 days), but in the fifth century as if it had 380 (each prytany being regarded as containing 38 days).

In the Promachos accounts the salary is equal to 11,780 obols, a sum exactly divisible by the ten prytanies; and the resulting sum of 1,178 obols would suggest that the average prytany contained 38 days and that the actual daily salary was 31 obols. Because of this length for the average prytany one might infer with Meritt that in this year the conciliar year was coterminous with an intercalary lunar year of 384 days. This would also be the year of accounts for the *epistatai*; but this would not reveal whether the accounting year was the civil, the conciliar, or the Panathenaic year, since in coterminous years the various types of year cannot be distinguished by the number of days in the year. It is a fact, however, that the Promachos accounts for the sixth year imply that the ten prytanies equaled 384 days, a fact which demands that the civil and conciliar years be coterminous at this period. Since, therefore, Meritt believed that the first

¹⁵ The text, after Meritt, *op. cit.*, of *I. G.*, I², 338 col. II, 72 ff. ΧΠΗΗΗΗΗΠΔΗΗΗ μ[ισθὸν ἐπιστάται καὶ γραμμα]τ[εῖ καὶ ὑπερ]έτει.

¹⁶ Meritt, *Hesp.*, V (1936), p. 375.

¹⁷ Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), pp. 78-79; cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 325.

year of the Parthenon accounts (447/6) was non-coterminous, the independent conciliar year was introduced between the sixth year of the Promachos accounts and the first year of the Parthenon accounts.

The character of the year in the Parthenon and Propylaea accounts is of the utmost significance. Meritt has claimed that the calendar at that time was non-coterminous. This arose from a desire to explain a rather curious pair of circumstances.

1) With regard to the date *ante quem*, Meritt maintains his earlier argument from the formula of dating in the Parthenon accounts.¹⁸ Here the various years are dated not only by the mention of the *Boule* through its first secretary but also, for the last five years, and also in the corresponding five years of the Propylaea accounts, by the name of the eponymous archon. This awkward dating, it was explained, would only be necessary when the two types of year, represented by archon and *Boule*, were non-coterminous. Meritt had noted that for the first ten years the Parthenon accounts were dated by the *Boule* alone, but thought that the earlier formulae had the same value for his theory as the later double dated accounts.¹⁹ Busolt had already made good use of this evidence.²⁰

2) Unlike the Promachos accounts the rating of the year in the Parthenon and Propylaea accounts was by month. Later, in the Erechtheum accounts, when the years are known to be coterminous, the rating of the year was again by prytany.²¹ The inference that Meritt draws from this contrasting usage is that the accounts of the Parthenon and Propylaea belong to non-coterminous years as follows: ²²

Promachos accounts	prytany rating ²³	coterminous years
Parthenon	monthly " ²⁴	non- " "
Propylaea	" " " ²⁵	non- " "
Erechtheum	" prytany " ²⁶	" "

¹⁸ Meritt, *Ath. Cal.*, pp. 124-6; Meritt, *Ol. Ph.*, XXV (1930), p. 243.

¹⁹ Meritt, *Ath. Cal.*, p. 125, n. 1.

²⁰ Busolt, *Gr. Staats.*, p. 1052, n. 3, as quoted *infra*, p. 444.

²¹ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 348; Meritt, *A. F. D.*, p. 108; *id.*, *Hesp.*, V (1936), p. 377.

²² Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

²⁴ *I. G.*, 1^a, 339-353.

²³ Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 375 ff.

²⁵ *I. G.*, 1^a, 363-367.

²⁶ *I. G.*, 1^a, 373: frag. 10 col. II, l. 3 in *The Erechtheum*, p. 321 and frag. 26 ll. 1-2 in *The Erechtheum*, p. 418.

But the first of these facts, the double dating by eponymous archon and *Boule*, would fit equally well if the civil and conciliar years were coterminous. Indeed, in 409/8 B. C. when the calendar was coterminous, the Erechtheum accounts were rated by the prytany²⁷ but dated by archon and *Boule*.²⁸

The second curious fact apparently identifying the prytany rating with coterminous years and the monthly rating with non-coterminous years is subjective.²⁹ For, while the prytany rating would necessarily be used in a conciliar or fiscal year if the years were non-coterminous, yet in a coterminous year either rating might prevail. Indeed, in 421/0, when the year is now unanimously considered non-coterminous, we have a document (*I. G.*, I², 370/1) dated by both the archon and the *Boule*,³⁰ but the rating was apparently by prytany.³¹ In other words, the use of prytany rating in the coterminous period and of months in the non-coterminous period was no more consistently observed than was the use of the double dating formula in the non-coterminous period alone.³² In the variation from prytany to monthly rating one may see a change in the number of payroll periods, of economic rather than calendar significance. In non-coterminous years the two types of year could only be divisible by their own formative units. It would be practically impossible to maintain for long this double division by which payments were made and debts were paid. In the resulting confusion, we may see a factor in the discarding of the separate conciliar year.³³

Meritt has shown us the value of considering the relationship of the fiscal period to the ratable year. Proceeding in the same manner, we may investigate the year for which the building *epistatai* kept accounts.³⁴

²⁷ See note 26 *supra*.

²⁸ *I. G.*, I², 372 ll. 5-7.

²⁹ These two criteria, it should be noted, contradict each other in the Hephaistos and Erechtheum inscriptions, cf. n. 32.

³⁰ *I. G.*, I², 370 l. 5.

³¹ *I. G.*, I², 370 l. 6. The fifth prytany, when work began, indicates that the fiscal period was the prytany rather than the month. Such accounts should have been and always were rated by month or prytany.

³² Difficulties arise from the following comparisons: *I. G.*, I², 370, l. 5 with l. 6; *I. G.*, I², 373, etc.; cf. n. 28.

³³ Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 16-17, 756.

³⁴ For the *epistatai*, see: *The Erechtheum*, frag. XXVIII, l. 29, p. 420;

In the accounts for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos in the year 421/0, it is stated that the work began in the fifth prytany. Contracts were honored from fixed points which it was the duty of the *epistatai* to reveal. Wages and salaries were being paid upon the same conditions and recorded in fiscal periods. It is necessary then to interpret the dating of the accounts of Athena and Hephaistos in one of four ways:^{34a}

1) The first fiscal period began with the first day of the fifth prytany and ended with the last day of the same prytany.

2) The first fiscal period began at some unspecified time in the fifth prytany and ended in the fifth prytany.

3) The first fiscal period began with the first day of one of two unspecified months in the fifth prytany and ended with the last day of the same month in an unspecified prytany.

4) The first fiscal period began at some unspecified time in one of two unspecified months and ended with the last day of the same month in an unspecified prytany.

Interpretations 3 and 4 are ambiguous and absurd. The others (1 and 2) are supported by the brief description "in the fifth prytany" and, as Dinsmoor advises me, by analogy with the prytany-rated Erechtheum accounts. Between these (1 and 2) it is impossible to decide with confidence. The fiscal period in this non-coterminous year was then a prytany and the last fiscal period coincided with the end of the conciliar year. Since a non-coterminous year could be rated only by its own formative unit (months for the civil year and prytanies for the conciliar year), the accounting year of the *epistatai* was conciliar.³⁵

Another conclusive fact lies in the rather unusual amendment of *I. G.*, I², 24 where Hestiaios, without agreeing with the previous remarks and perhaps giving the impression that he disagrees, makes a proposal in which it is possible to see one of the

I. G., I², 24; 54; 88; *R.-E.*, II, col. 550 (under *architectura* by Puchstein); *R.-E.*, VI, col. 202 under *epistatai* by Szanto); Welter, *A. M.*, XLVIII, pp. 190-1; Bannier, *B. P. W.* (1915), col. 1615. The *Boule* was restricted in its dealings with the *epistatai*. Their probouleuma must be passed by the demos.

^{34a} Even if Menekles is transferred to 416/5, the same cogency prevails.

³⁵ This interpretation of the accounts *I. G.*, I², 370, l. 6 has already been made by Meritt, *Ath. Cal.*, p. 124. But cf. *Hesp.*, V (1936), pp. 377-8 where, ignoring his previous work, he argues that the *epistatai* held office for the civil year. This argument has been met above, p. 438.

reasons for the delay in the erection of the temple of Athena Nike.

Ἡεστιαῖος εἶπε τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἡλεῖσθαι
 αἱ ἐγὼ βολᾶς· τούτος δὲ μετ[ὰ] Καλλικρά
 [το]ς χουγγράφσαντας ἐπ[ιδείχσαι τῇ]
 [ι βολ]ῇ καθότι ἀπομ[ισθοθέσεται]

It is of little significance that the board of three lacks the general title of *epistatai*; it is more important that it does work which would properly be regarded as the function of the building *epistatai*.³⁶ Since the board of three was selected from the *Boule*, its term of office would not outlast that of the *Boule*.

At this point a more tenuous phase of the problem must be introduced. There were at Athens several boards and officials serving for various types of year: conciliar, Panathenaic, and civil. According as one sees relationships between the building *epistatai* and these boards, one may urge the identity of the terms for which the *epistatai* and the related board served. Since many people in a private and public capacity were called *epistatai*, the relationship of name, previously called general, should not lead to such identity, for thus were called the daily chairmen of the prytanies, the *tamiai-epistatai* of Eleusis³⁷ and Apollo,³⁸ and a host of others.

The usual fiscal year was the conciliar year.³⁹ Besides it may be adduced from the legal and business connections between the *Boule* and the board of *epistatai* that they had an identical term of office. *I. G.*, I², 54 reads:

ἡόπος δ' ἂν ἀπὸ οὗ
 λιγίστον χρεμάτο[ν] ἡε ἀγογὲ ἐχσοικοδομεθεῖ, τὸς πρυτάνες
 ἡοι ἂν λάχ[ω]
 οσι πρότοι πρυτανεύ[ω] [ἐν δόναι περὶ αὐτῶν τὴν φσῆφον ἐς τὴν
 πρότεν τῶν]
 κυρίον ἐκκλησιῶν πρῶτ[ον] μετὰ τὰ ἡιερά, τὴν δὲ βολὴν καθὰ
 ἂν δοκεῖ ἀγα[θόν]
 θὼν εἶναι τῷ δέμοι τῷ Ἀθε[ναίων] ἐπιμέλεισθαι ἡόπος ἂν
 πολυτέλεια με
 δεμία γίγνεται . . .

³⁶ Welter, *A. M.*, XLVIII, pp. 190-191.

³⁷ These held office for varying periods.

³⁸ *I. G.*, I², 78, l. 7.

³⁹ Cf. note 3.

The interest of the *Boule* is apparent: πολυτέλεια μεδεμία γίγνεται. Its examination of the work and finances of the *epistatai* seems more than routine, and would be best performed if the two terms of office were coterminous. In *I. G.*, I², 88, despite the disturbed contexts, we see the *Boule* working along with the *epistatai*.⁴⁰ *Boule*, *epistatai*, and architect must have shared the same financial and technical problems and I think that these yearly officials served for the same type of year, all entering and leaving office at the same time. This period would be, of course, the conciliar year.

Busolt recognized that the *Boule* appointed the *epistatai*, worked with them, and supervised their expenditures. Furthermore, the accounts of the *epistatai* in the Parthenon accounts were dated by the *Boule* alone for the first ten years. It was not until 437 B. C. that the archon's name was added. The *Boule*, or members of it, sometimes took over duties properly belonging to the *epistatai*. On this evidence, Busolt concluded that the *epistatai* changed yearly with the conciliar year, whether this was coterminous or non-coterminous with the civil year.⁴¹ His choice has been corroborated by more of the same subjective but nevertheless conclusive evidence.⁴²

This is in agreement with Meritt's earlier conclusion: "in the Erechtheum the accounts are clearly based on the senatorial year." Meritt again, on the same page,⁴³ refers to the "building accounts of the Parthenon and Propylaea" as "those records of receipt and expense which ran throughout the senatorial year." Meritt again: "Public works and commissions and commissions elected to have charge of public works were also dated in the fourth century merely by the name of the eponymous archon. To my mind this implies that the year of the ten prytanies, which as representatives of the senate and the δῆμος had charge of the public works, was sufficiently well dated by the name of the archon."⁴⁴

⁴⁰ *I. G.*, I², 88, ll. 9, 13, 17.

⁴¹ Busolt, *Gr. Staats.*, p. 1052 and n. 3.

⁴² *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I, p. 177 (*Gnomon*, IX [1933], p. 428); *The Erechtheum*, frag. XXVI; cf. note 34.

⁴³ *Ath. Cal.*, p. 125.

⁴⁴ *Ath. Cal.*, p. 126.

We must agree then with Busolt: "Die Datierung weist zugleich auf die Bedeutung des Rates für die Bauten hin."⁴⁵

One possibility for the year-of the *epistatai* has not been discussed, the Panathenaic year. We know of prytany ratings in both the coterminous and non-coterminous period. It is impossible, however, to reconcile a prytany rating with a Panathenaic year either in the coterminous or non-coterminous period. Furthermore, there could not be any logical relationship between the building *epistatai* of the Propylaea, for instance, and the religious year of Athena.⁴⁶

It is pertinent to study the part that the treasurers of Athena play in the accounts of the *epistatai*. They are to "manage" the work.⁴⁷ The regular phrase *λέμμα παρὰ ταμῶν* reveals this "management" as purely paternal: They merely had the right to pay the bills.

The year of accounts at the time the Parthenon was built has been shown to be conciliar. The accounts themselves state that pay-day came with the new moon; hence the calendar at the time was coterminous, for upon no other condition can one call the first and the last payroll period of a conciliar year a month.

The calendar was not only coterminous at the beginning of the Parthenon accounts, but it continued to be coterminous for the fourteenth year of these accounts (434-3 B. C.). For the fifteenth year (433-2) we have no information concerning the fiscal period. We are only one year, however, before Meton's reform of the calendar. When one considers the resemblance between the independent conciliar year and the solar, one may well assume coterminousness for the year 433/2 as well, and, following Dinsmoor's⁴⁸ logical association of the introduction of the independent conciliar year with the reform of 432, say in all seriousness that it "von dem Metonischen Werk beherrscht sei."

MILTON GIFFLER.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

⁴⁵ Busolt, *Gr. Staats.*, p. 1052, n. 3.

⁴⁶ The accounts of the loans of the treasurers of Athena to the state were not rated by the prytany but were dated by the conciliar year. These journal accounts, unlike those of the building *epistatai*, were never published compendiously.

⁴⁷ *I. G.*, 1², 92, l. 39.

⁴⁸ Also cf. Cavaignac, *loc. cit.*

ARISTOTLE'S THEORY OF VALUE.

This paper is designed to refute a hitherto unchallenged dictum of Karl Marx¹ that Aristotle had no "concept of value." This statement is surprising, not only because it is demonstrably false, but also because Marx had a deep respect for Aristotle as "the greatest thinker of antiquity"²; and because he was familiar with two³ out of the three passages in the Aristotelian corpus dealing with economic problems. It is true that Aristotle did not arrive at the labor theory of value; but even in his earliest thought on the subject, there is a definite "concept of value." Yet if Marx is mistaken, modern commentators err no less seriously in reading into Aristotle views which are derivative, at the earliest, from later Peripatetic thought, and at the latest, from the emphasis which Marx put on the equivalent form of value. "Bourgeois" economists are largely indebted to Marx for their stress on production costs, and through them, commentators like the late Professor Stewart have inherited a bias which unfortunately has been easily strengthened by using for purposes of exegesis the interpretations of Aristotle perpetrated by the author of the *Magna Moralia*, the Paraphrasts, and the ancient critics.

For both Plato and Aristotle, labor is something which *has* value, not something which *gives* value. In the *Republic*⁴ Plato mentions "wages" (*μισθός*) as the "price" (*τιμή*) of what Marx would call "labor power" (*ισχός*), and in the *Politics*⁵ Aristotle quietly takes over this belief in labor as a commodity, by including "wage labor" (*μισθοπρία*) along with "commerce" (*ἐμπορία*) and "usury" (*τοκοισμός*) as kinds of chrematistic. "Chrematistic" here is not unjustly rendered as "mercantile capitalism," and therefore to a modern economist, it may seem paradoxical that the wage laborer is called a capitalist; but that is the general view of antiquity; and in subscribing to it, Aristotle is not perhaps particularly obliged to the Academy.

¹ *Capital* (Untermann's translation), p. 69.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 446.

³ *Nicomachean Ethics*, V, 5 (see p. 68); and *Politics* I, 8; 9 (see p. 170, note 1). He does not discuss *Magna Moralia*, I, 33.

⁴ 371e 4-5.

⁵ 1258b 20-27.

But Plato⁶ mentioned "labor" (πόνος) in another sense which Aristotle at least by implication wholly rejects in the *Politics*. Plato had his eye on a society of free workers who produced goods, for themselves or for each other, with their own hands; he recognized that the production of such goods consumed both "time and labor" (χρόνος τε καὶ πόνος), and he goes on to suggest that labor-time is something which should be divided on the basis of craft. Aristotle, of course, made extensive use of the idea of "crafts" or τέχναι to describe his general philosophical position, but for this very reason it is surprising that in the *Politics* there is no mention of a division of labor. In fact, the distinctions which he makes relegate labor as a whole from the province of "natural wealth-getting" (χρηματιστική κατὰ φύσιν).

Aristotle's famous distinction⁷ between economic and chrematistic is really only a tentative dichotomy, introduced as the starting point of his discussion. This method of approach is a disturbing one, because it seems to involve, the author, as it does the reader, in a great deal of confusion; yet most of the *apparent* contradictions (e. g. between books I and II) can be reconciled, if only we remember that Aristotle frequently uses the same word, now as the name of a genus, now as the name of a species, and sometimes even as the name of a subspecies. His final classification includes, I think, three kinds of χρηματιστική (in the generic sense): (1) οἰκονομική or economic (in the specific sense), (2) καπηλική or μεταβλητική (in the specific sense) or chrematistic (in the specific sense), and a mean⁸ between the two which includes "lumbering" (ύλοτομία) and "mining" (μεταλλευτική). (2) includes the three forms of "acquisition" (κτητική) mentioned above (ἐμπορία, τοκισμός, and μισθαρνία) and perhaps a fourth,⁹ μονοπωλία; (1), if we may borrow from another classification, includes the life "of the herdsman" (νομαδικός), "the farmer" (γεωργικός), "the brigand" (ληστρικός), "the fisherman" (ἀλιευτικός), and "the hunter" (θηρευτικός).¹⁰ Now in describing economic or natural chrematistic, Aristotle is attending to a slave society, and so far is labor or its division from being natural that the νομαδικός is said to

⁶ *Republic* 389e 2-370a 4.

⁷ 1256a 3 ff.

⁸ 1258b 27-31.

⁹ 1259a 19-21.

¹⁰ 1256b 1-2.

acquire his wealth "without labor" (*ἀνευ πόνου*).¹¹ "True wealth" (*πλούτος ἀληθινός*) is defined as a "quantity of tools" (*ὀργάνων πλῆθος*)¹²; and, although Aristotle does not actually present this as a reason, since slaves are only "live tools" (*ἐμψυχα ὄργανα*),¹³ no labor is necessary to make the tools productive. They work themselves, and there is good reason on these premises for thinking that wealth is provided "by nature herself" (*ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως*)¹⁴ and not by *πόνος*.

On the other hand, in chrematistic (2) and probably in (3) there is no room, at least in some cases, for *πόνος* as a source of wealth, except as a commodity, for "trade" (*καπηλική*) is based on mutual cheating (*ἀπ' ἀλλήλων*).¹⁵ Aristotle objects to profit, not as unearned increment, but as double gain: firstly, in excess of the mean; and secondly, in excess of the loser's share. The wealth peculiar to these kinds of acquisition is a "quantity of money" (*νομίσματος πλῆθος*),¹⁶ and its source is neither *φύσις* nor *πόνος*, but simple injustice.

In the *Politics* then Aristotle accepts labor as a commodity, but unlike Plato, he rejects it as a source of wealth. Now Plato stopped short of describing labor as a creator of value, and if he had been pressed, it is clear¹⁷ that *χρεία*, human "need" or "demand" would have been presented as his "concept of value." It is interesting that in the *Politics* Aristotle does not follow up this line of thought; in fact, he seems to reject *χρεία* as consciously as he does *πόνος*, but simply by disregarding it. It is mentioned only once in his discussion, and then it does not seem to have its technical meaning. Neither Plato nor Aristotle ever uses *ἀξία*¹⁸ or *ἀρετή*¹⁹ in the sense of "economic value"; these words belong only to the technical vocabulary of the later commentators, but Aristotle formulates at least what we should call "theories of value." In the *Politics* a constant emphasis on "use" or *χρησις* shows that this, and not *χρεία*, is the value-creating element. The function of economic is *τὸ χρῆσασθαι*,²⁰ and "property" (*κτήσεις*), although "generally private" (*ὅλως ἴδιαι*),

¹¹ 1256a 32.¹² 1256b 36.¹³ 1253b 28.¹⁴ 1256b 8.¹⁵ Cf. the Paraphrast Heliodorus *passim*.¹⁶ Cf. Michael Ephesius *passim*.¹⁸ 1258b 2.¹⁹ 1257b 8-9.²⁰ *Op. cit.*, 369c 10.²⁰ 1256a 12.

should be "common" (κοινά) "in relation to use" (τῇ χρήσει).²¹ The use of a thing, according to Aristotle, is "twofold" (διττῇ)²²: for example, a shoe has two uses, its "wear" (ὑπόδεσις) and its "use in exchange" (χρήσις μεταβλητική). In either case it is used "as a shoe" (ᾧ ὑπόδημα), and we gather that the value of the shoe, even in exchange, lies in what Marx would call its use-value. In the *Politics* Aristotle, like Marx, finds a "concept of value" in the relative form, only he finds it in χρήσις, not in πόνος.

To this "utility" theory of value, there is the obvious objection that even a shoe can have no value in free exchange unless there is a demand for it; a shoe is really useful only in so far as it fulfils a human want: χρήσις is related so closely to χρεία that the two words are often synonymous. The same objection can be made to any theory of value which finds the "concept of value" on the left-hand side of the value equation: Professor Ely,²³ for example, protests against the labor theory of value on the basis that a machine for blowing soap bubbles, however costly to produce, would be valueless, because there is no demand for it. These objections imply that the equivalent form of value likewise represents a "concept of value," namely, demand, which must be taken into account. Perhaps Aristotle, when he wrote the *Politics*, and Marx, when he wrote *Das Kapital*, would have acknowledged that demand is necessary for exchange; yet each would have maintained that there was something on the other side of the equation more fundamental for the creation of value: in the case of the Greek thinker, use; in the case of the German economist, labor. Today the objection cited loses much of its force through the practical disappearance of free exchange and the artificial creation of demand; but in antiquity, the obvious loss of exchange value in cases of overproduction must have been discomfiting to a man of Aristotle's empirical inclinations.

In the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle follows up logically^{23B} a line of thought developed in the *Politics*, and by so doing, arrives at a different theory of value. In the *Politics*²⁴ he had

²¹ 1263a 26-39.

²² 1257a 6.

²³ *Outlines of Economics* (N. Y., 1926), pp. 178-9.

^{23B} See *Addendum*.

²⁴ 1263a 26.

held that "property" (κτήσεις) should be "in a way common" (πὸς κοινά), and in the *Nicomachean Ethics* ²⁵ he holds that the "communion" (κοινωνία) which makes that possible depends on "exchange" (ἀλλαγὴ); exchange in turn on an "equality" (ισότης) of both persons and commodities; and the equality of commodities on their "commensurability" (συμμετρία). This commensurability can never be genuine, for houses and beds are not really "comparable" (συμβλητά),²⁶ that is, homogeneous; but "in relation to need" (πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν), they can become "commensurable" (σύμμετρα) if they are measured by "some unit" (ἐν τι) of value.²⁷ And this unit of value he finds to be nothing else than "need" or "demand" (χρεία) itself.²⁸ It is no longer, in his opinion, the "use" (χρῆσις) of a house which creates its value, but rather the "demand" (χρεία) for a house, which is represented by the equivalent form of value on the right-hand side of the value equation; and it does not matter, he says, whether the equivalent form is shoes or money.

Money, however, is the usual "representative of demand" (ὑπάλλαγμα τῆς χρείας),²⁹ by acting as a "measurement" (μέτρον or μέσον)³⁰ of value. In the *Politics* Aristotle had traced³¹ the historical development of money from its existence as a "commodity" (ὁ τῶν χρησίμων) to its use as token coinage, and there was expressed a conviction that money was closely associated with all reprehensible forms of chrematistic; he felt that money had deserted its natural function as a medium of exchange to become the "beginning and the end of exchange" (στοιχείον καὶ πέρας τῆς ἀλλαγῆς):³² to use Marx's formulae, the ordinary process of exchange became money-commodity-money, and money-money in cases of "usury" (τοκισμός) where money, by a false etymology,³³ was represented as the illegitimate "offspring" (τόκος) of money. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* ³⁴ bad etymology is again employed to enforce the suggestion that "money" (νόμισμα) is only "conventional" (νόμῳ), but on the whole it is regarded as a fair measure of value, and there has disappeared completely the view that there is something indecent about any

²⁵ 1133b 17-18.²⁶ 1133a 19.²⁷ 1133b 18-21.²⁸ 1133a 25-27.²⁹ 1133a 29.³⁰ 1133a 19-22; b 21-22.³¹ 1257a 35-41³² 1257b 23.³³ 1258b 5-7.³⁴ 1133a 30-31.

exchange with which money is connected. Yet it is at the most a "surety for future exchange" (ἐγγυητὴς ὑπὲρ τῆς μελλούσης ἀλλαγῆς),⁸⁵ and the representative of "demand" (χρεία) which is at bottom the real unit of value.

It is clear then that, contrary to the view of Karl Marx, Aristotle has a very definite "concept of value." Marx seems to have ruled out this possibility more or less on *a priori* grounds by suggesting⁸⁶ that Aristotle was prevented by the peculiar conditions of a slave society from discovering the labor theory of value. Aristotle, he believes, was constrained by his environment to believe in the inequality of men and of their labor powers; and for that reason could not recognize labor as a "concept of value." This reasoning is fallacious for several reasons: in the first place, χρεία is as much a "concept of value" for Aristotle as labor is for Marx; secondly, Aristotle is not describing a slave society in the *Nicomachean Ethics* as he was in the *Politics*: his carpenter and shoemaker are free workers exchanging their own products; and thirdly, Aristotle insists quite as strenuously as Marx on the equality of the persons involved in a transaction. In fact, this insistence has resulted in an attempt by commentators, ancient and modern, to read into his views a labor theory of value.

The author of the *Magna Moralia*⁸⁷ does seem to suggest that a man's deserts should be proportionate to his toil, and Professor Stewart,⁸⁸ for example, took this hint to interpret the statement in the *Nicomachean Ethics*⁸⁹ that it is necessary to equate not only the commodities (τὰντα) but also the persons (τούτους) involved in the exchange. This procedure is entirely unjustified, not only because the *Magna Moralia* is post-Aristotelian and in any case does not warrant so bold an interpretation, but also because the statement in the *Nicomachean Ethics* is explained quite differently in its own context. There is not the slightest reference to πόρος, and a close reading of the passage shows that the equation of persons is to result, not from an evaluation of the labor contributed, but simply from an evaluation of the commodities offered. The equation of producers is a direct conse-

⁸⁵ 1133b 10-12.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁸⁷ 1193b 39-1194a 6.

⁸⁸ *Notes* (Oxford, 1892), vol. I, pp. 449, note 1; 453; 459; 460; 464.

⁸⁹ 1133a 13-18.

quence of the equation of goods. When Aristotle says that the persons must be equated, he means only that for purposes of exchange no account is to be taken of any inequality of status; they stand as equals in exchange as soon as their commodities are equalized. This is the only possible explanation, outside of an unlikely corruption, which would account for the abrupt transition from the subject of persons to that of things⁴⁰ and for his use of the conjunction *διό*; he says: ἀλλὰ τούτους δεῖ ἰσασθῆναι, διὸ πάντα συμβλητὰ δεῖ πως εἶναι, ὃν ἐστὶν ἀλλαγὴ. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle has a "concept of value" (*pace* Marx), namely *χρεία*, but not (*pace* Stewart) two concepts of value, namely *πόνος* and *χρεία*.

ADDENDUM.

23B. This very fact suggests that *Eth. Nic.* V is later than *Pol.* I and II. On Jaeger's calculus, the reverse should be true, since the economic doctrine of the *Politics* is farther from Plato. My argument contains the possible implication that his theory of Aristotle's development is wrong. Perhaps in the first flush of enthusiasm over his academic independence, Aristotle was more eager to part company with the views of his master; while, as time progressed, he became less anxious to play the recalcitrant pupil, and, at the height of his powers, attained that critical objectivity which alone should stand as the final criterion of his intellectual growth.

VAN JOHNSON.

TUFTS COLLEGE.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM SAMOTHRACE.

The present inscription is the first part of a decree honoring an officer in the army of one of the Ptolemies, in charge of the district of Maronea, for his efforts in saving the region including the island of Samothrace from the attack of some barbarians, possibly Gauls. Some vital points of the text are rather obscure and must always remain so because of the unfortunate history of the stone during the last three years.¹ These

- ¹ The stone was discovered by a farmer in the fields near his summer home at the seaward end of the gully leading down from the vaulted propylon of the ancient city of Samothrace. The discovery was made probably in July of 1935, although the veracity of the farmer has, in the light of further developments, been thrown into considerable doubt. In August of the same year the island was visited by each of the collaborators in this article separately and unknown to each other. At that time the stone was in perfect preservation, and most of the letters were clearly visible, but some, particularly in lines 1 and 2, 14 and 15, and 34, were illegible because of solution or erosion of the face of the stone. Mr. Bakalakis, however, was able to get an excellent photograph of the inscription, and I, who had more time at my disposal, was able to make a fair copy of most of the visible letters. Mr. Bakalakis also made a copy, from which a few letters not read by me can be restored.

In the summer of 1936 Miss Margaret MacVeagh, who was planning a trip including a stop at the island, agreed to supply me with a squeeze of the inscription. The farmer, however, made some difficulties for her, so that her attempt was not entirely successful. The obvious interest held by the marble for foreigners aroused some suspicions in the mind of the farmer, who failed to carry the block to the recognized authorities, but broke it up, apparently in the desire to ascertain whether or not it actually contained something of value in its interior.

Reports of this mutilation reached me, and in the spring of 1938 Mr. Bakalakis and I obtained, through the generous cooperation of Mr. Oikonomos, then Director of the Division of Fine Arts and Archaeology in the Ministry of Education, permission to bring the stone to Athens. This feat was accomplished, although it was by then almost too late to be of use, for some of the fragments are irretrievably lost, and weathering has reduced the legible letters to a tiny fraction of the original number. The inscription is now temporarily in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, awaiting return to Samothrace when proper care of the antiquities of the island is assured.

The following article is thus based almost entirely on the two copies made in 1935, and on Mr. Bakalakis' photograph. Enough letters are

points, however, can be decided with fair probability in most cases by the evidence still at hand.

The stone is a block of white marble, coarse grained and probably Thasian. As preserved it is 1.03 m. in height, including the moulding at the top. The inscribed surface is 0.95 m. in height, 0.35 m. wide at the top, and 0.375 m. wide at the bottom. The thickness is approximately 0.12 m.; the back is roughly worked with the exception of a narrow dressed surface along each vertical edge. The text is not complete on the preserved block, which was apparently cut off at the bottom, possibly for use as a cover slab in a drain such as that found in the recent excavations in Samothrace.² The letters are about 0.015 m. in height, well cut, with some suggestion of apices, especially on the sigma and the chi. The inscription is not stoichedon; the size and spacing of the letters decreases somewhat in the course of the document.

- Ἐδο[ξ]εν [τ]ῇ [βουλ]ῇ [β]α[σι]
 λεὺς Π[ο]λυχάρης [Δ]εοχά
 ρους εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ Ἐπίνικος
 ὁ τεταγμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βα
 5 σιλέως Πτολεμαίου ἐπὶ
 Μαρωνέας, πολίτης ὦν καὶ
 φίλος καὶ εὖνους τῷ [δ]ῆμῳ
 καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὖ
 σέβῳ διακείμενος, διατε
 10 λεί χρεῖας παρεχόμενος καὶ
 κοινῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἰδία[ι] τοῖς

preserved on the stone to confirm some of the restored readings. Both Mr. Bakalakis and I realize that the inscription should have a more complete study at the hands of specialists in Hellenistic history, but an edition of the material in our possession must first be made.

In the course of the three years during which the inscription has been under study many persons have taken an interest of one sort or another in it, and many of their suggestions have had an influence on the final form. Among these should be mentioned Dr. Charles Edson and Professor F. P. Johnson. Two of the most difficult problems, resulting from the incomplete and defective preservation of the text, yielded ultimately only to the ability of Professor B. D. Meritt.

(Signed) Robert L. Scranton

² Cf. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Excavations in Samothrace," *A. J. A.*, XLIII (1939), p. 144.

- ἐντ[υγ]χάνουσι τῶν π[ολι]
 τῶν ἐν οὐ[δ] ἐνὶ τῶν ἀξι[ουμέ]
 νων ἀντιλέγ[ω]ν τῶι δήμ[ωι].
 15 τῶν ἐγχωρίων μερῶν δὲ ὑπὸ
 τῶν βαρβάρων πολεμουμέ
 νω[ν] πᾶσαν σπουδὴν καὶ π[ρο]
 θυμίαν παρέσχετο εἰς τ[ὸ δι]
 ασωθῆναι αὐτὰ στρατιώτα[ς]
 20 τε ἀποστείλας τοὺς διαφυ
 λάζοντας καὶ καταπάλτας
 καὶ βέλη καὶ τοὺς χρησιμοποιήσαν[τες]
 τούτοις· ἀξιωθείς τ[ε] δανεί
 σαι χρήματα εἰς τοὺς μισθ
 25 οὺς τοῖ[ς] διαφυλάξασιν
 βραδέειν τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ
 σεν βουλόμενος ἀκόλουθα
 πράττειν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰ
 ρέσει καὶ τοῖς προϋπερεμένοις
 30 [τε] κα[ὶ] τ[ὸ] ἐ[κ] φ[ι]λανθρωπῶν πρὸς
 [τ]ῇν [πρό]λ[ιν· τῇ]ς [ἱκετ]είας τε ἀπο
 σταλείσης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐδά
 νεισεν χρήματα ἄτοκα εἰς σι
 [τηρ]έσι[ον] ἐν καιροῖς ἀναγκαίοις.
 35 -----

Resolved by the Council; Polychares, son of Leochares, Basileus, made the motion:

Whereas Epinikos, commander on behalf of the King Ptolemy over Maronea, a citizen and friend and sympathetic toward the people, and in matters respecting the gods piously disposed, has continued to offer services both toward the city publicly and privately toward those citizens who entreated him, in no case concerning the expected services disputing with the assembly;

and when the country districts were attacked at the hands of the barbarians he showed all energy and zeal for their safety, sending soldiers for garrisons and catapults and munitions and men to use them;

and when petitioned to lend money for the wages of those guarding the district later he assented, desiring continu-

ously to act according to the pleasure of the king and with especial distinction and philanthropies toward the city; and when petition was sent to him he loaned money without interest for food, in times of need -----

Lines 1-2: The prescript presents some problems. The letters were so faint at the time of discovery that neither copy is by any means complete, and the copies vary slightly. The restoration given fits the letters which can be read certainly, and seems reasonable enough.⁸ A similar prescript occurs in *I. G.*, XII, 8, 157. Polychares, son of Leochares, is apparently not otherwise known as *basileus* in Samothrace, nor is his name reported from other localities. Leochares his father likewise appears for the first time in our inscription. The *basileus* appears in all Samothracian inscriptions as making the motion. Whether he was a civil or religious magistrate is uncertain.

Line 3: Epinikos, the Ptolemaic commander at Maronea, is a third new personality.

Lines 5-6: The phrase *ἐνὶ Μαρωνείας* indicates the territory in Epinikos' charge. In *I. G.*, XII, 8, 156, lines 2 to 4, we are similarly informed about Hippomedon the Spartan, although *ἐνὶ* is omitted. The use of *ἐνὶ* is perhaps unusual, but the construction is clear enough.

Lines 6-13: These include the usual formulae in which the usual virtues of honored persons are listed. There is nothing in them to excite interest; the general thought and expression are paralleled throughout the group of similar decrees from Samothrace (*I. G.*, XII, 8, 150-159).

Line 12: This line seems too short, but the reading is certain.

Lines 13-14: The restoration of these lines is particularly difficult, and may not be correct. In line 14 Scranton read *ανταλεγ-ν* from the stone, although the photograph seems to show that two letters between the first nu and lambda would be crowded.

Lines 15-16: It is here that we find the key to the historical interpretation of the document before us. Unfortunately line 15

⁸ Both Bakalakis and Scranton read *nu* for *rho* in *Π[ο]λυχαρης*, but Meritt's emendation, based on probability and the presence of the *-χαρης* root in the father's name, is probably better.

cannot be restored with certainty, although we give what seems the most probable restoration. At present the letters are illegible, and in the condition of the stone when first seen only a few scattered letters could clearly be made out. The photograph is of some assistance in establishing certain letters, and the balance of all considerations makes the restoration offered plausible and probable, if not certain.⁴

The word βαρβάρων is easily read, even today. The characters are all well preserved, and make no difficulties. The word following is less certain, but πολεμουμένων seems the best solution. It is unfortunate that nothing more is said that would serve to identify the enemy, for the identification might give some clue as to the date of the text. If these barbarians were Gauls, it would be natural to assume that the events referred to occurred during the great invasion of the Gauls, which began in 279 B. C. and continued for several years following until they were finally ejected from Hellenistic soil in 275 B. C. If they were not Gauls, the events may have occurred at any period during the following two centuries when the Thracian hill dwellers constituted a perpetual menace to the coastal regions. The formula is close to that of *I. G.*, XII, 8, 156, dated in 239-223 B. C.; the similarity in tone and content would draw them even closer together, suggesting that Hippomedon and Epinikos were participants in the same affair. We may also note the use in both decrees of the very unusual word βραδέων. On the other hand, the formula of our decree is much more consistently organized, with all formal phrases at the first, and the special circumstances separate. This would suggest a different secretary; hence a different year, and possibly a different occasion. Moreover, the letter forms of our inscription seem closer to those of *I. G.*, XII, 8, 150, honoring Lysimachus and dated in the years 288-281 before Christ. Most significant are the alpha and the sigma. In our inscription the cross bar of the alpha is straight; it is so in the earlier dated text, but in the Hippomedon inscription the alphas are consistently supplied with broken cross bars, a characteristic which seems to be shared by all of the later Samothracian inscriptions. In the sigma of our text the bars at the top and bottom are horizontal or slightly sloping; in the

⁴ The restoration is suggested by Professor B. D. Meritt.

Hippomedon text, the corresponding bars are apparently always sloping, whereas the Lysimachus inscription has both types.

The balance of the evidence would favor a period between the two, and in view of our lack of definite information, we are probably safest in dating it after the middle of the third century, possibly with the Hippomedon inscription in *ca.* 239-223 B. C.

Lines 16-34: These lines give a vivid picture of the mobilization of the Hellenistic war machine—vivid enough in the compact style of the decree. It is closely paralleled, as noted above, by *I. G.*, XII, 8, 156, lines 9-13.

Lines 18-19: Professor Meritt suggests the restoration for these lines.

Lines 24-25: Professor Meritt would prefer the syllabic division *μω-θούς*, but theta seems on the stone to be visible at the end of the line 24. The reading *τοῖς* is preferred by Meritt. The original transcript seemed to show space for three or four letters between *τοῖ* and *διαφυλάξαι*, but the suggestion *τοῖ[τοῖς]* is apparently difficult to justify.

Line 26: *βραδέων*. In the notes to *I. G.*, XII, 8, 156, line 12, this is made equivalent to *ὕστερον*. It means here "in later times," rather than "late in coming." The implication here is that the danger continued long after the first attack of the enemy had been fended off, and guards were left stationed throughout the countryside.

Line 29: The word *προὔπερεμένους* does not seem to occur elsewhere. It would appear to be a double compound of *ἔημι*, using the second aorist participle of that word as it occurs in compounds. The construction, at least, is paralleled in *S. I. G.*,⁸ 443, line 16.

Line 31: Any of several words would fill the space after *τῇς*; *βοηθείας* would fit as well as *ἰκετείας*. On this restoration depends the sense, and since no restoration can be certain, it might have been better to leave the question open, although what seems the most likely interpretation is given.

Lines 33-34: The construction of line 33 and the restoration of line 34 are somewhat obscure. The letters are now invisible, but on the original reading they could be made out with some clarity as here represented. It may have to do with the provisioning of a besieged town or some other army, or, if we restore

Βοηθείας or the like in line 31, of a body of reinforcements sent to Epinikos.

As the document, in so far as it is preserved, deals entirely with the works of Epinikos, and no beginning has been made on the resolution of the Council in regard to the honors to be given to him, we may assume that the preserved text is only one half or two thirds of the original document. The conclusion of the recital of Epinikos' deeds and the designation of the honors would appear on the missing part of the inscription, which may yet be recovered in the excavations in Samothrace undertaken by Professor Lehmann-Hartleben.

GEORGE BAKALAKIS,
ROBERT L. SORANTON.

NOTES ON THE DESTRUCTION OF TWO ROMAN VILLAS.

Two cases of the destruction of Roman dwellings in the time of the Empire are of interest. One of these was the home of the wealthy knight, Vedius Pollio, a friend of Augustus and notorious for his luxury and cruelty.¹ Of the razing to the ground of Pollio's villa the *Prosopographia imperii Romani*² remarks, "Augustus domum eius diruit, ne qua memoria eius in urbe extaret." Similarly Gardthausen writes, "Als Vedius Pollio im Jahre 739/15 starb, da stellte sich heraus, dass er den Kaiser zu seinem Erben eingesetzt hatte mit der Bedingung, irgend einen Monumentalbau zu *Ehren des Todten* ausführen zu lassen. *Augustus hatte das weder erwartet, noch gewünscht.* Der Name des Vedius Pollio war so verrufen, dass Augustus ihn so bald wie möglich der Vergessenheit übergeben wollte."³ For the statements of Gardthausen which are given above in italics there is apparently no evidence whatsoever.

Only two sources bear on the tearing down of the villa. Ovid, after describing the grandeur of the villa, writes,

Haec aequata solo est, nullo sub crimine regni,
Sed quia luxuria visa nocere sua.
Sustinuit tantas operum subvertere moles
Totque suas heres perdere Caesar opes.⁴

Ovid then concludes with the statement that that is the way to exercise the censorship; that is the way to set an example, when the judge does himself what he admonishes others to do. Ovid, therefore, would have his readers believe that Augustus, when he received the villa as an inheritance, razed it to the ground because it was too luxurious.

Dio,⁵ the other source, informs us that Vedius in his testament left many bequests to many persons. "To Augustus he left a large part of his estate together with Pausilypon, the place between Neapolis and Puteoli, with instructions that a very

¹ Cf. *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, III, pp. 390-391.

² III, p. 391.

³ *Augustus und seine Zeit* (1896), I, 2, p. 1031.

⁴ *Fasti*, VI, 637 ff.

⁵ LIV, 23.

beautiful work be constructed for the public (τῷ τε δήμῳ περικαλλὲς ἔργον οἰκοδομηθῆναι κελεύσας). Augustus razed Pollio's house to the ground on the pretext of preparing for the erection of the other structure, but really with the purpose that Pollio should have no monument in the city; and he built a colonnade, inscribing on it the name, not of Pollio, but of Livia."

It is a fact that neither Ovid nor Dio affords any evidence that Pollio stipulated that the public work bear his name, nor do they give any hint that Augustus did not expect to be one of Pollio's heirs or that the inheritance was distasteful to him. On these two points Gardthausen's affirmations must be corrected. It should, moreover, be remembered that Pollio and Augustus were good friends.⁶ It would indeed have been unusual, in view of the usages of the time, for Augustus not to have been mentioned in the will of his friend, and the omission of his name would probably have caused the emperor not pleasure but pain.

The facts given in our sources are the following: Augustus received a large inheritance from his friend Pollio, with instructions that he erect a very beautiful public work. Augustus accepted the inheritance and carried out the terms of the will: he tore down Pollio's villa in Rome and gave as his reason for the act the fact that he was preparing for the erection of the other structure, the colonnade which he actually built on the site and dedicated in the name of Livia, his wife.

Dio has given us Augustus' own reason for the destruction of the villa, a reason which was quite in accord with the terms of Pollio's will. Against this we have the statement of Ovid and of Dio (who likely enough got the idea from Ovid or from someone who followed Ovid) that Augustus really wanted to censure the memory of his friend. It is the word of Augustus against the word of Ovid and Dio; the story of Ovid bears all the earmarks of gossip, doubtless due to the very real general detestation of the cruelty and luxury of Pollio. That people did talk about the luxury of Pollio for a long time to come is suggested by the fact that Tacitus includes among the reproaches aimed at Augustus after his death "*Vedii Pollionis luxus*."

In line 643 of the *Fasti* Ovid said that the house of Pollio was not destroyed because of high treason (*nullo sub crimine regni*).

⁶ Pliny, *N. H.*, IX, 77, refers to Pollio as *ex amicis Divi Augusti*.

He was here referring to the practice of sometimes including in the punishment of a person found guilty of high treason the destruction of his house, one form of *damnatio memoriae*.⁷ Cases of the destruction of the house of the condemned are attested only for the time of the Republic. Dio Cassius⁸ states that in his time this form of punishment was no longer employed. Vittinghoff,⁹ however, points out that the evidence concerning penalties in the individual case is inadequate. Was the penalty, then, applied during the early Empire?

The words of Ovid that Pollio's house was destroyed *not because of high treason* suggest that the razing of the house of a person condemned for *perduellio* would, in the reign of Augustus, have been quite possible. Furthermore, there *may* have been such a case during the reign of Caligula. The evidence is limited to the following passage in Seneca's *De Ira*:¹⁰

"C. enim Caesar villam in Herculansenſi pulcherrimam, quia mater ſua aliquando in illa cuſtodita erat, diruit fecitque eius per hoc notabilem fortunam; ſtanteſ enim praenavigabamus, nunc cauſa dirutae quaeritur."

We know that the Elder Agrippina after her trial and condemnation in 29 A. D. was exiled to the island of Pandateria, where she died in 33 and whence her son, Caligula, transported her ashes in 37 to Rome for burial in the Mausoleum of Augustus.¹¹ Two problems arise. When was Agrippina imprisoned in the villa at Herculaneum, if her place of exile was Pandateria? And was the fact that she had been imprisoned in the villa the real cause for its destruction or was her imprisonment there more or less a coincidence?

There are three possibilities as to the time when Agrippina was held under guard at the villa, just before or during her trial, immediately after the trial and before she was dispatched to the island, or at some time during her exile. A passage in Suetonius' *Life of Tiberius*¹² lends weight to the last mentioned

⁷ Cf. Vittinghoff, *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1936), p. 13 and Brecht, "perduellio" in *R.-E.* (1937), XXXVII, col. 631.

⁸ *Frg.* 26, 1 Boiss. I, p. 83.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰ III, 21, 5.

¹¹ For the sources, cf. *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, III, p. 444.

¹² LXIV.

possibility: Suetonius states that Tiberius, after the exile of his daughter-in-law and grandchildren, never moved them anywhere except in fetters and in a tightly closed litter, while a guard of soldiers kept any who met them on the road from looking at them or even from stopping as they went by. It seems highly probable, therefore, that during her exile Agrippina was shifted one or more times from Pandateria and that it was on such an occasion that she was for some time imprisoned in the Herculanean villa.

Seneca mentions the razing of the villa as an example of anger. The wanton destruction of the villa merely because his mother, years before, had at one time been kept in it under guard accords well with the picture of the mad, capricious Caligula which our sources, hostile to him, have handed down. Recently Balsdon¹³ has in many instances found logical and convincing explanations for actions of the emperor which hostile writers had so warped or so interpreted as to make them seem the deeds of a madman. The story of the apparently wanton destruction of the villa may belong to the hostile tradition which Balsdon has ably assailed.

An explanation of the razing of the villa is here offered merely as a suggestion. Can the villa in question have been the property of someone condemned under Caligula for high treason? In such a case the razing to the ground of the dwelling would have good precedent in the procedure of Republican Rome as part of the damnation of the memory of the person convicted. Thus the coincidence that Agrippina had once been imprisoned in the villa would afford ready material for concocting another story about the madness of Caligula. It would seem reasonable to believe that the villa at the time of Agrippina's incarceration belonged to the emperor. It may later through gift or sale have passed from imperial possession.

KENNETH SCOTT.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY.

¹³ *The Emperor Gaius* (1934).

INDO-EUROPEAN PREVOCALIC *s* IN MACEDONIAN.

If it can be shown that IE prevocalic *s*, or rather initial *s* before vowels and intervocalic *s*, became *h* in Macedonian, as it did in all Greek dialects, we would have one good reason to think that Macedonian was, if not a Greek dialect, as O. Hoffmann tried to show,¹ at least not merely an eastern Illyrian dialect that was somewhat hellenized, but a distinctive IE branch that might be set midway between Greek and Illyrian.² It is therefore of interest that Schwyzler³ quotes, apparently with approval, Hoffmann's equation of Macedonian *δφав* "swine" with Lat. *suem*. He does not discuss Macedonian *h*- < IE *s*- but quotes the word to illustrate Macedonian interchange of *o* and *u*. However, if this equation is correct for *o* < IE *u*, it must also be correct for IE *s*- > *h*-. In fairness to the critical reader he might have added that, first, *δφав* is absolutely the only form that Hoffmann could muster for the alleged change of *s*- to *h*-; secondly, that in order to arrive at it, Hoffmann had doubly to emend the Hesychian gloss which he quotes, for what Hesychius (or rather our version of him) enters is not *δφав* but *γότφав*. It seems proper to emend *γ* to *φ* in Hesychian glosses, when there is something to be gained, but for a theoretically archaic letter for *h*- (**h*οφав in archetype) to show up as a corrupted *γ*- and a *-φ*- as a corrupted *-τ*- as well is beyond easy credence.

Schwyzler's use of this created word *δφав* is all the harder to understand as he quotes from Kretschmer what looks like rather satisfactory evidence that intervocalic IE *-s*- remained in Mace-

¹ See O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum*, 1906.

² We know that intervocalic *s* remained in Illyrian from such names as *Isarous*: Goth. *eisarn* (W.P., I, 4), *Αἰσακαλει*, *Ausancalionē*, *Anausaro* (Hans Krahe, *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen*, 1925, p. 82) and *Vesoleves-is* < IE **klewes-* (W.P., I, 310). Many Illyrian names with initial prevocalic *s*, such as *Senta*, *Seatus*, *Sevicious*, *Seato* (these last are almost certainly not Latin in origin), *Salvia*, have every appearance of possessing IE *s*- (see lists in Krahe, *op. cit.* and *Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen*, 1929).

³ See Eduard Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik, allgemeiner Teil und Lautlehre*, 1934, p. 69; digest of phonological evidence bearing on Macedonian, with literature, pp. 69-71.

donian in its voiced form *-z-*, if *-ž-* can be so interpreted in *ḍlḡa* "Silberpappel": Span. *aliso* < Germanic, presumably Visigothic, **alisa* (cf. German *Erle*, OHG *elira* < WGerm. **alizō*).⁴ In other words, Schwyzler implies that IE *s-* before vowels becomes Macedonian *h-* but that intervocalic *-s-* appears as Macedonian *-z-*. There is no logical reason why such might not be the case but it seems to be against general experience in IE. In Latin and Umbrian IE *s-* remains but intervocalic *-s-* is rhotacized to *-r-*, via *-ž-*. Similarly, in West and North Germanic initial IE *s-* remains but intervocalic *-s-*, when the stress did not immediately precede (Verner's law), became voiced to *-z-* > *-r-*. Again, in Old Irish IE *s-* remains (aside from lenition in sentence *sandhi*) but intervocalic *-s-* becomes *-h-* > *-zero-*.⁵ The last instance is particularly instructive because it exactly reverses the supposed treatment of IE *s* in Macedonian. Such parallel instances still further weaken the force of Hoffmann's evidence. The existence of other Macedonian glosses with intervocalic *-s-* naturally proves nothing unless we can show that *-s-* is referable to IE *-s-*. Thus, Macedonian *καυόλα* "broad-brimmed felt hat" ⁶ almost certainly derives from an earlier **kauts-* (or **kaudz-*) < **kautv-* (or **kaudv-*), i. e. **kaut-* (or **kaud-*) with final dental assibilated by originally following *-y-*; cf. Tokharian A *koc*, B *kauc* "high, upward" < pre-Tokh. **kaut-y-* (original **kaud-y-* would level to **kaut-y-* before further developing to **kauc-*).⁷ (The point of this comparison is contained in Hoffmann's description: "die *καυόλα*, wie unsere Filzhüte, einen besonderen Kopfdeckel und einen nach oben gekrümmten breiten Rand besass.")

There is, further a statistical argument which can be urged against Hoffmann. If we are to believe that IE prevocalic *s-* became Macedonian *h-*, there ought to be a fair sprinkling of

⁴ Schwyzler, p. 69, note 3; and cf. *W.P.*, I, 151.

⁵ See R. Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Alt-irischen*, p. 79.

⁶ Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-58, particularly p. 56.

⁷ These Tokh. words are not immediately referable to Germanic **hauha-* "high," though perhaps ultimately related. See G. S. Lane, "Problems of Tocharian Phonology," *Language*, XIV, p. 26 (read **qouq-* for **quoq-*). This is by no means an isolated example of special correspondence between Tokharian and Illyrian (including Macedonian), as I hope to show in detail at another time.

initial *h-* in the some 140 Macedonian glosses we possess because of the great frequency of *s-* as an IE initial, regardless of whether we could etymologize such examples or not and allowing for textual corruption. Now, of the 36 Old Macedonian entries under *a-* in Hoffmann's monograph, not one has *á-*, all have *â-*; but of 77 "Macedonian" names (borrowed from Greek or, if genuinely Macedonian, given in our sources in Greek form), 7 have *ʼA-*. For New Macedonian⁸ two cases in *â-* are entered (*ἀΐσμονος* and *ἄλιος*) out of 4 in *a-*, but these, needless to say, are merely due to the orthographic conservatism of the Koinē throughout its history. Of 4 Old Macedonian entries for *ε-*, one has *ê-*, i. e. *ἐταῖρος*, almost obviously a Greek loan-word; of 21 names, 5 have *ʼE-*. Of 4 Old Macedonian entries for *ι-*, none has *i-*; of 6 names, 4 have *ʼI-*, all in *Ἰππο-*. There is one Macedonian gloss in *η-*: *ἡμεροδρόμας*, again an obvious loanword, if only because of *η* instead of *ā*; of 6 names, 5 have *ʼH-*. There is no Macedonian gloss in *ô-* and none in *ô-* unless we accept Hoffmann's emended *ὀφαν*; of 7 names, 1 has *ʼO-*. There is one gloss in *û-*, none in *û-*; and one name in *ʼY-*. There is neither gloss nor name in *ω-*. In summary, there is not a single example of a genuine Macedonian word beginning with *h-*, quite aside from the problem of whether such words, if they existed, owed their *h-* to IE *s-* or not. All this looks bad for Macedonian "*ὀφαν*," which should obviously be restored to the original *γόφαν* of our source, even if we can do nothing with the IE placement of this word at present.

We have, then, no evidence whatever for a Macedonian treatment of IE *s* which is parallel to its treatment of Greek and some slight positive evidence that IE *s* was preserved intervocally as *-z-*; by analogical inference we shall have to assume that it was preserved initially, even though we cannot as yet give satisfactory etymologies of words with prevocalic initial *s-* in Macedonian.⁹

EDWARD SAPIR.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

⁸ Present-day Macedonian Greek is a development of the Koinē but has a number of interesting survivals of the old Macedonian language.

⁹ See, e. g., genuine Macedonian personal names (*Sabbattaras*, *Sippas*, *Sirras*) in Krahe's material.

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS AND T. VETURIUS GRACCHUS SEMPRONIANUS.

In 204 B. C. a certain Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, almost certainly the son of the like-named consul of 215 and 213, was coöpted into the augural college at what was for that period a very early age (Livy, XXIX, 38, 7). We hear nothing more of him until his death in the plague of 174 (Livy, XLI, 21, 9). Although his elevation to the priesthood while unusually young may have been due to the eminence of his deceased father, he must have been a youth of some considerable promise, and we can assume with much probability that it was ill health that kept him inactive during the years in which his cousins, P. and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (the relationship is as certain as anything of the kind can be without express ancient evidence) were playing more important roles in public life. At his death his place in the college of augurs was taken by one whom Livy (XLI, 21, 9) calls T. Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus.

The name is peculiar but not impossible in its form. If a man who had no cognomen adopted a son, the adopted son might take the praenomen and nomen of the adoptive father, keep his cognomen unchanged, and add a second cognomen formed from his old nomen.¹ T. Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus might thus have been born a Sempronius Gracchus and have been adopted by a T. Veturius who had no cognomen. The difficulty is that the *gens Veturia* was patrician,² and its members must regularly have had cognomina. It has been suggested that the name is wrong and that it should be T. Veturius Gracchi f. Sempronianus or T. Veturius Philo Sempronianus. If the latter were correct the second augur would be by blood the son of the first but by adoption the son of T. Veturius Philo, the consul of 206.³

¹ Marquardt, *Vie Privée des Romains*, I, p. 19, note 3.

² Fr. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, pp. 123, 126-8, 131, seems to me to have proved this clearly against the view of Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen*, I, p. 120, who believes that there was a plebeian gens of the same name.

³ Münzer, *op. cit.*, p. 130 and in *R.-E.*, IIa, 1403, s. v. "Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, No. 52." For other opinions see the notes on Livy, XLI, 21, 9 in Drakenborch's edition.

These suggestions, however, do not touch upon the real difficulty which lies, not in the form of the name, but in the fact it makes a member of the patrician *gens Veturia* succeed to the place in the college previously held by a plebeian. Of the nine members of the college, five had to be plebeian while the other four could be either plebeian or patrician. It was quite possible for a plebeian to take the place of a patrician or a patrician that of a plebeian, but only in the four positions that could be held by men of either class.⁴ At this time there were already four patrician members,⁵ and the plebeian Sempronius must have been followed by another plebeian. May I suggest that one letter has been dropped from the abbreviated praenomen, the nomen and the second cognomen have been confused, and the name should be Ti. Sempronius Gracchus Veturianus? The second augur would then be by birth indeed a member of the patrician family of Veturii, but by adoption the plebeian son of his predecessor. Such adoption of a patrician by a plebeian may have been rare but was not unknown at that period.⁶

If this admittedly hazardous reconstruction is accepted we note a striking similarity between the careers of the sons of the victors of Beneventum and Zama. The younger Scipio also was an augur but because of poor health took no part in public life, and in default of natural issue he also adopted a son who in time became an augur, quite possibly filling the vacancy left by the death of his adoptive father.

RUSSEL M. GEER.

TULANE UNIVERSITY.

⁴ Marquardt, *Culte chez les Romains*, II, p. 109; Mommsen, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 80-83; Wissowa in *R.-E.*, II, 2316, s. v. "Augures."

⁵ They were L. Quinctius Flaminius, 213 (Livy, XXV, 2, 2) to 170 (Livy, XLIII, 11, 13); C. Claudius Pulcher, 195 (Livy, XXXIII, 44, 3) to 167 (Livy, XLV, 44, 3); L. Aemilius Paullus, about 182 (Livy, XXXV, 10, 11; Plutarch, *Aemilius*, 3) to 160 (Livy, *per.* 46); and P. Cornelius Scipio, 180 (Livy, XL, 42, 13) to some date after the end of the extant books of Livy (Münzer in *R.-E.*, IV, 1437, s. v. "P. Cornelius Scipio, No. 331"). Cf. the "Fastes Auguraux" in Marquardt, *Culte*, II, pp. 128-9. This list is an addition by the French translator and has to be used with extreme care. In addition to other misprints, most of the dates of death on p. 129 are opposite the wrong names.

⁶ The son of the patrician T. Manlius Torquatus, consul in 165, was adopted by a plebeian D. Junius Silanus (Livy, *per.* 54; Cicero, *de Finibus*, I, 24; cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, I, p. 75).

ON THE EPHESIAN DEBTOR LAW OF 85 B. C.¹

The famous inscription, of which I here reproduce lines 21-34, was engraved when the Ephesians, outraged at the excesses of Mithridates, determined to return to the Roman alliance and to resist the king.

- ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ, γνώμῃ προέδρων καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως τῆς
βουλῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Εὐβουλίδου, εἰσαγ.
γελαμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅ ἐπεὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ἐ
παγομένων τῷ τε ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
πολεῖ
- 25 ταῖς καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσι τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ὁ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι
πάντας ὁμονοήσαντας ὑπ[ο]στῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον, δεδόχθαι τῷ δή
μῳ, τοῦ πράγματος ἀνήκοντ[ος εἰς] τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν
καὶ σωτη
ρίαν τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμ[ιδος καὶ] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας
οὐ τοὺς
- 30 μὲν ἐκγεγραμμένους ἢ παρα[κεκλει]μένους ὁ ὑπὸ λογιστῶν ἱερῶν ἢ δη
[μ]οσίων ὠτινιοῦν τρόπῳ πᾶ[λιν εἶ]ναι ἐντίμους καὶ ἡκυρῶσθαι
τὰς κ[α]
- τ' αὐτῶν ἐκγραφὰς καὶ ὀφειλήμ[ατα ὅ] τοὺς δὲ παραγεγραμμένους
πρὸς ἰ[ε]
- [ρ]ὰς καταδίκας ἢ δημοσίας ἢ ἐπίτειμα ἱερὰ ἢ δημόσια ὁ ἄλλα
ὀφειλήματ[α]
- ὠτινιοῦν τρόπῳ παρῆσθαι πάντας καὶ εἶναι ἀκύρους τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν
πράξεις ὁ κτλ.

A squeeze, which Professor Meritt had made for his collection at the Institute for Advanced Study, reveals that the lacuna

¹ EDITIONS: Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage archéologique* (1870), III², 136 a. E. L. Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (1882), 205. W. Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*¹ (1883), 253. Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator* (1890), pp. 463-465, No. 13. A. Dareste, B. Haussoullier and Th. Reinach, *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques* (1891), I, pp. 22-29. Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (1900), 496. W. Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*² (1908), 329 with additional notes by A. Wilhelm. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*² (1917), 742. ADDITIONAL COMMENTARY: K. Latte, *Heiliges Recht* (1920), p. 50. Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Olaros* (1922), p. 85. T. R. S. Broughton, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV (1938), pp. 559 f. and 890-2.

in line 27 is not extensive enough to admit all the restoration ἀνήκοντ[ος ἐς τε] of Waddington, and that the lacuna in line 29 amounts to the loss of only five normal-sized letters or of five normal-sized letters and an *iota*. Thus Waddington's restoration παρα[γεγραμ]μένους may be eliminated. The legal inappropriateness of Waddington's restoration was pointed out by the editors of the *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques*, but curiously enough they attributed the error not to Waddington but to the stonecutter. Accordingly, they deleted the whole phrase ἡ παρα[γεγραμ]μένους, and this extraordinary solution has been accepted by subsequent editors.

The first article, that contained in lines 28 to 31, concerns those against whom the penalty has already been applied after execution on the property has failed. The situation may be contrasted with the type of case envisaged in the second article (lines 31-34), where judgment has already been given against the persons concerned, but execution on the property has not yet been applied or not yet proved impossible. In the first article, accordingly, two extreme penalties are mentioned, of which one is the loss of privileges by expulsion from the list of citizens, as Waddington recognized, and possibly from the list of residents. The descriptive participle in line 29 is quite clearly ἐγγεγραμμένους balanced by the noun ἐγγραφάς in line 31. To assume, as the compilers of the *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques* and subsequent editors have done, that the stonecutter made a mistake, once in writing ἐγγεγραμμένους for ἐγγεγραμμένους, and a second time in writing ἐγγραφάς for ἐγγραφάς, is both very forced and unnecessary, because ἀτιμία, accompanied by other penalties, was a common punishment for elusive state debtors at Athens and elsewhere, and because expulsion from the citizen body meant ἀτιμία.

The treatment of state debtors everywhere differed of course considerably from the treatment of private debtors. In places like Athens where execution against the person was not admissible in the case of private debts, it was customary for public debts, and the rest of the Greek world offers numerous examples of its application ² with the result that the unfortunate debtor

² Egon Weiss, *Griechisches Privatrecht*, I (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 495-531. *Idem*, *R.-M.*, Supplementband VI (1935), 56-59.

was imprisoned or even sold into slavery across the frontier. Imprisonment for debt (*παράδιδόναι εἰς τὸ πρακτόρειον* or *παράκλειον*), a common practice of the first centuries before and after Christ, is, I believe, the other penalty to which article 1 refers.

Hence, the two sections concerned may be translated:

§ 1 That those whose names have been erased from the rolls by sacred or public accountants or who have been imprisoned by them, be again in possession of their rights and privileges, and that (a) the sentences against them of erasure from the rolls and (b) the records of debt be invalid.

§ 2 That those against whose names sacred or public judgments, sacred or public fines, or other debts have in any way been noted, be all released from their obligations, and that the instruments of execution against them be invalid.

JAMES H. OLIVER.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

THREE EMENDATIONS IN SENECA'S LETTERS.

Nothing could be more outwardly reassuring than the serried lines of the beautiful typography of Achille Beltrami's edizione nazionale (1931) of the *Epistulae Morales* of Seneca. But the fact remains, as those who devote any serious study to this work know only too well, that the apparently level surface of the highway is scarred with many holes, some larger, some smaller, but all troublesome, except perhaps to persons travelling at a high rate of speed. Three attempts are here presented towards a constitution of a more rational text. The references in brackets immediately following the letter and paragraph number are to the page and line in Hense's second edition (Teubner, 1914).

XX, 11 (64, 12) : nec ego, Epicure, † angulus si iste pauper contempturnus sit divitias si in illas inciderit.

The corrupt reading is common to all the MSS. Beltrami² (*app. crit. ad loc.*) gives a detailed account of the many conjectural restorations, some of which are more amusing than impressive. I venture to suggest that the reading nearest the MS tradition which will at the same time fit the sense of the pas-

sage is *an ullas* [si], that is: "Whether that poor man of yours is going to despise *any riches at all* if he happens to drop into them." As Beltrami suggests, Seneca's reply is spoken with rising temper; in reply to the suggestion that your rich man who has merely practised poverty as an amateur would not handle poverty very well if he dropped into it by some mischance Seneca asserts that the pauper would sell out his principles and his estate of poverty *at almost any figure*, being really enamored of riches and eager to enjoy the first sample of them that comes his way, even though it may actually be very inadequate in amount. He simply will not be able to resist *any* riches. Certainly if Beltrami is right about the rising temper with which this view is delivered, it will be agreed that *ullas* is very effectively placed to convey a sense of scorn. The [si] needs no comment, being readily enthetic between *ullas* and *iste*.

XCI, 3 (398, 5): haec omnia Liberalis nostri adfectum inclinant adversus sua firmum et erectum.

The QBA consensus is *inclinandum*. I suspect the true text at that point to be *inclinant nondum* (*n̄dum*, that is); "all these things are bending the spirit of Liberalis, which is not yet steadfast and upright." The text as I read it does not need to be considered as a rebuke to Liberalis; his trials have been exceptional, and it is no occasion for surprise that he has bent under them (§ 1: *movēre hic casus quemlibet posset*). None the less he *has* bent, and consequently we must conclude that he is *nondum firmus et erectus*. Indeed Liberalis has his own doubts about himself; cf. again § 1: *quae res* (i. e. the destruction of Lugudunum by fire) *effecit ut firmitatem animi sui quaerat*, where what he is wondering about is whether after all he does possess the quality of one who is *firmus*. The same discovery might under certain circumstances be made about any of us, and the rest of the letter is devoted to picturing the nature and the extent of the calamities against which we ought anticipatively to steel ourselves, in the hope that, should they come upon us, we might be found "steadfast and upright."

I join Beltrami (both editions) in reading *saeva* for *sua*; the same conjecture has been independently offered by K. Busche, *Ph. W.*, XLIV (1924), col. 695. Against ordinary things Liberalis is *firmus et erectus*, but *nondum adversus saeva*,

"savage disasters" like the total destruction of one's own beloved city in a single night.

CXIV, 2(547, 16): *quemadmodum autem uniuscuiusque actio dicenti similis est, sic genus dicendi aliquando imitatur publicos mores.*

But where *dicenti* is read above, the MSS QBApr. show *dicendi*; *dicenti* is found only in the later "inferior" MSS, and represents an attempt to make a possible reading out of *dicendi*, impossible as the text stood. That *dicenti* could be regarded as possible is proved in our own time by Beltrami's explanation, carried in both his editions, that it means, by a brachyology, *dicentis ipsius verbis*. I suppose that Beltrami takes *actio* to mean "delivery," but Summers (*Select Letters of Seneca*, p. 138, footnote) points out that in Seneca *actio* is regularly used in the philosophical sense "line of conduct," "course of action," not "delivery" in the rhetorical sense, and such is quite definitely my own impression.

Having regard to the MS *dicendi* I feel that the *quemadmodum* clause must say, for intelligibility, something like this: "just as a man's way of speaking is like his course of life." In other words I regard *dicendi* as perfectly sound; its controlling word however is lost. But it would have to be something like *via* or *modus* or *ratio*, and with *actio* already present in the sentence, *ratio* is the most hopeful selection. Read therefore: *quemadmodum autem uniuscuiusque actio<ni ratio> dicendi similis est*, and the explanation of *dicendi* is at once clear, as also the reason for the loss of its controlling word. The translation reads: "But just as the manner of speaking of each one of us is like his course of conduct, so the fashion of oratory at times imitates the prevailing moral standards." Thus we have a chiasmic arrangement of the essential features of both the subordinate and the main clauses, *actio, ratio dicendi, genus dicendi, publici mores*; the verb parallelism comes through *similis est, imitatur*.

W. H. ALEXANDER.

ΟΙ ΑΦ' ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ IN EPICTETUS AND LUCIAN.

Students of Greek athletics have long known the technical meaning of the phrase οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, and a full discussion of the subject was presented by Friedrich Kindscher in 1845.¹ Heracles was said to have won both in wrestling and in the pancratium on the same day at the first Olympics. This prodigious feat was duplicated only seven times in the later history of the Olympics, and those who achieved it were recorded on a special list as the "successors of Heracles," οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους (πρῶτος, δεύτερος, κτλ.).² Somehow, perhaps through the fault of the lexica, editors and translators of Greek texts have consistently failed to understand the phrase. It is not yet too late for it to be included in the addenda of Liddell-Scott-Jones s. v. Ἡρακλῆς.

One passage which has not been fully understood because of difficulty with this phrase is in Epictetus (II, 18, 22), in praise of the self-control of Socrates: ἐνθυμήθητι οἷαν νίκην ποτὲ ἔγνω· ἐκείνος νενικηκότα ἑαυτόν, ὅλα Ὀλύμπια, πόστος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐγένετο· ἵνα τις, γῇ τοὺς θεοὺς, δικαίως ἀσπάζεταιται αὐτόν "χαῖρέ, παράδοξε," οὐχὶ τοὺς σαπροὺς τούτους πύκτας καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς οὐδὲ τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς, τοὺς μονομάχους. The word πόστος is here properly used to refer to the serial enumeration of the successors of Heracles. Equally appropriate is the παράδοξε, for, as Kindscher pointed out, just this particular epithet and no other was bestowed, *honoris causa*, on a "successor of Heracles."³

Lucian (*Vera Historia*, II, 22) makes jesting allusion to "Games of the Dead," in the course of which πάλην μὲν ἐνίκησεν Κἄρος ὁ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους Ὀδυσσεύς περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου καταγωνισάμενος. The editors and translators from Hemsterhusius to the present seem to be unanimous in the interpretation that Carus was a Heraclid. Now while ancient mythographers ascribe to Heracles

¹ "Die herakleischen Doppelsieger zu Olympia," *Archiv für Philol. u. Paedag.* = *Neue Jbb. für Philol. u. Paedag.*, Supplementbd. XI (1845), pp. 392-411.

² Besides the article by Kindscher, see the brief statement by E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1930), p. 105.

³ Kindscher, p. 392: Solch ein Glücklicher hiess παράδοξος oder παραδοξολικης.

from 68 to 72 children, a Heraclid named Carus is unknown. Nor could the learning of Gruppe⁴ unearth any *memorabilis Caranus Heraclides*, such as was postulated by Gronovius in emending the Kāpos to Kápavos.⁵ Much better, and probably correct, is the emendation long ago proposed by Palmerius: Kárpos. *Emendationem palmarem Palmeri!* The first "successor of Heracles" was Caprus of Elis,⁶ and it is surely to him that Lucian refers, even if the spelling Kāpos be retained in the text. It might be added that the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicon* gives another variant spelling for this Olympic victor: Kapos. The prevailing bewilderment of the commentators on this passage of Lucian may be illustrated by Allinson's utterly inappropriate note *ad locum*:⁷ "Kāpos: unknown unless it be the Roman poet in Ovid *Epist. ex Ponto* 4, 16."

In another passage of Lucian (*Quom. hist. conscr.*, 9), which alludes to Nicostratus, the seventh and last of the successors of Heracles,⁸ the translators again warp the sense of the passage. Thus Jacobus Micyllus in his Latin version (Francoforti, 1538) gives: *Nihil vetat ab Hercule prognatum esse Nicostratum illum*; and H. W. Fowler renders freely, "a Nicostratus gets his recognition as a Heracles."

The proverbial character of the "successors of Heracles" is shown in a passage missed by Kindscher. Gālen (*Protrept. ad artes*, 13, 36) roughly quotes an unnamed poet to the following effect: 'Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τις ἐλέφαντος ἢ λέοντος ισχυρότερος ἂν φανείη.

CLARENCE A. FORBES.

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.

⁴ *R.-E.*, Suppl. III, cols. 1091-4.

⁵ No Kápavos is to be found in Roscher. Nevertheless Harmon and Nilén have adopted Gronovius' reading.

⁶ H. Swoboda, *R.-E.*, X, cols. 1921-2, s. v. Kapros. Caprus is called δ δεύτερος in Eusebius' *Chronicon*, where Heracles himself is counted as first in the list.

⁷ *Lucian, Selected Writings* (Boston, 1905), p. 71.

⁸ Stein, *R.-E.*, XVII, col. 543, s. v. Nikostratos (no. 11).

REVIEWS.

WALTER MARG. Der Charakter in der Sprache der frühgriechischen Dichtung (Semonides Homer Pindar). (*Kieler Arbeiten zur klassischen Philologie*, Heft 1.) Würzburg, Konrad Triltsch, 1938. Pp. 105.

The word *character*, as term for what the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines as "the moral and mental qualities of an individual human being, the sum of those qualities which distinguish him as a personality," was first used by Theophrastus.¹ The conception of a character is borne out by the obvious fact that some individuals have and keep throughout their lives a distinctive way of acting, behaving, and feeling. Thus everyone confidently assumes the existence of such a thing and uses the term *character* freely. But scarcely anyone possesses a definite idea about the mechanism by which it is supposed to work. This is certainly true of the present reviewer and probably of Mr. Marg as well. All that we think we know is that having a character depends on having a personality, or vice versa—whatever that may mean.

The book under review consists of three parts. The first carefully explains, line by line, Semonides' iambos on womankind; the second and third study the problem of character in Homer and Pindar respectively. The author frankly admits that parts ii and iii are "mehr skizziert als bis ins einzelne durchgeführt." It is true that they are lacking in clear precision, full circumspection, and solid consistency. In the unfinished form, however, is presented a considerable amount of keen observation and original thought. Essential peculiarities of the early Greek mentality are discussed in an interesting and suggestive way. The book contains a great number of good remarks, though their connection is sometimes rather loose and their mutual relation none too well defined. Some of the statements, however, are only half-true, as the author has stopped short of bringing his studies to final maturity.

The chapter on Homer is impaired by the author's contention that in the epic, in contrast to Pindar, the notion *character* is not only missing from the poets' vocabulary but also non-existent in their conscious minds.² Marg readily admits, and indeed points out, that frequently in Homer persons are said always to take the same attitude and to act every time (ἀεί) in the same

¹ Cf. A. Körte, "Χαρακτήρ," *Hermes*, LXIV (1929), pp. 69-86.

² The wording is my own. The author expresses himself less strictly and not to the same effect in all places.

particular way. But real character, so Marg maintains, requires more than that, it has to be rooted in the "Wesen" of the person and to qualify his "Substanz." Now it is certainly true that, while in Pindar a person can have a *φύσις*, the Homeric persons have nothing of the kind,³ no "soul" or inner self.⁴ But I cannot see why we should therefore deny to Homeric poetry, the conception of character. An attempt to discriminate between a "Charaktereigenschaft" and a fixed, constant, and distinctive "Verhaltensweise" (p. 51 ff.) seems to me futile.⁵ And it seems paradoxical that real character should be absent from the epic but present in Pindar, when we remember that, while Pindar's heroes, ancient and contemporary, are all moulded from the same idealistic pattern and all tinted by a uniform golden light, Homer portrays in gaudy colors a great variety of elaborately distinctive characters: Achilles and Agamemnon, Ajax and Odysseus, Paris and Hector, Penelope and Clytaemnestra, and many others.

The sketchy nature of the book is probably responsible for some graver omissions. The existence in Homer of Gods like Ares and Aphrodite, who are, as it were, nothing but character, is not discussed. The interesting passage *Il.*, 3, 59 ff. is often quoted in part by Marg but never dealt with in its entirety. There Paris says to Hector: "You are entitled to blame me, for you are always energetic, tireless, and competent,"⁶ but my loveliness was bestowed on me by Aphrodite, and the gifts of the gods cannot be declined." In other words: "You are efficient and I

³ Like all other statements of so general and sweeping a nature, this assertion has to be taken *cum grano salis*. Some exceptions will be mentioned in the notes. They are all taken from speeches. There is in Homer an essential difference of view and treatment between the narrative and the speeches. In the narrative the epic poet, talking on his own behalf, confines himself to traditional ideas and a traditional, matter-of-fact simplicity; but in the speeches, protected by the mask of the heroic persons, he airs delicate and intricate problems in an unconventional, progressive manner. Occasionally he even makes his persons discuss their own characters: *Il.*, 3, 59 (v. *infra*); 6, 444; *Od.*, 20, 18. It would have been better, therefore, to study narrative and speeches separately. Instead, Marg makes the awkward and confusing remark: "So wenig wie die Personen über sich selbst reflektieren, tut es der Dichter" (p. 78).

⁴ This Homeric peculiarity is indeed fundamental and Marg is right in emphasizing it. Its reason is that in Homer the dimension of depth is lacking (cf. Snell, *Gnomon*, VII, pp. 81 f.). Everything (especially in the narrative) is supposed to be right on the surface of experience and there is no stratification. Depth is in part replaced by quantitative accumulation (hence the *del*).

⁵ On p. 71 we are warned that not even "ein . . . dauerndes Lusthaben . . . zu kriegerischer Betätigung" is equivalent to a "Charakterzug." On the same page Marg quotes *Od.*, 13, 295: (*μῦθοι κλέπτοι*) *οἱ τοι πεδόμεν φλοιὸι ἐστίν*, but the significant *πεδόμεν*, which can be freely translated by "wesenhaft," remains unnoticed.

⁶ Marg's paraphrase "hart und schneidend" (p. 53) is mistaken.

am not; I am charming and you are not; with these qualities we have been endowed, and we cannot help it." The statement comes as close to the notion of an individual character as could be done when the term "character" was missing. Another pertinent passage which has not been adequately dealt with by Marg is very different and probably much later. The purport of *Od.*, 18, 130-137, as indicated by the context, is that, while all other animals on earth have their distinctive nature, man alone has no constant character but adapts his entire attitude to the ever changing circumstances of his life.⁷

Of the three parts of the book, the first has the merit of interpreting in detail a piece of text. The second suffers under the disadvantage that its main thesis is both exaggerated and of a negative nature, yet at the same time it is the most interesting and richest in ideas. The third part benefits by a similarity between Pindar's customary transposition of facts into values and the author's interest in "Wesen." A two-page appendix, with the title "Ausblick auf die attische Sprache," calls attention to the use in Attica, from Solon on, of the verb *φύεσθαι* for the description of characters. The conception of an inborn character, however, is anticipated in some Homeric passages like *Il.*, 13, 777: οὐδ' ἐμὲ πάμπαν ἀνάλκιδα γέλιντο μήτηρ (pp. 74 ff.).⁸

It seems appropriate to supplement the criticism with a general remark on the subject as it presents itself after perusal of Marg's book.

The phenomena of character were very well known to the Homeric poets but their language has scarcely any specific device for dealing with them. This is mainly caused by two facts:

(1) A person in Homer is not a closed and compact entity but something like an open "field" from which forces freely emanate and which is freely permeated by outside forces, factual as well as spiritual. If it is not easy even for us to imagine some central or organizing principle within a person in which his character can be assumed to inhere, it was impossible for the Homeric poets.

(2) Character contains a subjective element. Now the Greeks, in spite of being themselves imaginative and creative to the

⁷ The contrast is given a new turn in Philemon, *frag.* 89, Kock.

⁸ In his treatment of *Od.*, 1, 222 f. (Οὐ μὲν τοι γενεήν γε θεοὶ νόον μιν δοίσιω θῆκαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ γε τοῖον ἐγένετο Πηνελόπεια) Marg follows the current explanation. But the curious lines in reality mean the following: "(Poor boy, I see you are badly off; but) as far as your (τοι) descent is concerned (γενεήν γε), though paternity is hard to ascertain in general (cf. 215 f.), it is by no means untraceable and anonymous (νόον μιν) in your case. By the grace of the gods, your later development (δοίσιω) has made it manifest: the boy whom Penelope bore has become a perfect duplicate of Odysseus (τοῖον, cf. 206-12)." Catullus (61, 216-30) seems to have understood the lines correctly.

highest degree, in their theoretical thought had no use for the subjective. Their tendency was to explain away the creative and the spontaneous. Productions were taken as reproductions or imitations of something preëxistent; and actions as reactions on the prevailing circumstances, or as called forth by eternal forces, or as resulting from a given knowledge which may become explicit in sober reasoning.

The first of these two facts helps us to understand why in Homer the phenomena of character are very often attached, in a haphazard way, now to this and now to that of the single human organs (*θυμός*, *νóος*, and others);⁹ and the second, to appreciate such curious types of expression as *μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς αἰεὶ* (*Il.*, 6, 444) and *ἀνάρτεσσιν ἦμαρ εἰδώς* (*Od.*, 15, 557), in which a certain moral attitude is reduced to the mental possession of a specific set of notions and abilities.

And we understand further how the early Greeks, in order to impose some system on the bewildering variety of subjective human behavior, turned for orientation to those realms of nature in which distinctive qualities are given as objective facts. Thus the stone becomes a simple and convincing symbol for hardness, the cliff for stubborn resistance, the storm for driving power, and so forth. Even more to the point were comparisons with animals. Any name of an animal such as *lión* or *boar*, *dog* or *fly*, or *deer*, would suggest at once a certain behavior and definite character.

One step further takes us to the animal fable, in which beasts represent human types; or, in another direction, to Semonides' iambos on womankind. It is interesting to note that in Semonides' mind the characters of animals are prior to those of the women. First, the types of women are said to be derived from the animals; and second, a number of these types are not portrayed from life but fashioned after the corresponding animals.¹⁰

In the next phase, the use of animal symbols could be more and more restricted, if not discarded. When Greek myth and legend were fully developed, they provided the writer with a marvelously complete stock of given characters from which he could freely draw for all purposes. In Pindar (so Wilamowitz aptly remarks) the Homeric lions and boars are largely replaced

* The organ, of course, represents the whole person. A remarkable exception (not noticed by Marg) is *Il.*, 1, 225: *κυνὸς θυμῶν ἔχων, κραδίη δ' ἐλάφω*, i.e. "you try to bluff by a bold outward behavior but inwardly you are a coward." This utterance implies not only a discrimination between two organs but even a stratification, as *κραδίη* stands for Agamemnon's real self.

¹⁰ The ass, monkey, and weasel types combine each some incoherent and unrelated properties. They are unconvincing as human types and obviously manufactured from the animal models.

by the Jasons and Hercules. Tragic poetry made many discoveries in the moral field but disguised its innovations as better interpretations of the legendary past. Writers of history or ethnography used the supposedly factual material for presenting their studies on human character. Lyric poets told of their own experiences and of their own friends and foes. Only very late, serious Greek literature began openly to use fictitious characters. Not for some time was individual character considered by the Greeks as a matter for either invention or abstraction. In invention they did not believe, except for the purpose of amusement (comedy); and abstraction, in moral problems, was being deliberately reserved for shaping out the one human ideal rather than the many existing varieties. Actual life, on the other hand, was supposed to adulterate the purity of the ideal and impose its chance conditions on the single persons so as to differentiate them.¹¹ Speculation was here of little avail: the reality of individual characters seemed to require a demonstration through real individuals.

But this takes us far afield and to a subject which can hardly be discussed with brevity and clarity at the same time.

HERMANN FRÄNKEL.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

Inscriptions de Délos, nos. 1497-2879: décrets, dédicaces, listes, catalogues, textes divers, postérieurs à 166 av. J.-C., edited by PIERRE ROUSSEL and MARCEL LAUNÉY. Paris, Champion, 1937. Pp. 450.

Delos is the mirror of the Hellenistic world. Having been for over two hundred years the busy center of Aegean trade, and, as such, in contact with every political and social current of the eastern Mediterranean, the island was suddenly and almost completely abandoned for all time, so that the French School in Athens undertook a highly responsible work when it began to uncover its ruins and documents and found them to be more nearly complete and less disturbed by reoccupation than has been the case on any other ancient Greek site.

The official publications of Delos have already attained very considerable proportions. When the final reports are all in, it will be seen that a large share of the credit for interpreting the history of the place must go to Pierre Roussel, who inherited, on the death of Félix Durrbach, the arduous task of putting in order the voluminous mass of inscriptions that the excavators

¹¹ The sophists, not respecting this fundamental difference, subjected the abstract moral norm to the factual variety of conditions and characters. The result was moral nihilism.

have brought to light. The two latest fascicules of the *Inscriptions de Délos*, containing between them nearly fourteen hundred items, bring the work within sight of completion and make available for the first time, in easily usable form, a wealth of information concerning life on the island in the period when it was an Athenian colony under Roman patronage—that is to say, in the century beginning with 166 B. C.—a period, incidentally, with which Roussel's previous researches have made him especially familiar. From the raid of 69 B. C. down through the Byzantine period the island was but sparsely settled and hardly articulate, but what inscriptions have been found from that period have been scrupulously studied by the editors and entered in their proper places in the series.

Roussel states modestly in his preface that most of the inscriptions of these two fascicules have already been published elsewhere. It is to be observed, however, that over four hundred items appear here for the first time, many of them small and meaningless fragments, to be sure, but some among them of considerable interest. Thus, nos. 2208 and 2566, mentioned by Roussel in an earlier article as bearing on second-century chronology, now appear in complete publication. Again, nos. 2549 and 2552 contain very considerable fragments of verse which will be well worth studying with a view to restorations, one of them containing a large portion of an epigram by Antipater of Sidon. Of course many of the new fragments are somewhat unpromising at first sight, but the editors are to be commended for their patience in preparing them for publication, and now that they are all available to a wide circle of students it is highly probable that many will be found to be more instructive than they now look. In this connection it may be well to observe that no. 2863, appearing here as a new fragment, had already been published, among the documents of the period of independent Delos, as no. 506c. The stone is very badly weathered and the two publications do not agree in every respect, but from my examination of some years ago I should judge that 506c is the better place for this fragment.

The importance of the Delian inscriptions for the chronology of the Athenian archon lists has long been recognized. Although the new fascicules contain no fresh material for the solution of problems in this field of study, they do present all the old material in one publication, with verifications of readings, corrections where necessary, and a commentary that amounts to a very full bibliography. The editors have been content, in the case of dated documents, to cite the dates as given by Roussel in his *Délos, colonie athénienne* and, with them, such variants as have been advanced by other scholars. Thus, Roussel's dating of the list of the gymnasiarchs, no. 2589, is retained, but the opposing views of Plassart are also entered with the necessary references.

For the archons after 104 Roussel accepts Dinsmoor's corrections, citing in each case, however, his own earlier dating. The result is a new and complete survey of the Delian material, which is sure to become more and more useful as new evidence is brought to light, particularly by the excavations of the Athenian agora. In preparing the present survey, in fact, Roussel is simply following out the principle that he enunciated in his review of Dinsmoor's work:¹ namely, that until the new evidence was available, radical revisions of chronological hypotheses had better wait.

The chief value of the new fascicules will surely be in the picture that they present of the population of the island. Whole families are known by their dedications and monuments, and sometimes through generation after generation. The mixture of nationalities on Delos—Greek, Roman, Italian, Egyptian, Syrian—is richly illustrated. The relations between Delians and persons at the courts of powerful Hellenistic monarchs throw light both on Delos and on those courts. The building erected by Helianax in the Kabeirion, in 102/1, with its roster of the relatives and hangers-on of Mithridates, is a case in point. The inscriptions had already appeared in the official publications of the site, but here they take their place with hundreds like themselves. When the indices have been compiled and published, the value of the collection will be at least doubled. Until that time, students will have to content themselves with the prosopographical works cited in the preface.

Some of the difficulties with which the editors have had to contend can easily be imagined by anyone who stops to consider that the uncovering of this rich site goes back over a period of more than sixty years to a time when excavation was far from being the methodical science that it has by now become. Sometimes the place where an inscription was found and the circumstances of the finding are known, but just as often they are not. The editors, therefore, have frequently had to exercise their imaginations in order to reconstruct the history of the excavations themselves. Thus, no. 1792, known from a note-book of Reinach as a lost inscription, is now identified with a high degree of probability as an earlier reading of no. 1791, an inscription known and marked with its proper number. Again, no. 2014 was described in its original publication as lost, whereas it now appears with an inventory number and a fresh reading.

All this is hard work, and some errors must inevitably creep in. In the bibliography to no. 1497 *bis*, under the reference to Dow's article in *Hesperia*, page 91 should be read instead of 95. In the commentary to 2566, read *successeur* instead of *prédécesseur*. The commentary to no. 2552 contains a reference to the

¹ *Revue des études anciennes*, XXXIV (1932), pp. 196-204.

Τρωφώνια of Lebadeia. The error is noted in the *addenda* where the word is altered to Τροφώνια. It should of course be Τρωφώνια. In no. 1519, at the beginning of line 53, τῶν is presumably a misprint for τῷ (Dürnbach's edition of this inscription is not at the moment available to me). In no. 1520, at the end of line 80, καὶ is a misprint for τῷ. In no. 2121, line 7, [ἐγ] should be read, not [ἐν]. No. 1776 is reproduced from the original publication by Picard, who rightly introduced a question-mark in the curious restoration, τὰ ἱερὰ . . . ἀνέθηκεν. The editors, in dropping the question and allowing the text to stand without comment, do not strengthen its authority. In a number of cases, like that of no. 1783, the editors have neglected to note the place where a given inscription was found, even when that place is known and has been elsewhere stated. One could wish, also, that more effort had been made to indicate the approximate length of lacunae, especially since many of the inscriptions are of a monumental character, presumably with lines of different lengths. Such notations are always useful, and their absence is particularly missed in such places as no. 1507, line 37: ἐπὶ Ε[- - - ἀρχοντος; also in no. 1536, in 2253, line 5, and in 2254, line 4.

But shortcomings such as these weigh very little indeed against the splendid merits of the work. Like all good books, this one is not the end of anything but just a good beginning of what is sure to be fruitful research. The new fascicules are sure to be worked over very thoroughly, and it is to be hoped that such work will be done as far as possible in the presence of the stones themselves—the only safe course. One is tempted to make some suggestions from a mere reading of the printed text. In no. 2238, line 6, is it possible that Ἀδ[άδωι should be read instead of Ἀπ[όλλωνι? In no. 1714, lines 1-2, one would expect ἀναθέ[ντες, | καὶ τὸν ν]αόν, but this is a matter of letter spacing that could be settled only on examination of the original or of a squeeze. And I still would prefer some arrangement of no. 1658, lines 10-11, that would allow τῶν δ' to stand, as originally read, instead of τῶνδ'.

In order to keep the collection up to date, mention should be made here of the epigraphical notes of F. R. Walton, published in *A.J.A.*, XLII (1938), pp. 77-81. The article was prepared before the new volumes appeared, and a good number of the readings proposed in it agree completely with the texts as now published. However, there are some variants. To readers of Walton's article it is now possible to say that the texts affected are nos. 1800, 2226-9, 2234, 2240, 2247, 2255, 2257-60, 2263, 2266, 2270, 2271, 2273, 2284, 2299, 2328.

If a reviewer may be allowed to make a proposal, I should like to remind epigraphists that Delos, because of its small area and its insular position, is an ideal place in which to study styles

in letter-cutting. My own experience has been restricted to the third century, but it is very probable that a new examination of inscriptions of the second and first centuries would bring good results. On Delos the number of stone-carvers must have been small in comparison with the number of stones carved, and there is no doubt that a thorough study of styles would result in the proper chronological placement of many scattered fragments, the joining together of some of them, and a more complete reading of others.

If ever such a work is undertaken, the credit for preparing the ground must go to the leading epigraphist of Delos, Pierre Roussel.

PHILIP H. DAVIS.

VASSAR COLLEGE.

ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH. *The Politics of Philo Judaeus: Practice and Theory*. With a General Bibliography of Philo by HOWARD L. GOODHART and ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH. Yale University Press, 1938. Pp. xii + 348. \$3.75.

Two thoughts immediately occur to one who inspects this volume; one, that it is a beautiful piece of printing and bookcraft; the other, that its title is oddly chosen, since the Bibliography is about twice as long as the monograph on Politics. A more appropriate title, and one more convenient for librarians and students alike, would have been *A Bibliography of Philo Judaeus with an Essay on the Politics of Philo*. Or perhaps, since the two parts are independent, each with its own preface and index, they should have been published separately.

The Bibliography is admirably complete and well classified. It is not likely that anything of great importance has been omitted from the list of 1603 items. And the authors have brought some charm to a usually dry subject by reproducing several attractive pages of manuscripts and early editions. One notes with envy that most of the items listed are to be found in the private collection of Mr. Goodhart, who generously offers to make his possessions available to scholars.

Professor Goodenough's monograph on Politics is divided into five chapters. The first, "Politics Direct," calls attention to Philo's caution in dealing with contemporary political conditions, especially in treatises addressed to gentiles, and analyses the *In Flaccum* and *Legatio*. The second, "Politics in Code," is a commentary on parts of *De Somniis II*, an allegorization of the biblical Joseph as *politicus*, and attempts to show that "the entire allegory of Joseph is a clever piece of *double entendre*, a fierce denunciation of the Roman character and oppression,

done in a way and in a document which would give it fairly wide currency among Jews, but would seem quite innocuous if, as was unlikely, it fell into Roman hands." In the third chapter, "Politics by Innuendo," Goodenough argues that the treatise *De Josepho* was written for gentiles, in contrast to the *De Somniis* which was written for Jews, and that it "was written from first to last with a single purpose, namely to insinuate to its gentile readers the political philosophy which Jews wished gentiles to believe was theirs. It took the opportunity to suggest that the real source for the highest political ideal of the East, the ideal of a divinely appointed and guided ruler, had had its truest presentation in Jewish literature, and highest exemplification at a time when a Jew was, in contemporary language, prefect of Egypt." The fourth chapter, "Statesman and Philosopher," deals with the passages which, Goodenough believes, reflect "the warfare between statesman and philosopher in Philo's own life." In the final chapter, "Kingship," the author traces the relations of Philo's conception of the ideal ruler and state to those of Hellenistic philosophers and Jews, and briefly indicates Philo's influence on Christian political theory.

As in his earlier works on Philo, so here Goodenough writes with persuasiveness, forcefulness, and wide learning in Hellenistic literature. Unfortunately, however, the same defects are apparent, namely, a tendency to make unwarranted inferences and a lack of scrupulous care in establishing the meaning of key-words.

In general the soundest parts of the monograph seem to be those where, as in the sections on Augustine's indebtedness to Philo and on Philo's use of the term "democracy," he is following earlier scholars, in these instances, Leisegang and Langstadt, as he candidly admits. Less sound is Goodenough's new theory that the Philonic Joseph is a symbol of the Roman *praefectus Aegypti* and that in the two treatises mentioned above Philo is attacking Roman misgovernment specifically. Not that there is anything inherently improbable in this theory, but in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary it seems hardly necessary to assume that Philo was so excessively cautious that he thought himself compelled to speak in such elaborately veiled terms. It is just in this matter that, as remarked above, Goodenough fails to present rigorous philological proof for his inferences. Three concrete examples may justify this criticism.

On pp. 10 f. Goodenough tells us that in two passages of *In Flaccum* Gaius is denounced sharply. "Yet Tracy [*Philo Judaeus and the Roman Principate*, 1933] has noticed that elsewhere in the treatise Philo speaks of Gaius with profound respect . . . Philo's tone is completely respectful." What is the evidence for this assertion of an astonishing contradiction, which remains

unexplained? None whatever is given by Goodenough, who implies that it is satisfactorily furnished by Tracy. When we turn to Tracy we find that all the passages cited by him merely show that Philo represents the Jewish community as having fulfilled its duties toward the emperor, and not that Philo himself speaks of Gaius "with profound respect." The one passage translated by Tracy (*In Flaccum*, 83), which leads him to ask rhetorically, "Where else in any source is Gaius referred to even indirectly as *χρηστός*?" is lightheartedly mistranslated. The Greek reads, *ἔδει γὰρ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀπολαῦσαι τινος χρηστοῦ γενεθλιακαῖς αὐτοκράτορος*. Tracy takes *χρηστοῦ* with *αὐτοκράτορος*. It did not occur to him, apparently, that his translation, "for it was thought that even those put to death should have some consideration shown their bodies on the anniversary of a good (*χρηστός*) emperor's birth," leaves *ἀπολαύσαι* hanging foolishly in the air, and that *χρηστοῦ* cannot, therefore, modify *αὐτοκράτορος*. Moreover, at least two parallels in Philo make it clear that *τινος χρηστοῦ* depends on *ἀπολαύσαι*, namely *Ag.*, 126: *ἐννοίαν χρηστοῦ τινος* and *De Virt.*, 125: *ἀπὸ πηγῆς εἰμενοῦς ἐρύσασθαι τινος χρηστοῦ*. Thus Gaius' "goodness" disappears under the cold scrutiny of philology.

The second instance of philological weakness, less glaring than the first, is found on pp. 22 ff., where Goodenough tries to show that the biblical Joseph typifies the Roman prefect of Egypt on the ground that Philo calls Joseph *ἐπίτροπος*, and "No such title is given Joseph in Genesis, and the use especially of the word *ἐπίτροπος* must have told any person in Alexandria what Philo meant. For *ἐπίτροπος* was in Philo's day one of the official translations of the title of the *Præfectus Aegypti*. Flaccus is so called by Philo, and the title appears elsewhere." But Goodenough's references by no means establish the fact that *ἐπίτροπος* was the official title of the Roman prefect of Egypt in Philo's day. It is true that Philo calls Flaccus *ἐπίτροπος* of Egypt (*In Flaccum*, 2) but not necessarily as a technical term, as the sentence shows, *ὁ Φλάκκος . . . μετὰ τὴν Ἰβήρου τελευτήν, ὃς ἐπετέτραπτο Αἰγυπτὸν, καθίσταται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος*. Moreover Philo calls Moses *ἐπίτροπος* of Egypt (*Vita Mos.*, i, 114) — surely not as a symbol of the Roman prefect; and in another passage (*Leg.*, 333) he calls Petronius *ἐπίτροπος* of Syria. Of the other two references to the alleged official use of this term in Philo's day, one is from a papyrus of the third century (not second century, as Goodenough states); the other, published recently in the *PSI*, x, 99, I have not seen; if the word has that meaning in a papyrus from the age of Augustus, as Goodenough states, we may admit that there is a slight basis for the inference that Philo's readers would instantly have caught the point of his veiled allusion. But against this supposition is the important fact that Magie in his monograph on Greek translations of

Roman titles does not list a single instance of *ἐπίτροπος* as the rendering of *praefectus Aegypti*. That is a fact that Goodenough ought to have mentioned.

A similar objection can be raised against his statement on p. 55 that Joseph before the king of Egypt represented the "ideal prefect of Egypt, who, like Joseph, was the supreme ruler of Egypt subject only to the emperor, for the emperor was usually called by Eastern Greek-speaking peoples the βασιλεύς, the king. No intelligent person in Alexandria could have mistaken Philo's analogy." One may be permitted to doubt whether failure to perceive this analogy was a sign of lack of intelligence in Philo's readers. Magie tells us explicitly that βασιλεύς as a rendering of *imperator* or *dominus*, etc. dates from the Hadrianic period. He does, it is true, cite three instances from Josephus earlier (*B. J.*, iii, 352; iv, 596; and v, 563) but all these instances are in the plural and are not used as technical terms, but merely as we use the word "royalty," whether referring to a king or emperor. It is not, of course, Josephus' regular usage, and in two of the passages he adds the words τῶν Ῥωμαίων, while in the third kings in general may be meant.

There are some scholars who pounce upon errors or weakly supported theories with a certain degree of malicious pleasure at the author's expense. The reviewer does not enjoy that kind of sport; and, if it has been his lot to criticize several of Goodenough's works on Philo for fundamental defects of method, it is only because an objective interest in the subject has compelled him to do so. The more one knows about Philo, the more highly one appreciates Goodenough's distinguished contributions to an understanding of that difficult and elusive writer. Though the author's theories about Philo's views on politics and religion may not be wholly or in large part correct, they have value in stimulating others to further research and in making non-specialists realize the importance of the issues involved.

RALPH MARCUS.

JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION; AND
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

H. J. M. MILNE and T. C. SKEAT, including contributions by DOUGLAS COCKERELL. Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus. British Museum, 1938. Pp. xii + 112; 23 figures and 43 plates. £1.12.6.

This is a truly remarkable publication by two competent scholars. Such important questions as the original contents of the MS, the scribes, the supplementary apparatus, the correctors, orthography, date, provenance, and bindings of the MS have

been thoroughly studied and the numerous full page plates of figures showing types of writing, corrections, numberings, titles, and subscriptions fully illustrate the points discussed so that the reader may follow the descriptions and arguments without turning to the often inaccessible facsimile edition of the Sinaiticus by Kirsopp Lake.

When one considers how often and by what able scholars the Sinaitic MS has been previously studied, the additions to our knowledge from this renewed investigation are beyond expectation. Many questions have been definitely settled and the evidence for others clearly set forth. Of these I may mention the proof that the whole MS was written and corrected by the three scribes, styled A, B, and D by Tischendorf. Scribe C disappears, and the poetical books are divided between Scribes D and A. Each scribe wrote the titles and subscriptions of his portion, while Scribes A and D are responsible for most of the supplementary material and for the earliest corrections. Thus two or three different types of writing are established for each of the scribes. Yet nowhere do I see the obvious conclusion drawn that the body of the text both in the Sinaiticus and the Vaticanus is written in an imitative, that is, archaistic hand. Such combinations are common both in Latin and Greek manuscripts of the later period, when uncial and minuscule are found in the same manuscripts. That the same condition prevailed among the writers of the "Biblical uncial" of the fourth and fifth centuries is an obvious inference, and should, I think, be emphasized. Furthermore, the ancients recognized both scribes who wrote only the ancient imitative hands and those who wrote both the old and the new; cf. Isidore, *Orig.*, 6, 14: librarii iidem qui et antiquarii vocantur, sed librarii qui nova et vetera scribunt, antiquarii qui tantum modo vetera, unde et nomen sumpserunt.

In so excellent a book one hesitates to criticize individual points, lest disapproval of the method of work or of the argument should be implied, yet I cannot yet accept the exact dating of the manuscript, or that it was copied from dictation, though I am most grateful to the authors for the array of evidence which they have gathered. These are not, however, two independent questions, for the strongest single proof for the exact dating of the manuscript is based on the assumption that it was copied from dictation.

Let us take up the dictation question first. Milne and Skeat claim that the Vaticanus and Alexandrinus also, as well as the Sinaiticus, were written from dictation and it is true that the same proofs, phonetic errors in spelling, are found in all, and in varying degrees. But if that constitutes proof, then all the manuscripts that I have ever studied, were written from dictation. An excellent example is the Berlin Papyrus of Genesis

which, like the Sinaiticus, repeats a whole leaf of the parent manuscript with eight differences in spelling between the two copies of this brief passage (*University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, XXI, pp. 248 ff.). Yet here it is impossible to think of dictation as explanation for the phonetic changes in spelling, for other misspellings are plainly due to misreading the parent manuscript, which was doubtless somewhat cursively written. Only the accidental turning of a leaf and a most careless scribe can explain this repetition. Even the special proof of dictation given by Milne and Skeat on p. 57 admits another explanation. In I Maccabees V, 20 $\bar{H} \bar{\zeta} \bar{H} \bar{\rho}$ was written for the correct \bar{H} — $\delta\kappa\alpha\chi\iota\chi\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. This is explained by Milne and Skeat as due to the reader not being able to decipher the numeral in the parent (probably $\bar{\rho}$ for \bar{H}), who thus dictated "either six or three thousand." But from such dictation would not even a careless scribe have written $H \bar{\zeta} H \bar{\rho}$ or, if he was of a later period $H \bar{\zeta} H \Gamma$? The presence of the symbol $\bar{\rho}$ seems to show that the scribe was imitating an unintelligible symbol. Yet if so, the symbol would have been equally unintelligible to some reader of the parent manuscript, who would have written in the gloss $H \bar{\zeta} H \bar{\rho}$. The scribe of the Sinaiticus, being sure a numeral was intended, put the strokes above H both times, but tried to copy the two unintelligible symbols, omitting therein the curved stroke meaning thousands over ζ . If this be the right interpretation the scribe did not know the meaning of a curved stroke above a letter used as a numeral. As there are but three cases, all in I Maccabees, where these older numerals are found in the Sinaiticus (cf. Milne and Skeat, p. 62) it seems possible that here the scribe was copying from an old exemplar and imitated the numeral signs because he did not understand them, but with substitution of the gloss in one case. The error in I Maccabees V, 34 $\tau\rho\iota\chi\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha$ for $\delta\kappa\alpha\chi\iota\chi\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ noted by Milne and Skeat on p. 64 may be due to an error in the parent or to a gloss, for it is obviously due to the separation of \bar{H} into $\bar{\rho}$ I., which scribe or reader was equally capable of misinterpreting.

There can be little question that at times Christian manuscripts also were written from dictation, and so the descendants of the manuscripts might exhibit errors due to dictation, but it is quite another matter to assume that all the famous old codices were so written, especially those containing the whole Bible. We know from S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, that complete Bibles were almost unknown in Western Europe in the earlier centuries. Conditions must have been somewhat similar in the Greek world. Only very rich churches and monasteries could afford a complete Bible and this was built up by gathering parts

from various sources, as we see from the Freer and Beatty manuscripts. A huge manuscript like the Sinaiticus was distinctly a show piece and may have owed its preservation in part to this fact. The expense involved in producing such a manuscript makes it difficult for us to believe that it was but one of an edition of similar huge Bibles produced for sale or gift. Sanday (*Old Latin Biblical Texts*, 2, pp. xiii f.) claimed that there were no Latin manuscripts of the whole Bible before the seventh century. Eusebius, *Vita Constant.*, 4, 36 f., does not state that entire Bibles in single manuscripts were requested for the churches of Constantinople. Large codices, both papyrus and parchment, were known in the third century, but 200 leaves is a more likely limit than 800.

In spite of my disagreement with Milne and Skeat on the early date of the Sinaiticus, I nevertheless think that their study marks a real advance toward the solution of this difficult question. Now that they have proved that the entire manuscript was written by three scribes, scholars should concentrate their attention on the natural hands of these scribes, as shown in titles and subscriptions. It seems probable that eventually parallels will be found for hands showing such marked peculiarities.

In the discussion of date and provenance I see no reference to the identity in choice and order of books between the Vaticanus manuscript and Athanasius' 39th Easter Letter. The relationship here is obvious, though Rahlfs' claim (*Nach. d. K. Gesells. d. Wissen. z. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1899, p. 72) that it definitely dated the Vaticanus after 367 A. D. is not accepted. The text also both of the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus is predominantly Alexandrian, not Caesarean, and apparently belongs to the fourth or fifth century.

The attempt of Hilgenfeld to date the Sinaiticus in the sixth century on the basis of the colophons to II Esdras and Esther was rejected by Tischendorf on the ground that the two notes were in the seventh century. Lake in the Introduction to the Facsimile edition dates both notes in the fifth to seventh century. Milne and Skeat do not expressly discuss the date of these notes on p. 64 when they are rejected as evidence on the date of the manuscript. To me it does not seem that they can be so lightly thrown aside. The two subscriptions seem to be by different hands and that at the end of Esther is very old. The nearer we bring this subscription to the origin of the manuscript the more it gains in importance both for date and provenance. I should welcome a careful palaeographical study of this from the Leipsic part of the Sinaiticus, which was not used by Milne and Skeat in the original. The fact that the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus are the earliest manuscripts to exhibit running titles at the tops of pages (Dziatzko, *Untersuchungen*, 1900, p. 178) cannot be

ignored in the discussion of the date. Also the fact, noted by Milne and Skeat, that both manuscripts at times use a projecting first letter of a paragraph in place of the paragraph mark, is not without importance for the date. In all these matters the great Bible codices are nearer to the fifth century type than to the third.

My opposition on this point must not, however, be considered as a condemnation even of the portion criticized. I recommend the whole work both to Biblical scholars and to palaeographers.

HENRY A. SANDERS.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN.

Reinhold Strömberg. *Theophrastea, Studien zur botanischen Begriffsbildung.* (Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar, Femte Följden. Ser. A. Band 6. No. 4.) Göteborg, Elander, 1937. Pp. 234.

The botanical works of Theophrastus have attracted the interest of both botanists and philologists in recent years. Senn¹ studied their significance for the history of biological sciences, and Regenbogen² analysed part of the *Historia Plantarum* as a preparation for a future edition of this work. The present study by Strömberg tries to establish the principles which Theophrastus followed in his botanical research, the terms which he applied, and the concepts which he developed. The author divides his book, which was presented as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Göteborg, into three main parts. The first part traces the history of ancient botany down to Theophrastus and compares the latter's principles of research with those of Aristotle. The second and most extensive part analyses Theophrastus' terminology of the various parts of plants. In his last section Strömberg discusses some general features, such as the economy of words for the expression of botanical concepts, the relativity of the concepts, the natural system of plants as visualized by Theophrastus and his procedure in inventing and forming proper terms. Two appendices deal with the tendency to use the name of a part for the whole plant and with the terminology of plant diseases. A comprehensive bibliography and three indices end this thorough and careful study.

Helped by his knowledge of the Mediterranean flora, Ström-

¹ G. Senn, *Die Entwicklung der biologischen Forschungsmethode in der Antike und ihre grundsätzliche Förderung durch Theophrast von Eresos*, Aarau, 1933.

² O. Regenbogen, "Theophrast-Studien I," *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), pp. 75-105 and 190-203.

berg has succeeded in elucidating the meaning of many botanical terms which had not been interpreted correctly before. This is an important achievement. Strömberg's interest is, however, not limited to the purely terminological aspect. He is more interested in Theophrastus' botanical concepts and their methodological significance. It is the main thesis of the book that Theophrastus used his words in a loose and relative sense ("fliessende Terminologie"; cf., e. g., pp. 59, 63) corresponding to the relativity of nature (cf. pp. 145-154). He distinguished natural "types" of plants (cf. pp. 31, 155), a procedure which prevented him from building up a complete and well-defined botanical system but, on the other hand, helped him to be more concrete in his approach to botany than Aristotle had been in zoölogy (cf. p. 152). Whoever has had an opportunity to study Greek botanical or pharmacological names will probably agree with Strömberg's contention. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that Strömberg's interest in "Begriffsbildung" has sometimes led him astray in the interpretation of his material. He is apt to see "concepts" where Theophrastus relates simple facts and to overstress the relativity of certain terms.

It is, for instance, not possible to say that "Theophrast bildete auch den Begriff des blattlosen Stengels . . ." (p. 97) because in *Hist. Plant.*, I, 10, 7 he stated with regard to bulbous plants that the whole stalk was without leaves. Strömberg's definition of *μακρόρριζα* is likewise arbitrary when he writes (p. 67): "Theophrast meint mit Langwurzeln solche Wurzeln, deren Aufgabe es ist, das Wurzelsystem überhaupt auszubreiten" (vgl. VII, 11, 3: *παραβλαστητικὸν δὲ* [sc. τὸ *κιχόριον*] *καὶ τῇ βίῃ καὶ ἄλλως μακρόρριζον, δι' ὃ καὶ δυσώλεθρον*), indem sie auch Nahrung aufnehmen." The reference describes the root of the chickory and explains why the plant is hard to kill, but says nothing about the general functions of this type of root.

On p. 112 Strömberg wants to prove that the concept of *μονοκάλαμος* may be relative and may mean "mit wenigen Halmen." For proof he quotes *Hist. Plant.*, VIII, 4, 3: *καὶ ὁ μὲν μονοκάλαμος, ὁ δὲ πολυκάλαμος, καὶ μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἥττον*. He refers *ὁ μὲν* . . . *ὁ δὲ* to *κάλαμος* and thinks that "der Forschungsgrundsatz *μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον* sicher zu beiden Begriffen zählt." Since, however, the whole paragraph deals with the various kinds of wheat and since the sentence immediately preceding the one quoted does not mention *κάλαμος*, it seems more natural to refer *ὁ μὲν*, etc. to *πυρός* and to interpret with Hort (Loeb Classical Library, II, p. 169): "Some kinds have a single 'reed,' some more than one, and in the latter class the number varies." On p. 145 Strömberg writes: "Ich bin geneigt, *μονόφυλλος* und *ὀλιγόφυλλος* IV 11, 10 als Synonyme zu betrachten: *ὁ δὲ λεπτός* (sc. *κάλαμος*) *καὶ πολύφυλλος, ὁ δὲ ὀλιγόφυλλος καὶ μονόφυλλος*. Es handelt sich um eine dichotomische Gliederung des *κάλαμος*-

Begriffes." The latter contention granted, it still does not show why *δαιγρόφ.* and *μονόφ.* should be understood as synonymous.

The author sometimes reveals a certain tendency to suggest deviations from the usual meaning of words without showing the necessity for doing so. Thus he contends (p. 183) that "*ξύλον* 'Holz' kann auch 'Baum' bedeuten." This possibility admitted, the example from Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, V, 4, 7: *ἐν Τύλφ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τῇ περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν εἶναι τί φασι ξύλον ἐξ ὃ τὰ πλοῖα ναπηγούνται* seems badly chosen, since "wood" fits the meaning just as well as "tree." Again, in an interesting historical sketch of the term *Is* Strömberg assumes that it originally meant "muscle of the nape of the neck" (pp. 129 and 131: "*Nackemuskel*"), then "muscles" as well as "sinews" (cf. p. 129) and that the meaning of "sinews" gradually developed into a variety of significations such as sinew, ligament, muscle-fiber, etc. (cf. p. 133). The assumption of an original meaning of *muscle* seems, however, unnecessary. In *Iliad*, XVII, 522 where it is said of a man smiting an ox with an ax behind the horns: *ἵνα τάμῃ δὰ πᾶσαν*, this probably means the strong ligament (ligamentum nuchae of anatomical nomenclature) so conspicuous in cattle. In *Iliad*, XXIII, 191 there is likewise no need to imply the meaning of "muscle."

These examples show that Strömberg's interpretations should not be accepted blindly. But this does not detract from the general value of his study. It will help towards a better understanding of many terminological details and will also remind those accustomed to the modern classificatory system not to expect the same exactness in ancient botanical works.

OWSEI TEMKIN.

INSTITUTE OF THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE,
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Plutarchus, *Moralia*, Vol. IV. Edidit C. HUBERT. Leipzig, Teubner, 1938. Pp. xxiv + 405. RM. 10.20.

The editing of Plutarch's Essays drags its slow length along on both sides of the Atlantic. Nine years have elapsed since Vol. III of the Teubner Plutarch was issued, and the work has again changed hands. This volume contains the *Symposiaca* (*Quaestiones Convivales*), *Amatorius*, and *Amatoriae Narrationes*. The *Amatorius* is accepted as a work belonging to Plutarch's later years and left in a more or less unpolished state. The editor has been able to utilize notes by Sieveking, Pohlenz, and W. R. Paton (the last written in Paton's copy of Bernardakis' fourth volume).

The Preface recites with authority the story of the MS tradition. Vindobonensis 148 (T) is now definitely recognized as the sole source of all codices containing the *Quaestiones*. This MS, of the tenth century, shows some resemblances to its contemporary, the Marcianus (A) of Athenaeus, presenting, like A, instances of double readings where the scribe was in doubt which to choose, e. g. 688 F (p. 188, 10) *περὶ πόρον ἢ πόρων*, where Hubert prints *περὶ πόρους* [*ἢ πόρων*]. Although in some ways the new text is not so perspicuous as that of Bernardakis (half-verses are incorporated with the prose, not printed as verse), the critical apparatus, as in the preceding volumes, is infinitely better. There are, of course, cases where the effort to be brief causes obscurity or even inaccuracy. Thus on *προτρεπόμενος* 624 C (p. 30, 10), accepted by L & S, it is quite misleading to say "*προτρεχόμενος* ci. Xyl. coll. Athenaei *ὑπερβαίνειν*." Read "coll. Athenaei *ὑπερβάττα* (struct. mut.)." The present writer would prefer Bernardakis' *παρερχόμενος*, accepted by Hartman. As to the passage in Athenaeus, Hubert dutifully follows Wilamowitz' arbitrary judgment in regarding it as interpolated, though Reitzenstein (*Griech. Etymologica*, 373) has shown that there is no good reason for rejecting it. One may add that since the epitomizing of Athenaeus began in the sixth or seventh century, the passage in question, slightly out of place as it is, merely illustrates the desultory way in which the epitomizer gathered his materials. It is perhaps too much to expect that a German editor should consult the apparatus of a work in the Loeb Library, especially as even some American scholars seem to be under the impression that such a work is merely a translation, without critical or exegetical value. "Athen. codd." (plural!) continues to be printed when A is the sole authority, e. g., 751 C (p. 342, 15 = Athen., 602 e). Read here "*ubi αἰγιον* A." The note at 771 EF (p. 396, 15, 18) *ἀλιαρτ.* is not clear. Wytttenbach's 'Αλιάρτφ and 'Αλιάρτιος are an interpretation, not a correction; and on the same page (396, 6) *λαβών*, omitted in E, should be expunged and *ἐκὼν* corrected to *ἔχων*, as Hartman proposed.

Scholars will differ on the question how the numerous and grievous lacunae in T should be filled up by conjecture. If Hubert has erred, it is on the side of conservatism. Obviously a wide gap like that at 766 D (382, 13) cannot be filled. For the quotations from the philosophers, e. g. Democritus, fr. 152, at 665 D (132, 16), Diels' supplements are almost always acceptable, and the added *γῆμον ὅλον τὸ* of Pohlenz might well have been placed in the text without too great boldness; so at 765 B (379, 13); Hubert's own conjecture at 753 A (347, 12); and Paton's at 621 B (22, 11). There are many other passages where the editor has left the reader with an unintelligible text, notably in the fable of the Fox and the Stork 614 E (7, 14). Nor are all the daggers of suspicion which stab his text justified. *ἀλκιμον*,

describing water at 669 B (140, 24), may be causative, "having a tonic effect"; λύσιμος, active as well as passive in meaning, may possibly afford an analogy.

On the other hand, most of the adopted emendations are happily chosen, as Paton's τῆς διαίτης for τῆς γῆς 727 F (284, 17). Probably also, Paton's τοῖς ἔξω μέρεσιν for τοῖς σώμασιν, 671 A (145, 15), should have been adopted. But it is hard to see why the editor prefers ὀθεῖται to ὀθεῖ, 698 D (212, 18). His conjecture at 701 B (220, 10) ζοφόφντα is cacophonous, and certainly not more likely than Reiske's ζοφόδντα (T ζωφντα). It is hard also to follow him in his thoroughgoing aversion to hiatus, in view of Plutarch's own remark (*De vitioso pudore* 534 F) on the fussiness of those who "will not tolerate the clash of vowel against vowel." Yet he is right in bracketing Ἀπόλλωνι, an obvious gloss, after τῷ Μουσηγέτῃ, 743 C (322, 11).

Writers like Plutarch and Athenaeus, rich in quotations from an earlier or dialectic Greek, present a peculiar problem. Shall the editor make the quotation conform to the practice of the early author, or follow later forms used in the time of the excerptor? Thus at 733 E (298, 9) τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ (*Iliad*, 9, 378), Hubert prints ἐγκαρος "cum Eustath." (rather, "cum quibusdam ap. Eust."). ἐγκαρος may be right for the time of Plutarch, who apparently thought it equivalent to ἐγκεφάλου, but it is certainly not right for Homer. So, too, with Lesbian forms. Shall Sappho's καθάνοισα 646 E (84, 6) be so printed, or καθανοῖσα, the MS accent according to Bernardakis? Hubert has no note on it.

On the whole the well-printed book bears the mark of unusually careful research. The question of the relation between Macrobius and Plutarch is sensibly dismissed with the remark that Macrobius followed his own bent in arranging, expanding, and altering the materials common to both. The richly varied citation of testimonia, parallel passages, and even modern works raises the book to the dignity of an annotated edition.

C. B. GULICK.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

A. DELATTE. *Herbarius*. Liège, 1938. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, LXXXI.)

This is an enlarged and revised edition (176 pages and 4 plates against 126 pages) of a book which appeared first in 1936 as *Bulletin XXII* of the Royal Belgian Academy. For many years Delatte has devoted some of his studies to the elucidation of Greek and mediaeval astrology and magic, in the widest sense.

In the book under discussion he has turned to the beliefs and practices connected with the gathering of herbs and plants, chiefly for medical purposes. He has thus entered on a field of wide significance in the life of the people, one which even in our days furnishes a livelihood to gatherers of "simples." Nor has the author overlooked this side of his investigation; there are numerous instances in which he has enriched his intensive and extensive study of written tradition with his own observation of living practices.

The seven chapters in which he deals with his subject (I: Time of Gathering; II: Preparation of the Gatherer's Person; III: Cathartic and Apotropaic Ritual; IV: Cries, Incantations, Words; V: Offerings; VI: Ways of Gathering, Tools; VII: Treatment after Gathering, followed by a summary and two satisfactory Indexes of sources and subject matter) show the well-known master of his subject, who commands his material from 2000 B. C. to our own days.

It is barely possible that the discovery of new material might correct a statement here and there. On the whole, we can only gratefully learn from the enormous mass of details which Delatte has brought together. In one point only he seems to me to have gone beyond the strict interpretation of facts. I cannot agree with him in his treatment of the Minoan gems, on which, as he believes, the act of herb gathering is represented (pp. 7-14). As to figure 2, the "pagne courte" is in Nilsson's *Minoan and Mycenaean Religion*, at least on the left side, adorned by a decided tail, such as we see on the Hagia Triada burial chest in the costume of the priestess; for the way of wearing the hair, one can compare Haas' *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* 7, figures 53 (goddess of fertility) and 65 (from a relief vase; here also nudity and "pagne"). Nor can I stress the arrangement of the hair to the extent Delatte does. The female adorant wears her hair *up*. Figure 3 contains distinctly a religious subject; the central figure is either in levitation or is meant to be in the background; all three women, goddess as well as adorants, are dressed alike in the usual Minoan fashion. A better case might be made out for figure 4, where the turning of the head is perhaps due to the superstitious gesture of averting the face from the object. The bending of the plant, both here and in figure 5, is due simply to the exigencies of space. In neither representation is the male figure kneeling; in 4 we have merely the archaic "knee-running" scheme, while in 5 the man seems to be climbing a hill or cairn. Figures 6 and 7 are too indistinct to allow a judgment either way; figure 9 seems to me to show a purely religious act, and in 10 I can see only a touching not a plucking of the plant, while figure 12 apparently is a mythological scene.

If thus we are reluctantly forced to reject this attempt to trace

magical plant gathering back into the third pre-Christian millennium, we can only be deeply grateful for the remainder of the book. For a long time to come it will, together with the detailed treatment of individual plants in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, form the indispensable basis for all future investigation. Scattered throughout the text and the notes are a number of shrewd observations and emendations, of which I may be permitted to mention the explanation of the terms used by Demeter in the Homeric hymn to Ceres, 228 ff. (6, 7), of *trimenos* (23, 2), *nuda pedem* (58, 3) *sponsa solis* (84, 1), of the paeonia incantation (101, 1), of Pradel's treatment of the same passage (110, 1) and of *hermeian* (121, 3).

Delatte has not been satisfied with a mere collection and systematization but has given us also his views on the religious and other reasons underlying the various procedures. Here again it is easy to disagree with him in details. In general, he seems to me too much inclined to stress the cathartic character of the usages. I for one agree with A. Dieterich (*Mutter Erde*, 3rd ed., p. 57) "that such usages are not explained by tracing them to the idea of lustration. Lustratio is originally only the accompaniment of a sacrament, which has a religious scope, the conciliation of some deity, whom man must approach in the state of purity" (see also F. Pfister in *R.-E.*, XIX, col. 1456, 2-7).

Now and then one wishes that the author had even extended his writing. Thus (pp. 29-32) the discussion of the choice of days might have been enlarged into a separate chapter, drawing on Hesiod's *Works and Days* and the data of the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum*. Again the whole book calls for a wider investigation of the plant gathering ritual of peoples beyond the range of antiquity and of Europe. Ever since Liebrecht's *Volkskunde* it has been evident that European plant lore is deeply indebted to learned tradition from antiquity, carried on through the Middle Ages into our own time, so that a deeper insight into its character, whether deistic or predeistic, can apparently only be looked for from a comparison with the ritual of tribes untouched by Greece and Rome. May we not hope that some American folklorist will take up this burden in the near future? Only thus can we expect to approach what Usener has called the "Grundgesetze der religiösen Denkformen."

ERNST RIESS.

SCARSDALE, N. Y.

Charitonis Aphrodisiensis De Chaerea et Callirhoe Amatoriarum Narrationum Libri Octo. Recensuit et emendavit WARREN E. BLAKE. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1938. Pp. xx + 142. \$3.50.

Except for three short fragments, which have come to light since 1898, the text of Chariton's romance depends upon a single manuscript, namely Florentinus 627 (F) of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century—the famous Casinensis upon which Paul Louis Courier spilt notorious ink, and from which Furia edited the fables of Aesop. And yet, strange as it may seem, Professor Blake is the first modern editor of Chariton ever to have seen this manuscript, although four others (D'Orville 1750, Beck 1783, Hirschig 1856, and Hercher 1859) have edited the text before him. That fact alone is enough to make one suspicious of previous editions and to show why a new one was needed; but the nineteenth-century editions of Hirschig and Hercher are even more misleading than one might infer from the fact that they are based on secondary sources, for Hirschig, on whom Hercher depends for everything except his own conjectures, used a "collation" by Cobet in which some 370 of the latter's emendations were left undistinguished from an approximately equal number of genuine manuscript readings, with the result that Hirschig, not knowing the nature of the document before him¹ but having great confidence in it, falsely reported as readings of F many variants that originated with Cobet, among which about 190, we are told, represent substantial and more or less arbitrary changes. These and other significant facts about the history of Chariton's text in modern times are set forth briefly in the *Praefatio*, and have been explained more fully by the editor in *T. A. P. A.*, LXII (1931), pp. 68-77.

The new edition by Professor Blake conforms to the highest standards of critical scholarship, being distinguished by great thoroughness in the preparation, by lucidity and brevity in the presentation, and by the exercise of acumen and good judgment throughout in the business of emendation. All departures from the readings of F are explained in the first of two separate paragraphs of notes at the foot of the page, while in the second paragraph are recorded nearly all the other emendations that have been proposed by scholars in modern times. This gives us a complete critical apparatus and at the same time enables one to see at a glance just what the editor has done; for the first paragraph, containing no irrelevant matter, is unusually brief and perspicuous. The notes in both paragraphs contain numerous cross references to other parts of the text. It is typical of Blake's thoroughness that, in order to judge as accurately as

¹ Found by Blake at Leiden.

possible concerning the normal usage of his author, he took the pains to prepare for himself at the outset a complete word index. With this help he is able to make a rational decision on many otherwise doubtful points, and often to defend the traditional reading of the manuscript when that reading had been changed by previous editors. However, we are assured in the preface that this index has been used with discretion, and not "quasi index expurgatorius in quo nisi pro omnibus invenirem exempla constantia, Charitonis verba expellere deberem."

The papyrus fragments from the Fayûm (2nd cent.) and from Oxyrhynchus (2nd-3rd cent.), by their relatively close agreement with F, bear valuable witness to the integrity of F's tradition as opposed to that of the Theban codex (6th-7th cent.), whose readings, often radically different from those of F, are seldom of any value except where they seem to correct an error or a small deficiency in F; e. g. on p. 120, line 10 *εἰκόνας* Theb. (*ut olim coni. D'Orville*) for *οικήσεις* F, and, at 122. 12, *μ[ε]ραξὸν φερόμενο[ς]* Theb., *om.* F. Apart from orthographical details I note some twenty-two cases in which Blake has adopted a reading of the Theban codex (which is much longer than either Ox. or Fay.) in preference to F, and thirteen cases each in which the readings of the Fayûm papyrus and of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus are preferred. With two or three possible exceptions these new readings definitely improve the text, and a dozen of them confirm the conjectures of modern critics. The mutilated but adventitious reading of the Theban codex at 121. 29 is thus ingeniously restored by reference to Theophrastus, *Char.*, X, 10: [*ὥς περ εἰ ἀφείλη*] *φιλάρη[υρος τὴν ὕ]περημ[ερίαν τῶ]*. Little is gained, in my opinion, by the conflation of F and Theb. at 119. 8. In the note on 118. 26 *ἡπί[τατο]* seems to be a misprint for *ἡπίω[τατο]*. On p. xi, note 4 and p. xii, note 1 the references to those passages in the text which correspond to the extant portions of the Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm papyri respectively, have been interchanged, so that both references, as they now stand, are wrong; read "IV 2, 3 usque ad 3, 2" on p. xi and "II 3, 5 usque ad 4, 2" on p. xii.

Among the numerous emendations introduced by the editor, or adopted by him from previous critics, there are few to which the present reviewer can seriously object. I do not understand why the article before *βασιλεὺς* is deleted with Hercher at 65. 12 and 19, and 66. 7 (against Hercher), but allowed to stand at 95. 2 and 29, 96. 2 and 26, 97. 21, 93. 22 (against Hercher), etc.; nor why *τοῖς* is bracketed before *πᾶσι* at 67. 6, nor why *ἐστὼς* is changed to *ἐνεστὼς* at 40. 31 and *αἰφνιδίως* to *αἰφνίδιον* at 41. 3. On the other hand, Blake has introduced a number of clever and convincing emendations of his own: *τότ' οὖν εἶπεν* for *τὸ γοῦν λοιπὸν* (24. 25); *ἴσων ἀσελγάνει* for *πασῶν ἀσεβείῃ* (83. 16), *μὲν*

ἀλλ' οὐ for μᾶλλον οὐ (36.5), εἰσῆλθε for ἤλθωσθε (40.28), δικαζόμενοι for καθεζόμενοι (73.18), ὡς ἐν Πλαταίαις for ἐν πλαταίαις (108.9); cf. also 22.13-16, 49.14, 82.3, 117.5 and 118.5. I am pleased to note that he rejects Hercher's Καλλιρόη after ἡδη at 83.6; it is incompatible both with the idiomatic meaning of ἡδη in this passage (= *besides*) and with the conventional rhythm of the phrase.

In general, the superiority of Blake's edition to previous editions lies not so much in the emendations nor yet in the exploitation of the new fragments, valuable as these are, as in the very accurate reading and reporting of F and the conservative adherence to that main tradition.

At the end of the volume there is a useful index of proper names in which the part played by each character is fully analyzed, and this is followed by a list of *sententiae* and similitudes. Since sources are cited for some of the *sententiae*, the editor might have noted that the saying about men believing what they want to believe (*s. v. Homo*) probably comes from Demosthenes, 3rd *Olynthiac*, 19, and that ἐντάφιον ἐνδοξον ἢ ἡγεμονία (*s. v. Principatus*) owes something to Isocrates, *Archid.*, 17.

B. E. PERRY.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

JOHANNES SCHNEIDER. De Enuntiatis Secundariis Interpositis Quaestionibus Plautinae. Accedit excursus de chronologia Plautina. Dresden, Dittert, 1937. Pp. 182. Diss.

This is an analysis of the position of subordinate clauses, intricately catalogued according to antecedents, syntax, and meaning, most useful as a reference book though regrettably lacking an *index locorum*. Under *collocatio traditionalis*, the rules established are but those of accepted Latin usage. Even here "rules" are sometimes dangerous when we find regular usage outnumbering exceptions by only 61:56, 50:33, 3:2, 5:4, and in one case 20:26 (pp. 33-47). The most valuable section deals with clauses placed between main verbs and infinitives (p. 124) which Schneider, on good evidence, suggests became almost an automatic formula, e.g., *exuvias facere, quas vovi, volo*. *Collocatio occasionalis* deals with unusual order which performs some specific non-grammatical function. This section is sound and obvious, but one wearies of emphasis, alliteration, anacoluthon, *metri causa*, etc., as explanations of irregularities which are such a frequent and natural feature of spoken dramatic language as to cause even the inexperienced Plautine reader no pause. It is hardly fair to place on them the onus of irregularity. One wonders if the strictures of German order have

blinded Schneider to the relative flexibility of Latin. Perhaps this also explains the charge (pp. 7, 43, 124, 174) that Plautus was struggling with an unformed language. Lamb's similar criticism of Thucydides has long since welcomed such a notion to the realm of limbo. Rules are often weakened by conflicts between each other, e. g., p. 67.

Although a brief section treats orders *metri causa*, Schneider deals only with well known phenomena; elsewhere his position on metre is very hesitant (p. 28). But I suspect that many irregularities not obviously attributable to other causes, are related to metre. We touch here the delicate question of poetic license, but certain undeniable considerations suggest that irregularities are less caused than, so to speak, influenced, by metrical writing. One who continually composes in verse forms the habit of mentally casting phrases in metrical form before they ever reach the page; in time this becomes as automatic and unconscious as were Ovid's *numeros aptos*. Mildly irregular arrangements which suit metrical requirements and offend neither grammar nor taste are certainly not conscious variations *metri causa*. No other occurred to the writer because none was necessary. Schneider almost proves this himself by juxtaposing *Poen.* 290 and *Pseud.* 809, where the words and sense are the same, but the order reversed (p. 126). Finally, the possibility, remote as it may be, that Plautus may reflect the style of his different Greek originals, is not even mentioned.

In a brief excursus Schneider applies the facts observed to the problem of the chronology of the plays. They are arranged according to relative frequency of interposed clauses (regardless of type!). Since the table agrees with the few known chronological facts, it is assumed to represent the gradual growth of Plautus' periodic writing. Schneider then introduces five types of periodic structure, of increasing complexity, and, by comparing sets of plays, argues for increasing skill in periodic structure as well. But unfortunately he seems to have allowed his first scheme to prejudice his judgment, for the comparative evidence does not always agree with the first table. *Poen.* has examples of type 4 and 5, yet it retains its position earlier than *Mil.* and *Cist.* which have neither 4 nor 5. *Rud.*, *Curc.*, *Men.* all have only one type 5, but all are kept later than *Poen.* which has two. *Cas.* has fewer types 1 and 2 than *Mer.* yet, because they fit the first scheme, Schneider discounts the evidence. Discrepancies are rationalized in various ways: *Asin.* had types 1, 2, 3, 5 and is consequently late, yet the earlier *Poen.* has all types, but by judging the skill within the type, Schneider keeps his order; type 5 in *Asin.* is good, in *Poen.*, crude. Considering the multitude of cautions which Schneider himself admits and the confessed paucity of examples, the theory loses much of its strength.

When intervals of years, intervals of clause-rate, and comparisons of periodic skill are all combined (as they are nowhere by Schneider), further inconsistencies appear:

lowest proportion of clauses	72.2	224 B. C.	interval					
<i>Stichus</i>	88.0	200	24 yrs.	7.8 points	6 plays	known		
<i>Pseudolus</i>	104.7	191	9 yrs.	16.7	"	6	"	"
highest proportion	127.1	184 (ob.)	7 yrs.	22.4	"	6	"	"

Yet Schneider calls the *Stich.-Pseud.* 9 yr. space a *longum intervallum* (p. 176). Schneider would have to admit that two-thirds of the extant plays and practically all of the periodic development belong to the last two-fifths of Plautus' literary activity.¹ Some arguments are *non sequiturs*, as: an unusual periodic structure is evidence of conscious memory, hence of close chronological association (applied to *Bacch.* and *Epid.*, because according to comparison *Bacch.* should be much later). Schneider is aware of the disturbing effect archaisms, *cantica*, and *sermo cotidianus* would have on his calculations, but he does not treat them. He does not even consider a table of proportions of clauses not interposed to interposed. This might be very different, and just as important as his table. Finally, since not one person or paper dealing with Plautine chronology is even mentioned, I fear this attempt to relate periodic structure to chronology, though interesting and important, must be considered incomplete and unproved. I wonder, after all, whether comic dialogue is quite the place to expect a serious development of periods. Plautus wrote under influences far more vital than periods—which do not evoke laughs.

JOHN N. HOUGH.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam (quae vocantur). Ed. CLAUDE W. BARLOW. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, X. Horn, Austria, printed for the Academy by F. Berger, 1938. Pp. vii + 164.

The editor of this monograph has produced a thorough study of the fourteen letters (eight from Seneca, six from St. Paul) which make up the Correspondence between the Roman Stoic and the scholarly interpreter of the Christian message. Granting the forgery, which seems to have taken place shortly before the end of the fourth century and not long previous to Jerome's first mention of the work in the year 392 A. D., one finishes

¹ Schneider does not even defend his selection of a forty-year period of productivity. Modern scholars agree fairly well on only twenty-five.

the reading of Dr. Barlow's edition with the feeling that the undertaking has been thoroughly worth while. By taking seriously but not swallowing whole the possibility of an acquaintance between these two contemporaries and leaders of the best current thought, we are in a position where the evidence is so thoroughly analyzed that one may have the pleasure of independent speculation,—all the way from complete scepticism to a justifiable *credo quia impossibile*. The editor has examined twenty-five manuscripts and given a detailed description of each; he has improved the text of Haase in certain places, with little conjectural emendation. Besides a full bibliography, his researches develop two new ideas. The first is his belief in an ancient system of special *notae* or abbreviations in the archetype; the MS *P* (Paris, 10th century) is identified by Dr. Barlow as having been copied from a manuscript in majuscule writing which used a system of these abbreviations. From this he draws the conclusion (p. 33) that such *notae*, usually confined to legal or technical subjects, can be found in literary Latin also. The second feature is some clearly proved evidence for an edition of the Correspondence by Alcuin at the end of the eighth century. This evidence, discussed in the fifth chapter of the monograph, makes plain the interest of Alcuin in the Seneca-Paul letters, supported by a poem of Alcuin's dedicating to Charlemagne a volume which contained, among other works, a copy of the Correspondence. MSS *B* and *E* (of Brussels and Rheims) contain this dedicatory poem of Alcuin in addition to the Correspondence; and their descent from an original δ which Alcuin used in making his edition is urged by Dr. Barlow.

In handling a text which at least in six cases contains unintelligible phrases, the editor has made several convincing changes. *Clarent* (I, 13) is superior to *calens*. The *laudare* of *P* (XII, 9) makes better sense than *ludere* (see also p. 35 for an explanation of the reading). In VIII, 2 *admirandarum, si quando deficiet, amatorem esse* is preferable to *admiratorem, si quando deficiet amatorem esse*. And the *colliduntur* of XIII, 3 is clearer than the *concluduntur* of *L2* or the *colliguntur* of *T*. The very moderation in making changes from Haase's edition is praiseworthy.

One queries somewhat the phrase "facility in using words" for *copia verborum* (p. 144 and n.). The reference in the third letter (by Seneca) *quaedam volumina ordinavi et divisionibus suis statum eis dedi*, one might check by Seneca's own statement in his Epistles to Lucilius, where he is performing the same service for his correspondent: XXXIX, 1; CVI, 2; and CVIII, 1. One could thus draw the inference that Seneca is placing at Paul's disposal certain of his own works. The absurd statement that he plans to read to Nero some of Paul's writings is no bar to this possibility.

In chapter I, which discusses the general tradition of Seneca's Christian connection, there is little that one could correct or add to Dr. Barlow's clear account. He might have been more definite, in view of the fact (see J. D. Duff, *Seneca, Dialogues x, xi, xii*, 1915, pp. xli-xliv) that an inscription at Delphi, containing a letter from Claudius to the citizens of that town, with a reference to Claudius' twenty-sixth reception of the title *imperator*, fixes Gallo's governorship of Achaia from July 1st, 51 to July 1st, 52. It is also tempting to wonder whether the evidence of Seneca's own (*Epist.*, cviii, 22) in admitting a youthful interest in *alienigena sacra*,—which Tacitus (*Ann.*, II, 85) mentions as *Aegyptia Iudaicaque*—might not be at least worthy of consideration. A neat conclusion to these studies of Dr. Barlow (p. 91) is the suggestion that the correspondence is the work of a student in a school of rhetoric at the close of the fourth century and that Paul's coaching of Seneca carries out this idea. The parallel in style, and date also, between this work and the letters of Symmachus is well indicated.

This edition, complete and up-to-date, contains all the latest material dispassionately discussed. J. C. Naber's "Christus Senecae Auditus," *Athenaeum*, N. S. (1937), pp. 180-186, and T. Schreiner's *Seneca im Gegensatz zu Paulus* (Tübingen, 1936), together with six other works published since 1909, have made available all possible information about this pious forgery which may or may not contain a spark of ultimate historical truth. We may hope for more evidence, epigraphic or literary, with the findings of later decades and in the meantime not scorn even the legend (p. 7) of a lodging-place in Rome where St. Paul is supposed to have conversed with Seneca. While agreeing with the Italian Humanists, the first critics to see that the series of letters was a forgery, we may appreciate the nearness of Seneca's type of Stoicism to certain aspects of Christianity. The judgment of Lactantius that the God of the apostles is not foreign to the *Deus ipse se fecit* of Seneca, with all the other testimony from the Church Fathers, leads one to the conclusion that the bond between Seneca and St. Paul is improbable but not impossible.

RICHARD M. GUMMERE.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

PAUL SHOREY. *Platonism, Ancient and Modern* (Sather Classical Lectures, XIV). Berkeley, University of California Press, 1938. Pp. 259.

Shorey died in 1934 without having prepared for the press the manuscript of the eight lectures on the history of Platonism delivered in 1928-1929 when he was for the third time Sather

Professor at the University of California; and those of us who, having heard the lectures, had eagerly awaited their publication thought of them then with despair as of a treasure once glimpsed and irretrievably lost. Now, however, seven of the eight lectures have been salvaged. The text and memoranda for these were found reasonably complete by the editors of the Sather series who entrusted the task of preparing the manuscript to Dr. Procope S. Costas, formerly research assistant to Professor Shorey. The introductory lecture, "What is Platonism?" is not here printed, for it was felt that only the author himself could make it ready for publication. Exasperating as is the loss of that lecture, the editors' decision in regard to it is itself a guarantee of the strictness of their criterion in presenting an authentic text; and these lectures are authentic: every sentence recalls the intonation of Shorey's voice, the tilt of his head, the twinkle of his eye. The success of the editors in accomplishing their task cannot be better indicated than by affirming that the sentence with which they close their preface is a most appropriate motto for the book: καὶ γὰρ τὸ μεμνησθαι Σωκράτους καὶ αὐτὸν λέγοντα καὶ ἄλλου ἀκούοντα ἔμοιγε δεῖ πάντων ἡδιστον.

The book is not that history of Platonism which Shorey often dreamed of writing, though it contains a wealth of material and suggestions for such a work. It is not a treatise mechanically converted into "lectures" by being chopped into sections each of which can be read in an hour; it is essentially a series of *lectures* which display the author's power to select appropriate and significant examples and weave them into a simple and lucid pattern wherein the details subserve and never obscure the dominant theme. Only in the last lecture now and then does the exuberance of example seem to have seduced him into giving "lists" which, though interesting in themselves and shot through with penetrating interpretations, tend to make the essay episodic. As the book now stands, the first lectures deals with Plato and antiquity. Here two sections deserve particular attention: the treatment of Plato and scepticism (pp. 9-15) and the comparatively long discussion of Stoicism (pp. 19-35) including three coolly scorching pages on pantheism, which Shorey calls "not a term of science or philosophy but of rhetoric." Shorey's thesis that Stoicism is "even more than Aristotelianism an episode in the history of Platonism" will probably not receive the attention which it deserves, will probably be put down to "mere prejudice." That his dislike of Stoicism is ultimately a matter of taste he is himself so "unscholarly" as to admit; but, all the same, serious cogitation of these so easily flowing and vivacious pages would well repay the student of ancient philosophy who is not already so corrupted as to think that only that can be sound scholarship which is clumsily and obscurely expressed. The subject of the second lecture is Platonism in

antiquity, that is Neo-Platonism, which Shorey sharply and emphatically distinguishes from the doctrines, methods, and attitude of Plato himself. This distinction comes most timely now that in influential places scholars are sinking back into the Neo-Platonic interpretation. The delicious pages on negative theology in this lecture we may balance with the strong defense of the better Neo-Platonists as well as of Plato against the charge of concrete superstition; and, although Shorey rejects Neo-Platonism as a spurious Platonism and spurious philosophy, no one who reads the lecture can say that he denies or underestimates its emotional and poetical appeal and influence. The third lecture, "Plato and Christianity," begins with a concise but acute analysis of Plato's religious philosophy based upon Shorey's thesis that for Plato metaphysics and religion are connected "only so far as the refutation of materialism is the presupposition of anything that can honestly be called religion" and that apart from this his treatment of religion is independent of his metaphysics. It proceeds with the analogies, real and imagined, between Platonism and Christianity and concludes with the chief Platonic topics of which the Christian writers made use. The Platonic tradition in the Middle Ages is treated in the fourth lecture in three sections: the influence of the later mystical Neo-Platonism (this is introduced by a discussion of Plato's supposed mysticism), the controversy about universals, and the effect on the mediaeval imagination of the creation myth in the *Timaeus*, known in the translation of Chalcidius; the third topic leads into a résumé of the effect of the *Timaeus* on later centuries. The greater part of the lecture on Platonism and the Renaissance is devoted to Platonic love and the topic of Plato and the poets. In the sixth and seventh lectures, those on Platonism in French and English literature, I would mention as especially significant the pages on La Fontaine (pp. 154-157), the end of the former lecture (pp. 173-174), which is a subtly beautiful appreciation at once of Plato's influence on poetry and of the literature of France, and the paragraphs on Bacon (pp. 182-183) and Locke (pp. 205-207); but no detail in these two lectures will be lacking in interest and instruction for students of French and English literature as well as for those who knowing Plato love to mark the traces of his bright shadow on the great writers of later centuries.

In closing this brief notice I shall say only that time and the congealment of print have wrought no detracton to the lectures which were so thrilling when heard ten years ago.

HAROLD CHERNISS.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Ἀριστοτέλους Περὶ Ποιητικῆς. Μετάφρασις ὑπὸ Σίμου Μενάρδου.
Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενον καὶ ἐρμηνεία ὑπὸ Ι. Συκούρη. Ἀθήναι,
Ἰωάννης Δ. Κόλλαρως & Σία, 1937. Pp. 285.

Of the translation, introduction and commentary to this edition of the *Poetics* as planned by Menardos, only the translation was found at the time of his death in 1933 to be in suitable condition for publication, and Sykutris was asked to undertake the completion of the work. He is responsible not only for the introduction, the constitution of the text, and the commentary, but also for certain minor changes in the translation, necessitated principally by recent knowledge concerning the text of the *Poetics* and by a desire to modernize the rather archaistic style of the translation as Menardos left it. A list of all such changes is given in the appendix.

The commentary is useful for its full discussion of the precise meaning of technical terms employed by Aristotle and for its information on lost tragedies mentioned in the text. It contains also some treatment of literary theory, but naturally this matter is primarily dealt with in the introduction, and it is largely on the basis of the introduction that the book should be judged. Aristotle's works and their classification, the character and chronology of the *Poetics*, the nature and object of imitation, and the relation of the *Poetics* to other works on literary criticism are among the topics with which the author deals. He objects (pp. 34 f.) to the view of those who regard the *Poetics* as a defense of poetry against the assaults of Plato. The absence of treatment of lyric poetry in the *Poetics* is attributed to the close connection of this type with music in Aristotle's time and to its comparative lack of the element of imitation, which is so important for Aristotle. The last portion of the introduction is an outline of the nature of tragedy. The importance of the unities of place and time both for the tragedians themselves and for Aristotle is minimized to an apparently greater degree than by most scholars. It is no doubt this view on the part of the author which leads him (introduction, p. 126; text, p. 123, note 8) to remark with some appearance of surprise that development of character is rare in ancient tragedy. Of course no one now believes that unity of time was for the ancients the rigid dogma that it was for Corneille and Racine; but must we not admit that the deviations from it are far less frequent than the adherence to it, and that development of character is hardly possible where the action is limited to a single day? Sykutris rightly defends the change of attitude of Achilles in the last book of the *Iliad* and of Iphigenia in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* against the charge of inconsistency; here of course we have to do with sudden changes of mood and not with development of character.

Euripides. *Medea*, the text edited with introduction and commentary by DENYS L. PAGE. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1938. Pp. lxxviii + 190. \$2.75.

The Clarendon Press has undertaken to publish a series of individual editions of the plays of Euripides, each with introduction and commentary. This will be good news to all classicists, and they will hope that the series may some day be brought to completion. The present reviewer would like to express the further hope that all of the plays may be as competently handled as *Medea* by Mr. Page. Although the general plan of the series envisages the use of Murray's text, Page has fortunately realized that *Medea* requires more than this. Since the publication of Murray's edition the Strasbourg Papyrus has given us a sample of the pre-Alexandrian vulgate, and in *Rendel Harris Papyri* no. 38 we have a good representative of the Alexandrian text; furthermore the Jerusalem Palimpsest has at last been carefully collated and its importance established beyond dispute. The proper utilization of such materials demanded an entirely new edition of *Medea*, and this Page has given us.

The Text differs from Murray's in about fifty places, of which six (155 and 180, 209, 649-50 and 660-1, 999, 1259-60, 1262) are merely charges of line-division or of word-order, *metri gratia*. In three places (336, 698, 1267) the difference is of punctuation.¹ Eight *crucis* (531, 738, 741, 847, 910, 1087-8, 1099, 1269-70) obelized by Murray are printed unmarked by Page; in two of them (531, 1269-70) the reading is unchanged. Different obelizations of the same readings appear twice (856-8, 1359). There are only four places (777, 1181-2, 1255-6, 1265-6) where Page obelizes and Murray does not; the reading is unchanged in 1265-6. In eight places (38-43, 87, 246, 304, 361, 785, 949, 1233-5) Page brackets where Murray does not; the reverse is found only thrice (357, 767, 1158). Murray's supplement in 144 is rejected. Different readings, simply, occur in sixteen places (153, 157, 204, 228, 240, 272, 382, 739, 752, 887, 983, 1089, 1189, 1227, the insert after 1270, 1365). Space forbids detailed discussion, but in general it may be said that Page's text represents a noteworthy improvement over Murray's.

The Commentary is equally valuable, and satisfies an older and more deeply felt need. In its 121 closely printed pages the student of *Medea* will find just about everything that he may reasonably demand. The information is well distributed, and its expression succinct and clear. The wealth of parallel passages is

¹ Page has furthermore had the taste to abandon the romantic dashes and puzzling *paragraphi* with which Murray so generously disfigured his text. Likewise he has adopted a simpler and more useful system of *enthesi* in the printing of lyric passages.

particularly gratifying; it is pleasant to report that they are printed in full.² Textual difficulties are thoroughly discussed, and obscure passages receive as much illumination as the state of our knowledge allows. The treatment of metres which forms a sort of appendix to the Commentary is entirely adequate; its debt to Eduard Fraenkel's articles in *Rh. Mus.* LXII is candidly acknowledged. Everyone who uses Page's edition will especially thank him for giving in full Zielinski's rules for the trimeter in Euripides' early plays.

It is too bad that the Introduction is not uniformly so commendable as the Text and the Commentary. The presentation of the *Textgeschichte* is excellent, and *Medea* in Art is competently handled, but the discussion of the Legend is poorly integrated, and the case against Neophron vitiated by an inability or an unwillingness to distinguish bad arguments from good. The opening section, headed "The Play," is the least felicitous. It is strange indeed to learn that in 431 B. C. Athens had just got to the point where "she might expect some respite to enjoy what she had earned." Yet this is not the only place where history is telescoped, and on the next page we read that soon after the day of *Medea's* production "the voice of the Muses is drowned in the clash of war." It is a bit jolting to be told that "Athens had no Victorian Age," and that "Euripides was not a literary dictator." Many similar citations could be made; let one more suffice: "Doubtless there sat among the audience many a gentleman who was tired of the wife whom he brought back from his travels when he was young." There is no excuse for this sort of stuff; the Commentary exhibits enough good sense to justify the assumption that Mr. Page could have done better if he had wished.

The chaotic orthography of Greek names is equally indefensible, and it seems a shame that Gilbert Murray should cast the darkest shadow with the most regrettable of his caprices. A few examples will be eloquent enough; "Kirke" and "Circe," "Phaidon" and "Phaedo," "Herodotos" and "Herodotus," "Kuklops" and "Kreophylos" are typical. In one dreadful line of type (on 987) we find: "Callinos," "Turtaios," "Solon," and "Mimnermus." Proper names, unfortunately, are not the only victims of whimsy, and on p. xli we find: "paragraphoi," "obeli," and "cola," as well as "strophai," which appears as

² A sample check of a few dozen references disclosed no errors, but the title of White's *Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes* is misquoted (on 68) rather absurdly. References are occasionally omitted (e. g. on 894, 1078, 1174-5; also p. xlix). Misprints are extremely rare, and an apparent slip in English grammar (on 16), *Kuhl.* for *Kukl.* in the list of abbreviations (p. lxviii), and an omitted hyphen at the end of v. 1269 are the only remarkable ones. Spelling seems not to be Mr. Page's strong point, and P. W. Harsh appears as "Harsch" (on 37-44).

"strophae" nine pages later; the discussion of metres contains both "telesilleion" and "hipponacteum." It is easy to cry pedantry, but the fact remains that the best such inconsistency can expect is to enjoy the tolerant indifference of a few, while it irritates a great many, and even infuriates some. What is the point, where there is no positive gain?

YALE UNIVERSITY.

EUGENE O'NEILL, JR.

The *Antigone* of Sophocles. An English version by DUDLEY FITTS and ROBERT FITZGERALD. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939. \$1.50.

In what they curiously term their "Commentary" (p. 91) Messrs. Fitts and Fitzgerald announce their intentions: "Our purpose was to reach—and, if possible, to render precisely—the emotional and sensible meaning in every speech in the play." This is wholly admirable; it has been the aim of every worthy translator from Livius Andronicus on down, but not Livius, nor anyone since, has fallen so far short of his goal. The "version" of Messrs. Fitts and Fitzgerald is lavishly adorned with hundreds of substantive omissions, perhaps even more interpolations, and almost as many misconstructions. On the last page of their book its creators pronounce proper judgment on it when they call it *their* *Antigone*; it certainly has nothing to do with Sophocles. Before they expropriate another play I suggest that they look up the declension of nouns in -*evs*.¹

YALE UNIVERSITY.

EUGENE O'NEILL, JR.

The Bavarian Academy of Sciences calls attention to the following announcement:

"Die Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, Neuhauserstrasse 51 setzt einen Preis von 2000.—RM (zweitausend Reichsmark) aus für die beste Bearbeitung des Gegenstandes:

Die politische Propaganda im Altertum vom Tode Alexanders des Großen bis zur Zeit des Augustus.

Die Arbeit muß unter einem Kennwort eingereicht werden. Sie kann in deutscher, italienischer, englischer oder französischer Sprache abgefasst sein.

Einreichungsfrist bis zum 1. April 1943."

¹ Unaware that *Μεγαρέως* (1303) is genitive, they speak (p. 86) of "Megareos dead." The form "Choragos" for the Leader of the Chorus should suffice to show that they have little Greek. It *ought* to be otiose to point out that it is just as well to know something about a language before you try to translate from it! The capricious spelling of Greek names evinces the influence of Gilbert Murray.

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